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Vol. XXV. 40405—
1876,
Ind3.1

CONTENTS OF No. LI.

MARCH—1856.

ART. I.—INDIAN LIGHT LITERATURE.

1. The Gong. By Major Vetch. Edinburgh, 1852.
2. An Englishman's Life in India. By H. Moses, M. D. London, 1853.
3. Tales of the Forest. London, 1853.
4. Sport in the Himalaya. By Lieut. Col. Markham. London, 1854.
5. A Selection from the Writings of the late Henry Torrens, B. A. Calcutta, 1854.
6. Bole Ponjis. By H. Meredith Parker. London, 1851.
7. The Delhi Sketch Book. Delhi.
8. The Newspaper Press in India, ... 1

ART. II.—HERODOTUS VERIFIED.

The Life and Travels of Herodotus in the 5th Century before Christ; an imaginary Biography founded on fact. By J. Talboys Wheeler, F. R. G. S., Author of the "Geography of Herodotus," &c. 2 vols. London: 1855, ... 24

ART. III.—WARREN HASTINGS IN SLIPPERS.

Unpublished Letters of Warren Hastings, ... 59

ART. IV.—THE WORLD'S HIGHWAY.

Unpublished Documents, ... 142

ART. V.—THE INDIAN ARMY.

1. Synopsis of Evidence taken before the Select Committee of the House of Commons, 1834.
2. First and Second Reports on Indian Territories, 1852.
3. British Conquests in India. By Horace St. John. London, 1852.
4. The Anglo Indian Army. By Captain Rafter, London: 1855, ... 177

ART. VI.—NATURAL SCIENCE IN INDIA.

Reports on Education, ... 211

Digitized by Google

ART. VII.—THE SONTHAL REBELLION.

1. "The Friend of India," July—December, 1855.
2. The Rajmahal Hills, or Damun-i-koh; Journal of a Tour, &c. by Capt. W. S. Sherwill, 66th Goorkha Regt., ... 223

ART. VIII.—MADRAS EXHIBITION.

1. Official and Descriptive Catalogue of the Madras Exhibition of 1855.
2. Madras Exhibition of 1855. Catalogue Raisonnée of the thirty Classes into which the Articles in the Exhibition are divided, with an Index of the Subjects comprised in each Class, and of the names of Exhibitors: Compiled for the use of the Jurors. By Lieut. H. P. Hawkes, S. A., Commissary General, Assistant to the Director of Arrangements to the Madras Exhibition. Published by authority of the Sub-Committee of Arts and Manufactures. Madras, 1855.
3. Jury Reports of the Madras Exhibition of 1855, ... 265

ART. IX.—THE SHERLEYS.

The History of Persia from the most early period to the present time. By Major General Sir John Malcolm, G. C. B. K. L. S., Governor of Bombay. A new edition, revised, in two volumes. London. John Murray, Albemarle Street.

Purchas, his Pilgrimes. In five Books. London: Printed by William Stansby for Henrie Fetherstone, and are to be sold at his shop in Paul's Church-yard at the signe of the Rose: 1625.

Sir Anthony Sherley, his Relation of his Travels into Persia, the Dangers and Distresses which befel him in his Passage, both by Sea and Land, and his strange and unexpected Deliverences, his magnificent entertainment in Persia, his honorable imployment there, hence as Embassadour to the Princes of Christendome, &c. &c. London: Printed for Nathaniel Butler and Joseph Bagpet, 1613.

The Three Brothers, or the Travels and Adventures of Sir Anthony, Sir Robert and Sir Thomas Sherley, in Persia, Russia, Turkey, Spain, &c. London: 1825, ... 285

Printed and Published by J. C. MURRAY, *for the Proprietor.*

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124

THE

CALCUTTA REVIEW.

MARCH, 1856.

ART. I.—1. *The Gong.* By MAJOR VETCH. Edinburgh, 1852.
2. *An Englishman's Life in India.* By H. MOSES, M. D. London, 1853.
3. *Tales of the Forest.* London, 1853.
4. *Sport in the Himalaya.* By LIEUT. COL. MARKHAM. London, 1854.
5. *A Selection from the Writings of the late Henry Torrens, B. A.* Calcutta, 1851.
6. *Bole Ponjis.* By H. MEREDITH PARKER. London, 1851.
7. *The Delhi Sketch Book.* Delhi.
8. *The Newspaper Press in India.*

ANGLO-INDIANS are not without honorable representatives in the realm of letters. Sir William Jones, Wilford, and Elphinstone enjoy a reputation scarcely inferior to that of Hastings, Wellesley, and Metcalfe, and yet we are hardly entitled to style ourselves a literary community. The fact is, that books do not necessarily constitute a literature. Many and weighty are the tomes put forth by the Asiatic Society, but the writers of those abstruse papers, men honored and honorable in their vocation, would not venture to claim a place in the sacred Walhalla of illustrious authors. Even those famous men whom we have mentioned, leaders of the heavy brigade of Anglo-Indian scholarship, would retreat modestly from that threshold, being themselves the first to acknowledge that as had been their work so must be their reward; as they had forced secrets from nature, or from the scarcely less reluctant obscurity of byegone ages, so they were to be honored as men of science, as antiquarians, as philologists; but inas-

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much as their written works had been only as it were the accidental supplement of their discoveries, they neither demanded nor wished to be judged by them. The energies of a great author are in his writings;—the writings of the most celebrated orientalists have been but the record of the practical work to which their energies had been devoted. Hence it follows that Sir William Jones, the greatest name in Anglo-Indian literature, is praised by hundreds, but read by units: hence it follows that Mount Stuart Elphinstone, the learned, faithful, painstaking and accomplished historian of India, is indeed an invaluable guide to the professional man or the deliberate student in India, but caviare to the general reader in England. It is no disparagement to those eminent men to whom India owes so much, to say that in the gift of expression they appear mostly to have been deficient. This is a deficiency which in this garrulous age we may not only pardon, but even envy in the case of men whose costiveness of words has been recompensed by copiousness of deeds: they did good service—better none—in ascertaining the condition and antecedents of the new countries of which England had become possessed, and if in the record of these discoveries they neither aimed at nor attained the supplementary reputation of being brilliant authors, we have little ground for wonder, and none for censure.

But while this division of Indian worthies moves on with dignified confidence to its own proper resting place in the temple of Fame, nor cares to linger before the Court of Letters where its proper resting place is not, this latter Court is besieged by a noisier and inferior troop—peremptorily demanding admittance in the name of Anglo-Indian light literature.

Poets it is confessed we have not. Biographers and historians are equally wanting: nor is this unnatural. We Anglo-Indians form, after all, not a nation but a colony; not even a colony but a garrison; we take our serious literature like our pale ale from the mother country; why should we produce what we can so easily import? But inasmuch as we are a community of educated Europeans, enjoying on the whole considerable leisure, what more natural than that we should expatiate in the more flowery fields of letters; that we should take our chance, nay that we should excel as epigrammatists, as writers of articles, as novelists or as wits?

Certainly, this is the one style of literature which Anglo-Indian life has evinced a tendency to call forth; and it would appear at first sight as if the demand for amusement on the one hand, and the vacant hours which we all have to dispose of in this country on the other, did furnish a combination of circumstances favourable to a supply of successful literature. It

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might have been so, but we are bound to express our conviction that it is not so. The press, indeed, has not been idle in India, but we should be sorry if the Indian services were obliged to stake their intellectual reputation on what it has produced. We Anglo-Indians have evidently brought with us the courage and energy of our native island; why have we left behind us our native wit, humour and imagination? We have succeeded as soldiers, as sailors, as statesmen, as judges as magistrates; why have we so failed, (we say it with the fear of the Minerva press of India, of the *Delhi Sketch Book*, and even the hydra-headed Calcutta and Mofussil newspaper press before our eyes,) why have we failed so signally as *literati?*

In the first place it is necessary, before attempting to answer this question, to justify the assertion on which it rests. An indignant crowd starts up, and like a once celebrated preacher, disposes of the hypothesis by denying the fact.

Who can doubt that the mild and respectable author of "The Gong" believes in his heart that he has conferred a literary benefit on his brother officers in India? or that Dr. Moses often reads with complacency his record of an "Englishman's Life in India," which might have been exempted from the stigma of common place book-making if it had been published a century and a half ago; but which, appearing as it did in 1853, can be regarded as little more than the publication of a private and very uninteresting diary? The author of "Tales of the Forest" will never be persuaded that he has written a book, which bright blue covers and clear type cannot redeem from the obvious curse of dreary dullness. So confident are Col. Markham and Mr. Bentley in the universal interest attaching to the number of beasts and birds slain by the former, that a splendid volume, royal octavo size—containing equal amounts of type and margin, is unhesitatingly devoted to the thrilling record. But when we come to the really clever authors on the list, we are met with an assurance which almost overpowers argument: who can doubt that Mr. Torrens was the most brilliant genius and ablest author of his day, when the fragments of his writings are presented to us with such ostentatious and unstinted generosity, and we are assured by his biographer that while these fragments are quite good enough for us, Mr. Torrens was in fact spoilt by coming into such company, so little capable of appreciating him: he was a bright light in India,—but he would have been a star of the first magnitude* had he stayed at home.

Were we not writing under the protection of an incognito which cannot be penetrated, we should hardly venture to pen the

* A Selection from the writings of the late Henry W. Torrens, Esq., B. A. Memoir, page iv.

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succeeding sentence. We should hardly dare to charge as one of its shortcomings against Anglo-Indian society and the literature in which that society is reflected, a want of knowledge of the world. Were we to bring forward an accusation of theft, murder, adultery, or all the seven deadly sins rolled into one, we should be met with a listless denial or a laughing assent. But it is a fearful thing to be ignorant of the world. The lately emancipated cadet who brings with him the freshest fashions of Mr. Switchards's academy, the civilian who has inherited all the traditions of Haileybury licentiousness; the subaltern who has recently returned from furlough, fully persuaded that he is a *roué* of the first water, all start indignantly at the bare mention of an accusation from which of all others they devoutly believe themselves to be innocent. But the dispassionate observer, who is aware that the world has other phases than are presented to Haileybury lads or tavern explorers, will not hesitate to confess that "provincialism" is a marked feature in the character of Anglo-Indian society. The East Indian indeed still carries his provincialism home with him, and there he is rather proud of it. He feels flattered at being taken notice of as an eccentric who rises at strange hours in the morning, interlards his conversation with uncouth words, and delights to feed on hot dishes. He is proud, because he feels that after all to know India has been his particular work in life, and these eccentricities are awkward witnesses that this work has been performed. Nobody blames an Anglo-Indian for not knowing the world, any more than people blame a sailor for not knowing how to ride; he has been banished all his life, at least with brief and rare intervals, from Europe and civilization: he has generally speaking neglected rather than cultivated his literary taste; he may know the Pottergong district, he may know Bengal, he may know India, he may know Asia, but how should he—in the conventional sense of the phrase—know the world.

We award the full benefit of this plea to the author of "The Gong." Major Vetch may be, and we doubt not is, an exemplary officer; he does his duty in his vocation, but a little more of knowledge of the world would have convinced him that his vocation is not book making.

The title of the book is utterly meaningless: Gong is used as a mere synonyme for volume, and by way of keeping up the joke a chapter is called a toll: but as regards any latent meaning in these nicknames, this Tale, for such it is, might as well have been entitled the "Diving Bell," or the "Coach and Six," or the "Cholera Morbus," or whatever the reader pleases. The story itself is such as might be expected from an author who evidently had no store to draw on except what he had seen with his bodily eyes, and what he had read. Thus we have the ordinary routine of In-

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dian life, in orthodox succession, from the voyage out to the voyage home, cemented by a few of the common-place incidents of common-place novels. Had the author possessed that inward eye which enables imaginative writers to see though blind, he would have written a very different kind of book : had he possessed the sharp, hard, sensible judgment of a man of the world, he would not have written at all.

We cannot be so indulgent to Dr. Moses. A book of travels in Bombay is an insult to the denizens of that enlightened Presidency. A man is indeed at liberty to publish his observations on Indian life, but it should be under the decent disguise of a three volume novel or a missionary tract. The sepoy, the European officer, the civilian, may offer fair materials for *gêne* painting, but are hardly to be treated as strange and unknown species, coldly classified and deliberately described. At any rate the descriptions should be accurate, as those of Dr. Moses are not. Years have dimmed our recollection of the harbour of Bombay, of the black rocks of Beach Candy, and the wood-fringed beauty of Malabar Hill, but we should still detect the real points of the landscape were they to be recognised in the vague and vapid description of Dr. Moses. Slight as is our acquaintance with the sister Presidency, we venture entirely to dissent from the dogma that the "only way one can possibly get on with native servants is by constantly threatening to send them to the bazaar master and have them punished; or by withholding their pay." The whole scope of Dr. Moses' work evinces ignorance of the world: but if he did make up his mind to such a solecism as to publish a book of travels in a district four weeks from England, and as well known as Ireland, he should surely have avoided within the limits of his chosen subject the additional blunder of writing like a *Griff*.

We cannot venture to charge a Colonel in the royal army, and a Burlington street publisher, with ignorance of the world; we should rather be disposed to regard the work before us as a sign that they know it too well. We have a kindness for sporting authors: they have, as a rule, a genuine love of nature, and a healthiness of body which imparts a cognate health to their mind and to their books. Their works are often extremely interesting to men who have never mounted a horse or fired a gun: not principally, however, on account of their professed subject so much as the accidents by which that subject becomes surrounded.

The mere record of pigs speared and partridges shot is interesting only to the initiated; even the more dignified pursuit of bears and tigers becomes monotonous in relation after one or two anecdotes; to the sportsmen himself each case presents, it may be, points of dif-

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ference from any former case, but these points are too minute to be transferred to paper, and to the general reader one tiger dies for all. Still there is a charm in sporting literature that we could ill afford to lose. We assure our yellow covered contemporary, whose wrath may have been provoked by the foregoing sentences, that we speak with perfect sincerity. It is pleasant to have occasional intercourse with men who throw off the work a day world, and boldly live to enjoy. The pleasure is increased when the sporting author evinces, as he frequently does—as the result of healthy physique—a hearty admiration and a keen eye for natural beauty; or when, as is also frequently the case, the same physical and mental vigor transpire in a vein of strong, clear, sensible argument, the greatest of intellectual luxuries, or in a humorous appreciation and picturesque delineation of human nature out of doors. Hence it is that Harry Hieover is a favorite author, not only with turfites and fox hunters, but with gentlemen who sit at home at ease, with Review writers as we certify, with divines as we do not doubt: hence it is that Izaak Walton's fame has nearly attained the limit of a second century. But Colonel Markham's book has no such charm: not, as we firmly believe, from incapacity on the part of the author, so much as a mistaken resolution. He seems to have set out with the idea that his book was to be a Sporting Journal, and that all foreign or incidental matter was to be rigorously excluded. The result is, a volume which all the meretricious splendor of Bentleian "getting up" cannot redeem from the fatal fault of dullness. Every now and then we catch glimpses of a life beyond bear killing; of the gallant 32d Regiment; the Mooltan campaign; Sir Charles-Napier; the snow-crowned, life-giving Himalaya;—but no sooner does the more extended view suggest itself, than it is remorselessly shut out by the too conscientious author, who will write about sport only, forgetting that what was once sport to him, may, when reduced to narrative, be death to a weary reader; and we find ourselves going over the well known ground—of awkward positions—perilous escapes—crack shots—triumphant slaughter.

Very different are the sporting articles contributed to the *Calcutta Sporting Review* by Mr. Henry Torrens, and reprinted in his collected works by Mr. Hume. Mr. Torrens was undoubtedly a man of genuine literary ability and cultivation. He was even a man of genius, if we will understand by that term a man of singular versatility, full of life, and by the innate force of this vitality, capable of putting himself in active sympathy with frequent varieties of many colored human character. He was not a man of genius, if we demand as an essential condition for that title, the strongest common sense,—an all-controlling earnestness in seizing one of the many "clues of life," and following it out with

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unvarying determination. But if there was one subject on which he was thoroughly in earnest—it was sport, and therefore his contributions to the "Calcutta Sporting Review" are in our opinion the most thoroughly characteristic of all his productions, and afford a striking proof how attractive sporting articles may be made to the general reader. But how does Mr. Torrens affect the estimation in which Indian modern literature should be held? Most favorably, had he been left alone; but we must confess that the judgment we have pronounced on the want of literary taste and dexterity in India seems to us fully confirmed by the form in which the works of Mr. Torrens, one of the most eminent of Indian literateurs, has been presented to the public by his friend and biographer, Mr. Hume. Never was there a greater blunder of a book. The Memoir is a striking instance how much cause a man may have to groan—even from the grave—"Preserve me from my friends." The introductory Memoir, while injudiciously eulogistic, fails, in our judgment, to do justice to Mr. Torrens' memory. Much is omitted necessary to a full understanding of the character, much is inserted which is out of place in a Memoir. Of Mr. Torrens, in his official capacity, which in this country constitutes at least half the man, we hear little or nothing except of his share in promoting the Affghan campaign. Unless we are mistaken, stories might have been told of Mr. Torrens in the Secretariat Department, characteristic of, and by no means discreditable to him, and amusing to the reader. Unless we have been misinformed, the ponderous solemnity of red-tapism was often ruthlessly violated by the clever but eccentric Under-Secretary, who would relieve the monotony of an official despatch by flights of fancy enough to whiten the hair of ancient clerks in the Department, and cause a ludicrous anxiety to high officials lest they should be compromised by their literary subordinate. Mr. Hume, indeed, seems inclined to pass over the official life of his hero as unworthy of notice; he tells us that India was the ruin of him; that great abilities were wasted on this barren and ungrateful soil. In the name of the Indian community we repudiate the imputation. Abler men than Mr. Torrens have found in this country an ample scope for all the talent they possessed: and especially is India well calculated to develop and encourage that miscellaneous, indefinite sort of cleverness, which finds less room for exercise in the confined range of English professional life. Even in the case of a mere author—a man of letters in the strictest sense of the word—we doubt whether there is any fatal obstacle to success in the circumstances of Indian life. After all, an author residing in India is not obliged to publish in India; he enters the English literary market on exactly the same terms as other competitors,

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and if he is not read, he has no right to lay the blame exclusively on the Indian public. Mr. Torrens might indeed, and probably would have been a happier man in England; so would most of us: but we do not see any reason for saying that he would have been more successful as an author. But while Mr. Hume neglects Mr. Torrens' official career, he adopts a strange method of describing and eulogizing his literary labors. Out of a Memoir of ninety pages, no less than forty are filled by extracts from different Reviews on Mr. Torrens' published works. We were aware that the publishers were in the habit of recommending books by culling the laudatory sentences of the newspaper criticisms, but we never before heard of a biographer eking out his Memoir by forty pages of "Opinions of the Press." We do not censure Mr. Hume for admiring Mr. Torrens' translation of the Arabian Nights; on the contrary we believe that there is great justice in his admiration; but the work must stand or fall by its own merits, and is not to be forced on the public by forty pages of posthumous puffing. Passing from the Memoir to the collection of fugitive pieces—we find some incomplete, some so very fugitive as to be scarcely worth the trouble of collecting, and some unintelligible.

Amongst the unintelligible pieces are one or two of which the point can only be discerned by a few private friends, while the general reader finds nothing to amuse him except a clever but not very reverent parody of the style of certain portions of the Bible. Among the very fugitive pieces are some of Mr. Torrens' poems, which we are not disposed to estimate very highly; while the uncompleted pieces consist chiefly of fragments of the Arabian Nights' translation, and a few chapters of a novel called Madame de Malguet.

The publication of these specimen extracts reminds us of nothing but the old story of the man who carried about a brick to show what his house was like. The Arabian Nights' translation was doubtless a very clever work: of the novel, we have given at full length a laudatory advertisement from Miss Edgeworth: if they be good books, the public will find out and buy them; it is mere bookmaking, and highly unjust to the memory of Mr. Torrens to publich a few extracts, which, in their isolated condition it is impossible to appreciate, or indeed to understand. For the best things in the collection are the sporting and dramatic articles. On both these subjects—viz. Sport and the Drama—Mr. Torrens writes with an earnestness which we miss in his other productions; he must indeed have been an invaluable ally to Abel East, and these papers well deserve to be rescued from the ephemeral doom of periodical publications. On the whole, we think these two volumes a mistake, and if Mr. Torrens is not so much appreciated as his friends think he ought to be, they must

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blame, not the Indian reading public,—which like other publics is always glad to read what is worth reading,—but Mr. Torrens' editor and biographer. The book which we have just noticed, together with "Bole Ponjis," form two of the most prominent features in Indian modern light literature. There can be no doubt of the great ability both of Mr. Torrens and Mr. Parker. We are inclined to rank the latter highest as an author. His two volumes are much too long, and contain a great deal which might have been advantageously omitted. From the quaint to the ridiculous is but a step: and it would require far greater raciness and wit than we find to justify such a title as "Bole Ponjis." We do not think that Mr. Parker any more than Mr. Torrens is a great poet; but the latter has left among his fragments, at least his editor has given us, nothing equal to Mr. Parker's Tale—"The Junction of the Oceans;" the idea of which is poetical in a high degree, and admirably sustained throughout. We cannot but feel that a man who could thus give free rein to his imagination and move for so long a time in a self created world, a man, too, who could write (if Mr. Parker will pardon the juxta position,) the verses on Mr. Sims—the old Calcutta clerk—full of life, portraiture and quiet humour, might have done something better; and if we refuse, notwithstanding "Bole Ponjis," to change our opinion as to the shortcomings of Indian light literature, it is not without a conviction that both Mr. Torrens and Mr. Parker might have done more than they have to remove or lessen the reproach.

But we live in an age of progress. India has its Railway and its Telegraph: it will not remain without its *Punch*. The *Delhi Sketch Book* claims to be the oriental courier of the celebrated *London Charivari;* to represent, in a concrete form, the wit and humour of modern India. Such a claim was hailed by us all with eager delight. There is much in this Indian life of ours that is painful, much that is dreary, much that is depressing: from this depression some seek one mode of relief some another. The unfortunate European soldier,—sometimes unhappily the European officer likewise,—has recourse to the intoxication of liquor; the civilian, and the man of business tries to kill the same enemy, ennui—by the intoxication of work. But both the dissipated and the overbusy man miss at times those more healthful recreations of bodily exercise and out-of-door amusement which are prohibited by cruelty of climate, and no less that mild, intellectual excitement which in England is constantly afforded by the press. This latter want the *Delhi Sketch Book* undertook to supply; how has the undertaking been performed?

We do not wish to be hypercritical; nor to deny that many clever squibs and amusing pictures have appeared in the *Delhi Sketch Book*. Neither do we forget that certain allowances may

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and must be made for such a publication in India. A *Times* newspaper is perhaps a necessary condition of a successful *Punch*. Subjects which have been presented to and discussed by the whole population of Great Britain for five days of the week, form the text of *Punch's* laughing homilies on the sixth. Here we have no *Times* nor any thing like a *Times*. The topics which interest people in Bengal are not mooted in the North West; public opinion is divided in the North West on matters which are regarded with profound indifference in the Punjab. Nay, the scope of common interest does not extend even so far as we have implied; each station has its own news—its own interests—its own jokes; a caricature which amuses all Delhi will be frequently unintelligible at Lahore. On this account, great allowance is to be made for the *Sketch Book;* but when all has been made, is it a publication which reflects credit on the Indian Press? We confess we think not; and this not from want of ability, either among the writers or the draughtsmen who are to be found among the Indian community, and for all we know, on the staff of the *Delhi Sketch Book,* but from that unpardonable carelessness which is in this country the frequent source of literary failure. An impression seems to prevail on the editorial mind, and to be easily acquiesced in by an over-indulgent public, that anything is good enough for India. What we should unhesitatingly condemn at home, we are disposed to tolerate here. We resign ourselves to mediocrity and consequently prevent excellence. What else is it which induces the editor of the *Delhi Sketch Book* to continue week after week, and year after year, a slovenly style of mechanical execution which would disgrace a second or third rate provincial press? Those who have seen the *Delhi Sketch Book* upon a club table in England, will recollect their disgust at the thinness of the paper, the poverty of the type, the rudeness of the engraving, as contrasted with the comfortable and elaborate air of the English periodicals. The engravings of the *Sketch Book* are more like the efforts of an amateur than the production of one of the chief presses of India, and yet they receive an indulgence which an amateur would be ashamed to demand. We know that mechanical apparatus and skilled labor are not so easy to obtain in Delhi as in London; but they are to be obtained: and the way to obtain them is to insist on having them, and not to give a good-natured, feeble indulgence to an indifferent article. The Indian community is too prone to this sin of excessive good nature. For years we rested satisfied with infamous roads, and travelling at the rate of three miles an hour. Suddenly we asked ourselves why we should travel more slowly and less comfortably than our countrymen in Australia or our brethren in America; forthwith we were indignant

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with the Government which had so long presumed on our apathy, and as the fruit of our indignation, bridges, roads, Horse Dâk Companies and Railways sprang, and are springing into existence.

In literary matters our apathy is as yet undisturbed; reform therefore lingers. We make up our minds as a matter of course that a *Punch* published at Delhi, must be printed in bad type, on poor paper, with rough, unskilful engravings; the consequence is that the supply does not exceed the demand; we are satisfied to ask for a scorpion and can scarcely wonder that we do not receive an egg. And yet we do not hesitate to say that there is no reason whatever why a *Delhi Sketch Book* should not be as well printed, and its pictures as carefully engraved as those of a London *Punch*, and it is to the interest of society and the benefit of progress, to be exacting and dissatisfied till the required improvement is made. But typography is not the chief cause of our quarrel with the *Delhi Sketch Book*. The same latitudinarianism, the same disrespectful disparagement of the reader, extends from manner to matter. Broad caricature is the poorest style of wit, but at the same time the easiest. Broad caricature is the prevailing feature of the *Sketch Book*. Many good ideas are thus spoilt in treatment: many clever suggestions marred by carelessness of execution. The series of sketches entitled the "Royals in India" affords a good instance of what we mean. Here the idea of making merry with the harmless but amusing ignorance of new comers, and holding up to a severer ridicule the affectation of superiority by which this ignorance is sometimes accompanied, was a good one, and fell within the just limits both of wit and satire. But the whole thing is disfigured by excessive caricature: "the Royals" are exaggerated into perfect idiots and mere dandies; too frequently the clumsy device is adopted of helping out a poor drawing by poor letter press, and the point of a satirical picture is made to consist in some words of bad Hindustanee proceeding from the mouth of one of the portraits. Lord Dalhousie and Sir William Gomm being almost the only public men, in a general sense of the term, in all India, are fair game; but there is no game whatever in making distorted portraits of those distinguished individuals, and we appeal to our readers whether the likenesses of the Governor General and the Commander-in-Chief do not bear out our expression. Either art is wanting to give a correct resemblance, or the *Delhi Sketch Book* entertains the schoolboy idea of fun, that it consists in drawing people with corpulent bodies or big noses; an idea which we pardon in a schoolboy, but cannot for a moment tolerate in the Indian *Punch*.

We wish we could stop here; but we feel bound to say that the *Delhi Sketch Book* appears to us to have disregarded the warning which we saw expressed more than once by a friendly con-

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temporary, and not merely allowed wit to degenerate into caricature, but caricature to trespass upon coarseness.

This, if continued, must be fatal to the publication. The Indian public is long suffering: it will endure bad paper, bad print, and bad jokes, but to do it justice, we believe that it will not endure vulgarity.

We come lastly to the most important portion of Indian modern literature,—the newspaper press. Of this important corporation we are inclined, both by sympathy and conviction, to speak with considerable respect: sympathy—for are we not cultivators of an adjoining field? conviction—for we do not forget the services which the Indian press has rendered; that it is the chief source of amusement to a society singularly in want of amusement; that its labours have been for the most part characterized by industry and perseverance; above all, that its independence has been seldom if ever impeached. It is then in no spirit of hostility that we ask the question, Does the newspaper press enjoy that credit and exercise that influence in India which it does in England? and if this question be answered, as we think it must be, in the negative, what is the reason of this inferiority? The answer to this second question is, we believe, neither simple nor apparent. We are ready to allow that it is not possible for any Indian paper to secure the same galaxy of talent or the same universality of information as are concentrated on the London *Times;* still, we believe that there are other more serious obstacles to newspaper success in this country than the absence either of efficient reporting or literary ability. It is matter of common consent that the power of a newspaper consists in the combination of secrecy and publicity; the incognito of the writer, the multiplication of the readers. The causes which have led to the overpowering success of the *Times* are numerous, and some of them, we believe, very deeply rooted in the complications of the English social system: but no one can doubt that among the chief causes has been the amazing skill with which the Jones and the Robinsons who write those thundering articles which are to prevent a revolution, to recommend a war, to command a treaty, or to rebuke a Queen, are concealed from view, the personality of the impersonal *Times* prominently developed. Garrick was a great actor, and would so identify himself with the character he represented as to move men to tears of sorrow, or laughter, women to swoons and hysterics: John Doe and Richard Roe were potent fictions of the law, who with solemn gravity lost and won each from the other many hundred thousand pounds of solid cash; the Wizard of the North is a mighty conjuror, and sorely deceives the eyes and all the other senses of the lieges; but Garrick was plain unmistakeable David Garrick, Esq.—

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John Doe and Richard Roe were gross and palpable impostors; —the Wizard of the North is a clumsy bungler, compared with the magic exercised every day by two or three quiet gentlemen in the neighbourhood of Blackfriar's bridge, on the faculties of the British public; with their prodigious and complete success in making the thing which is not, appear to be the thing which is; in impressing men's minds with a profound belief that Messrs. Smith, Brown, Jones, and Robinson, who write, edit and manage the thundering columns, are not real and living personages, but that the *Times* which is indeed a poor sheet of paper covered with black marks, is possessed of a vital conscious individuality. That the managers behind the scenes are themselves fully aware of the essential importance of this great conjuring trick, we have many proofs. With what care is the illusion kept up: with what reluctance are the public allowed to perceive so much as the existence of a printer; what an entire absence of any reference to the machinery by which the illusion is produced: what self-denying abstinence from the eclat which must accompany the reputation of writing those smart and influential articles: or to come to more direct proof— what intense indignation, what an obvious agony of suppressed rage when Mr. Drummond proclaims in the House of Commons the names of some of the principal actors in this grand conspiracy; what triumph when clever Mr. Mowbray Morris baffles all the endeavours of a parliamentary committee, which sought, by violating the mysteries of the press, to circumscribe its liberty.

The spell which is so potent for success in England cannot be wholly neglected without a corresponding degree of failure in India. That it is neglected we need not say. We will not ourselve transgress the secresy which we recommend by the mention of names; but in Society names are mentioned and canvassed every day. The *Delhi Gazette* might influence the politics of British India—but Mr. So-and-so is but one among many councillors. The *Lahore Chronicle* might sway the mind of the Governor General—but his Lordship refuses to tremble before the name of ————

Nor is this all. It is not enough that every paper is known and spoken of as belonging to this or that individual: this alone would indeed be sufficient grievously to impair the influence of any journal; but as though to complete the indiscretion, every prominence is given to that which should be most jealously suppressed, the machinery by which the paper is conducted: the public should be enticed to forget that there is such an animal as a printer's devil, such a workman as a sub-editor, such an entity as a contributor. On the contrary the decrease of the establishment, the shortcomings of delinquent printers, are scrupulously recorded; the comings and goings of the writers of articles are

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noted; and two rival editors cannot fall out by the ears, but the public must be duly apprised of the fact. And then we hear complaints of the little influence of the press! If Mr. Kean were to pull down the scenery, turn off the gas, send his performers on the stage by daylight in plain clothes to read their parts, he would, we apprehend, very soon have precisely similar cause to complain of the small attraction of the Princess' theatre.

Complaint is often made of the inaccuracy of the newspaper press, and its want of weight attributed to this cause. The complaint is not altogether unreasonable nor the inference altogether untrue: nevertheless it seems to us that in this respect the press is the victim of circumstances. Considering the nature of our Indian Government, the reticence of officials and the secrecy of official proceedings, we are rather disposed to admire the industry which the journals display in so frequently ferreting out truth, than to censure the misfortune by which they are sometimes led into error. The politics of England are in the House of Commons, and the proceedings of the House of Commons are patent to the world. The politics of India are in the heart of the Governor General, and the heart of a modern Governor General is as inscrutable as that of an ancient King. In this respect we can scarcely hope to see the position of journals in this country materially altered. Secrecy is essential to absolute Government, and in our judgment a considerable amount of absolutism is for some time to come essential to our position in India. Even in this respect, however, the deficiency which exists in journals—not from their own fault, but from the nature of things—there is a prospect of improvement. The proceedings of the Legislative Council will furnish as fair a text for political writers as the debates of the House of Commons, while the institution of the "Editor's Room" in the Secretariat offices, may give the journalists access to those facts without knowledge of which political writing is but offensive quackery.

The same cause which explains the occasional inaccuracy of the Indian newspapers as to matters of fact, may partially but only partially, justify the poverty in most of them of political leading articles. With one exception which we do not care to particularize, there is scarcely a newspaper on this side of India which habitually puts forth articles deserving of the technical name of "leaders."

We complain with justice of the ignorance manifested by the English press and Parliament in writing and speaking of Indian affairs; but to whom should they look for instruction but to the press of India? and is that press sufficiently careful to enlighten them? Grievous indeed is the folly which hurts the ears of an Indian auditor or reader, when Mr. Bright favors the House of Commons with his views of Indian land tenures, and in a few bold, terse sentences of undeniably vigorous English—rejects as below

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contempt the theories and principles which it takes a Thomason or a Lawrence a laborious lifetime spent in daily familiarity with the Indian soil and people, to mature and enunciate; harsh and discordant to Indian sensibilities is the laughter or applause which too frequently rewards the flippant impertinence; wide is the interval between the thunder of the *Times* on a foreign aggression or domestic crisis, and the small beer of the same journal in dealing with matters that relate to British India: but it may be doubted whether the guilt of this ignorance, and its consequences does not partly lie at our own door.

We can conceive Mr. Bright as saying—"I have read your papers diligently and regularly; I have tried to understand those complicated accounts of the Bengal Military Fund; I have followed with interest the intrigue of Major A. with the wife of Mr. B.; I have duly noted that a cricket match is about to be played or has been played on the Calcutta ground; I have been perplexed by the frequent assertion and equally frequent contradiction that new regiments are to be levied or old regiments to be extra-officered; I have observed with all the attention it merited the important fact, that Ensign Brown is gone to the hills, while Lieutenant Smith is marching down country preparatory to embarking for Europe; nay I have even followed, though I must confess with much weariness and groaning of spirit, the course of articles on regeneration, and those well intentioned homilies on the error and sin of popery; but having read all this, and thereby exhausted the leading columns of most of your newspapers, I am still left to form my own unaided opinion as to the policy or impolicy of annexing Oude; as to the justice or possibility of modifying the perpetual settlement: as to the expediency of employing native officials in important situations; as to these and many such questions I find indeed here and there a few facts, but little or no reasoning on one side or the other: do not blame me for making up my mind on the wrong, while, so far as I can perceive, your own newspapers have not made up their minds at all." We think there would be some truth in such a reproach. Indian policy has its great questions, its fundamental principles, to which almost all events, as they happen, may be referred: questions which might well admit ampler discussion than they have yet received, principles in behalf of or in opposition to which it would be but natural, and in our judgment to the interest of truth, that the Indian Journals should expressly and consistently declare themselves. We regret in fact the want of political leading articles in Indian newspapers, especially those of the Mofussil. We know enough of the press to be able to assert confidently that their absence is not to be attributed to the want of editorial ability. We have heard it said indeed that the Indian public would not

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care to read political articles; that it prefers the short intimations of personal or political facts which at present supply almost entirely the place of leaders. If this were true, we could only reply that it showed a perverted taste on the part of the public which the press was bound to rectify. But we believe it to be entirely false; that in this as in many other instances, the poor Indian public is shabbily treated first, and abused for submitting to the treatment afterwards. An Englishman at home turns first to the leading columns of his paper—whether it be *Times*, *Daily News*, *Post*, or *Herald*. How often is it to be repeated—Cœlun non animum mutant qui trans mare currunt?

We do not leave our political or our literary tastes any more that our bodily shape and infirmities behind us, when we come to India. We read about Ensign Tomkins because you will insist on writing about Ensign Tomkins; but if you will try a higher flight—and enter into that sea of Indian Political controversy which is uninteresting to us only so long as it is left undisturbed, do not fear but that you will find us glad and able to follow you.

We would venture to urge therefore on the newspaper press to assume a higher ground than they have been hitherto contented to occupy. A newspaper should be to a great extent the servant of the public, but it should certainly be superior to any individual. At present newspaper editors are somwhat too willing to regard their constituents as customers, if not as patrons. It must be so, it may be replied; it is the fact that newspapers do depend on individuals for their existence, a fact cannot be ignored. It is all very well for the London papers to adopt a high tone, and safe under an impenetruble incognito, disregard all private interests and find their account in the favor of the public at large: in India matters are different; society is smaller; editors are better known; you must take what you can get.

We protest emphatically against this worst form of provincialism; this injurious self-depreciation; this want of self-esteem. Why should we always be comparing ourselves with England, and regard it as a matter of course that the comparison should go against us? The editor of an English newspaper inserts an advertisement as a matter of business; he would consider beneath the dignity of his craft to notice the advertisement in his leading column. Is this the case with all our newspapers in India? An English journal will insert sporting intelligence and notices of cricket matches, but it does so rather as a matter of favor to individual parties interested, and lets it be understood that the obligation has been conferred and not received. We have seen a leading article in an Indian newspaper asking for cricket scores as a privilege. These may appear trifles; but they are trifles which derogate sadly from the dignity, and consequently from the influ-

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ence of the press in this country: they tend to establish an unbecoming and injurious relation between the press and the public, making the former appear the indebted rather than the obliging party; they induce editors to be careless, and perform their duties in a loose, unsatisfactory way, while they accustom readers to the perpetration of the greatest of all economical blunders, the contented acceptance of an inferior article.

We repeat it is in no spirit of hostile criticism, but rather of friendly sympathy that we submit to the newspaper press of India these considerations, as to the causes of its not enjoying the same high position as its contemporaries at home and in the colonies. We believe these causes to be—first, a most indiscreet publicity in all that regards the personal staff of a newspaper: second, the difficulty of obtaining correct information in a country which possesses a popular press, but not a popular government: third, the want of leading articles on political questions: fourth, the undignified admission into the place which should be filled by political articles, of matters of personal concern or private interest. That the passion for newspaper literature is quite as strong with us as with our friends at home is proved by the number of papers which a limited society is able to support. In all the negative virtues of journalism, in the absence of scurrility or violent personality, our newspapers are, we think, as far advanced as their contemporaries in England. What they want is a more self-confident, manly, and dignified tone. For many years government and society both went to sleep in this country, and the press was wakeful for both, honour be its due for that service. But of late days government has aroused itself; signs of its vigilance have not been wanting in the energetic progress of the last three years: it is not too much to say that it has in its turn left both society and the press behind. Sydney, and Melbourne, and Hobart Town—all have their broad sheet, by the side of which the Indian newspapers to which we have been so long accustomed, do not present a satisfactory appearance. There is another reason why we should reform our newspaper press: Few can fail to observe that the nature of Indian society is rapidly changing. If not yet become or likely to become a colony, we are rapidly ceasing to be a garrison. From the day when Mr. Buckingham was deported, to the evening when Major Cumberlege had Mr. Cockburn turned out of cantonments, the uncovenanted and unattached portions of the community have gone on steadily increasing both in numbers and influence. Indian society is no longer made up exclusively of civilians and officers. The name of uncovenanted is no longer a stigma excluding its possessor from polite circles. The Railway alone has brought many men to India unconnected by any artificial tie with the East India Company,

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but full of vigor, intelligence and independence. We are not giving any opinion as to the advantage or disadvantage of this changed order of things; we are simply stating facts. Unless India is to be an exception to every country in which Englishmen have settled, this formation of a general as distinguished from an official society must cause a corresponding expansion in the newspaper press.

Papers circulating exclusively in the civil and military services may afford to confine themselves to events simply as they affect the prosperity of those two corporations; but newspapers which are to interest a general reader, must take for their main source of interest, not the furloughs of magistrates nor the migration of subalterns, nor the domestic affairs of both these classes; nor the civil service only, nor the army only—but no less wide a subject than the Anglo-Indian empire.

When the early jealousies of covenanted and uncovenanted have been forgotten, and the very terms produce a smile of derision in India as they do even now in England; when the yet pettier strife between civil and military services have ceased to be matters of supreme importance to the occupants of a great empire; when the Legislative Council has succeeded in the effort which we have lately seen initiated to free itself from excessive subjection to home interference; when its debates are watched by an eager public and chronicled by a vigilant press as affecting the destinies of India; when the steam whistle has been heard in regions now familiar only with the groaning of bullocks and the screeching of hackeries; when tidings flow in every day *through easy channels to the metropolis* from jungles now little known and never noticed; then there will be found, we do not doubt it, a newspaper press equal to its new duties; it would be the wisdom of the present incumbents to avail themselves of the advanced position which they enjoy to occupy first the new ground, and so to learn to change their nature; to become the leaders of the public opinion of a society, not the mere registers and note-keepers of a garrison. Whether Indian society in its altered phase is likely any more than at present to produce a distinct literary class, we do not venture to say. Our impression is that as the tendency of things must be to make our connexion with England closer and closer, so we shall yet more learn to look to England for our books, and those of our society who aspire to be members of the guild of authors, must forego both the advantages and the drawbacks of a limited audience, and take their chance in the great lottery of the English book market. Indian authors, as a separate class, will probably be absorbed, but Indian booksellers must remain, and we have a word to say about them before we conclude.

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At all times the trade of bookselling has been honourably esteemed. The bibliopole stands as middleman between the reader and the author; while we interpret and express the wants of the former, he catches or is supposed to catch, something of the genius or erudition of the latter. He must be to a certain extent a literary character; he ought to know and frequently does know more of books than their outsides: he stands as a connecting link between the widely separated classes of English society. Among the petty tradesmen of a small country town, the bookseller is not unfrequently found to be elevated in knowledge and character above his brethren, a living witness to the elevating and civilizing influence which results even from the humblest commerce with the muses. To bookselling then we pay due respect as being something less perhaps than a learned profession, but much more than an ordinary trade. But as a peer of Parliament forfeits those high privileges which in virtue of his peerage distinguish him from the vulgar mass of mankind, if he voluntarily descends into the common arena; and though exempt from arrest for debt, as a Howard or a Talbot, becomes liable to that degradation, if, forgetful of his ancestral right to do nothing, he becomes a trader, a mere man, a dealer with Browns and Smiths; so a bookseller loses caste if he injures by foreign alliances the integrity of his calling; if he degenerates into a stationer or a picture dealer, or worse than all, the keeper of a store. Your true bookshop is distinguished by an air of aristocratic repose.

In a world of ostentation and an age of puffing, while all mankind are vieing with each other in pretentious signs and gorgeous shop fronts, booksellers and bankers alone court privacy; the latter half close their windows, the former make no display except perhaps one or two open title pages. Both take a high tone; they have no need to appeal to the public; so necessary are they to society, that they can afford to practice this decent seclusion, quite confident that the public will search them out in spite of it.

We speak of the kings of the bookselling world, the Longmans, the Murrays, the Parkers, all of whom are in the proper sense of the term booksellers as well as publishers. There is not a gloomier street in London than Paternoster Row—the street of books, except perhaps Lombard street, which is the street of banks. Proceeding lower we still find that in country towns the bookseller's shop, while the cleanest, the best ordered, and the most really attractive, is generally the least showy shop in the place. But if some intending rival comes and attempts to draw away legitimate trade by pandering in the first instance to illegitimate tastes, we may be very certain that the gaudy display of pictures and advertisements by which he opens his piratical campaign, conceals

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the poor stock and deficient knowledge of an illiterate adventurer.

Having made these remarks, which the experience of most of our readers will, we think, confirm, we proceed to ask what is the general appearance of an Indian bookshop? Do we not instantly picture to ourselves Noor Buksh or some other Buksh leading us through the unseemly mazes of his comprehensive store, and at last finding us proof to his offer of sardines, preserved meats, Cawnpore saddles, and doubtful jewellery, conducting us as a last hope to his bookstall where a stray volume of Gibbon is found side by side with a complete edition of Paul de Kock, and tattered copies of immortal works have been contemptuously thrust aside to make room for a meretricious row of red bound, gilt lettered, expensive, worthless books? Or do we think of "the China Bazar Library," of the zealous *colporteurs*, whose customers are palki travellers, whose stock consists of such an extraordinary medley of authors, as never probably was got together under any other system; who seem to have discovered some secret spell for conjuring to life all the books which have been never heard of, nor ever would have been heard of, but for this desperate and timely rescue? Or do our thoughts recur at once to those more dignified establishments, the titles of which are so assiduously paraded before us in the outside sheet of all the Indian newspapers; to the Longmans and Murrays of India; to the Paternoster Row of Calcutta? Conceive a genuine book-worm entering one of these establishments! What must be the shock to his literary susceptibility! There is no decent repose; no quiet but cheerful order; no grave but attractive uniformity; none of those appearances which he has been accustomed to associate with a bookseller's shop, but all the glitter and confusion of a Yankee store. He looks to the walls, expecting to see rows of well-filled shelves; but no, that is the picture gallery, where portraits of distinguished personages, groups by Landseer, and other engravings of a high order have to put up with the unwelcome company of prints of which the artistic worthlessness is certain, and the moral tendency extremely doubtful. For all this, however, there may be some excuse; painting and poetry are kindred arts, and though he certainly finds pictures where he expected books, yet the two are first cousins, and the substitution, therefore, is less surprising. Resigning the walls he has recourse to the counter. There indeed are books; but in such fellowship as no kindred tie can justify. Here are all the menial supplements—the pen, ink and paper—nay, all the upholstery of literature—writing desks, writing tables, small printing presses, and portfolios, mingled together with a profuse indifference perplexing and distasteful to the true book amateur.

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Still even this may be considered a mere offence against taste, comparatively venial, if after all the books are plentiful, well selected and fairly priced. As to numbers we make no complaint; the whole aggregate of volumes is perhaps sufficient. But that careful and judicious selection which proves the bookseller to be more than half a scholar, which makes him not the accomplice but the patron of the publishers, and the friend and agent of the reading public, is sadly wanting. This firm represents one London publisher, and that another. What more natural than that those London publishers should rely upon the market thus secured for their refuse produce, and bring out indifferent books, confident that whether successful or not in England, the Indian public will be forced to buy them. Again we allow ourselves to be made the victims of a too good natured and easy confidence.

We do not exercise our own choice—we take contentedly whatever is given us, and living as we do in a wicked world, suffer in consequence. The individual trusts to the secretary of his book club, the secretary to the Calcutta bookseller, the Calcutta bookseller to the London connexion. Thus more than two-thirds of the Indian reading public are in the hands of two large forms. Far from blaming those firms for enjoying a monopoly which we allow them, we only wonder that they treat us as well as they do. But we do heartily wish to see the monopoly broken down. The booksellers in this country should be the people to do this, if they would conduct their trade on the ordinary generally understood principles which regulate it elsewhere; but this they cannot and will not do: cannot, for their agents and native employés are totally ignorant of everything concerning a book except its price;—will not, because in many instances they are interested in the perpetuation of the very monopoly which it is sought to get rid of. In this dilemma, the public must help themselves. Individual readers and still more book club secretaries must do the work which Bombay and Calcutta booksellers ought to do for them, and by the aid of catalogues, order what they want direct from England. We are in a position to testify—what however may readily be imagined without testimony—that they will be eagerly assisted by the large publishers and booksellers at home, who are anxious to become competitors for that Indian trade which is now almost monopolized by two or three firms. Whoever may gain by the competition, it is clear that we, the Indian public, lose by the monopoly. Nor is it only in the selection but still more in the price of books that we suffer under the present system. Cheap literature may be opposed both by politicians and economists, but the most extreme protectionists would hardly undertake, unless personally interested, to justify Bombay and Calcutta prices. With-

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out professing to understand all the mysteries of the craft; allowing for the fullest difference between trade and retail cost; allowing for the extra profit fairly leviable for the convenience of a Calcutta agency; allowing also for the exile and climate rates which the Bengal tradesman has as much right to look for as the Bengal soldier or civilian, we still refuse to believe that the difference between one guinea—as the selling price of a book in England—and sixteen Rupees as the selling price of the same work in India, represents nothing more than these legitimate extra profits. If it be so, if a book which costs a guinea in London really cannot be profitably sold for less than thirty-two shillings in Calcutta, the Indian public must make up their minds to dispense with auxiliary agency in this country, and deal (doubtless at a great disadvantage to themselves; for an Indian agency properly conducted is a natural and highly desirable medium,) directly with the English publishers. However loudly Indian tradesmen may endeavour to justify the present rate of prices, we suspect that they would be ready to lower them considerably before permitting the public to be driven into this conclusion.

With regard then to Indian modern literature we have arrived at these conclusions: that writers of books as a class are hardly to be looked for in our own ranks: that the conditions of Indian life have a tendency to divide men into two great sections; the one consisting of the very idle—the other of the very busy. Those who have no employment in this country—we know how large a class it is—are more to be pitied than any other members of the Indian community. The Assistant Magistrate complains with a secret pride of the burden of his work; but the man who has a far greater right to complain is the subaltern of native infantry—of equal ability and equal character, but afflicted by the greatest of all curses—want of work. Under the pressure of this curse let us not wonder if many degenerate, nor blame harshly if some fall, nor fail to honor those who stand. But even these cannot so far escape their circumstances as not necessarily to lose the capacity for enjoying learned leisure. We are told by the poet that

> "They can make who fail to find
> Short leisure even in busiest days."

Leisure is not inconsistent with business, but it is absolutely and irreconcilably opposed to vacancy.

On the other hand those who have any thing to do in this country have a great deal to do. Either they are poor creatures and do as little as they can, and are of course incapable of literary as they are impatient of official labour, or they are men of intelligence and energy and do all they can, and become, above

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everything, men of business. It is the class between these two —between the quite unoccupied and the very busy—which is favorable to literary growth; and this class in India we do not possess. With us every man has his business—and this business is not authorship; nor can it be matter of reproach to a society that its members do not succeed in other walks than those which they profess to follow.

Probably no country contains so many able soldiers and efficient statesmen as India; but our society is too uniform in its character to produce authors except as an accidental exception.

What literary professional talent does exist in India, is concentrated on the newspaper press; on the deficiencies of which we have spoken without reserve, but certainly without hostility.

Lastly, while we believe the literary class in India, as regards writers, to be small and unimportant, we are convinced of its growing consequence as regards readers. The overland mail has done much, the railways in this country will probably do more, to encourage a taste for reading. As this taste increases, it will be found that the bonds which were not felt by infancy are unendurable to a matured society; we shall no longer be content with such books as London publishers and Calcutta agents may be pleased to send us; nor shall we acquiesce any longer in the payment of fancy prices for articles of ascertainable value; and thus the book trade in this country will be forced to assume a position more advantageous to the reading public and more becoming its own dignity.

Above all we must get rid of that petty provincialism which induces us to acquiesce in our own disparagement. "It is as good as you can expect in India," is a phrase too frequently used, fatal as it is to all improvement. Nothing is good enough so long as better may be had. The fact of our being in India is not now accepted as a justification for ill made roads and unbridged rivers; yet surely an eastern sun and a sandy soil afford a better excuse for these than they can do for an indifferent newspaper or a bad book. We will no longer allow the plea to Government; when shall we learn to deny it to ourselves?

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ART. II.—*The Life and Travels of Herodotus in the 5th Century before Christ; an imaginary Biography founded on fact.* By J. TALBOYS WHEELER, F. R. G. S., *Author of the "Geography of Herodotus,"* &c., 2 vols. London: 1855.

WE feel considerable hesitation in recommending this work to the public without some reserve. The object of the writer is "to give in a popular form a complete survey of the principal nations of the ancient world as they were in the days of Pericles and Nehemiah."

"With this view," he continues, "the author has written an imaginary biography of Herodotus, the Greek historian and geographer, who flourished in the 5th century before Christ; and by describing his supposed travels to the most famous cities and countries of antiquity, he has been enabled to review their several histories, narrate their national traditions, describe the appearance of each people, point out their peculiarities and manners, and develop the various religious views and ideas which belong to their several mythologies."

This plan offers a wide scope for the exercise of the author's pen. The ancient Greek colonies in Italy, the whole of Greece, European and Asiatic, Egypt and Ethiopia, Palestine as it existed in the period between the close of Old Testament history and the commencement of the New, Assyria and Babylonia, Persia and Media, Scythia and India,—all these are passed in review in the work before us, and are described, in reference to their history, geography, customs and national characteristics, in a rapid and interesting manner. We are quite ready to allow that Mr. Wheeler has accomplished his task with great ability, and that he has displayed accurate and varied scholarship in the illustration of his subject. The style, which is flowing and correct, is well adapted to his theme, and in many parts of the book there are indications of great skill in the grouping of incidents and the exhibition of striking historical *tableaux*.

But we doubt whether the plan itself is a good one. The great difficulty in this species of composition is to get the historical and the imaginative faculties to work harmoniously: you must either discard the "imaginary" altogether, or run the risk of being betrayed into exaggeration and bad taste. It is much easier to introduce historical facts in order to give substance and coherence to a fictitious texture, than to lay an imaginative colouring over plain historic truth. In the former case, the addition of real incidents renders the work of imagination more solid and purpose-like, while in the latter the reader is almost sure to be bewildered

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or led astray in his search after truth by the alloy of fiction mingled with it. The "Life and travels of Herodotus" is not, it should be remembered, a historical romance. The object which the writer has in view differs widely from that of the authors of "Quentin Durward" and "Agincourt." Sir Walter Scott and Mr. James intend to make the amusement of the reader their first and main concern: if some little instruction in the way of history can be combined with the plan, so much the better, but they do not lay themselves out to do more than amuse. The historical romance, therefore, is an end in itself. It does not pretend to be a handmaid to history, or to form an introduction to a deeper and more extended course of study. But Mr. Wheeler's book *does*. He has laboured, he says, "to compile such an introduction to the study of ancient history as should both amuse and instruct the general reader, and lead him to the study of that higher class of historical, geopraphical, and critical works which as yet he may not have had the courage to undertake." If the fictitious parts be omitted we are quite willing to allow that the pretension is not at all ill-founded. On the contrary, we think that his brief, clear, and lively description of the chief nation of the old world in the most interesting period of its history is well adapted to give the general reader a satisfactory conspectus of the subject, and to whet his appetite for more extended study. But we contend that the book in its present form is exceedingly likely to mislead the reader—unless he be very well acquainted with Herodotus' work—as to the extent of our acquaintance with the life of the historian. A remarkable instance of this defect occurs in the forty eighth chapter in which the author describes an imaginary interview between Herodotus and Nehemiah.

"The haughty dignity of the cupbearer," he supposes, "had somewhat offended Herodotus at their first interview. Like most Greeks, our traveller had himself a great contempt for Hebrews and Syrians generally; but gradually Nehemiah threw off his coldness, and Herodotus began to take pleasure in the elevated thoughtfulness of his conversation and the peculiar sweetness of his character."

He then represents Nehemiah as giving Herodotus an account of the Jewish nation from the earliest times, detailing their religious ideas and the Divine sanctions on which they reposed, and even hinting at the exalted hopes which they entertained of the coming of a mighty Deliverer. Now will the reader who is unacquainted with Herodotus believe that there is absolutely no foundation for this narrative except the fact that the historian visited Palestine. There is not a word in his History about the Jewish religion, or Jewish history, or Jewish customs. It is impossible to account for this silence on any other supposition than that h·

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passed so hastily through the country as to have obtained no particulars of interest regarding it. If nothing else had impressed him, the grand, simple, pure ideas of religion which he would have found among the Jews could not have failed to attract his attention, &c.

And after all, this fictitious adjunct is quite unnecessary. The author has greatly underrated his powers if he thinks himself incapable of producing a readable book without calling in the assistance of imaginary incidents. He urges in support of his plan that he adopted it from an anxious desire to render his work as *popular* as possible. Is this fair to the reading public? We think not. A book intended for general instruction may be highly popular without swerving a hair's breadth from the severity of truth. Let technical terms be excluded, or lucidly explained; let the writer be careful not to assume more extensive knowledge of the ground-work of his subject than the class for whom he writes may fairly be expected to have acquired; let the information be conveyed in plain and lively language; let it be manifest that the writer himself is devotedly attached to the subject on which he writes;—and we venture to affirm that this is a surer, as it is certainly a more honourable way of enlisting the sympathies and promoting the instruction of the public at large.

We should not have thought it necessary to say so much on this point if the author had not promised a succession of works on a similar plan, embracing the history of later periods. We shall be very glad to welcome any historical sketches from Mr. Wheeler's pen, but we protest against the employment of such fictitious machinery as we are now deprecating in the volumes before us. We are greatly obliged to him for his (in the main) solid and entertaining sketch of ancient history, but we do not want to be told that Herodotus was a dunce at arithmetic, or that he was taken in by a Corinthian *roue*, or that his father committed him to the care of an imaginary but (we are bound to say) very life-like "skipper," named Phylarchus, or that he fell in love with an Athenian damsel at first sight, or that he got the worst of a boxing match at Sparta.

But our object in noticing this book is not to review it as a whole—for it deals with many countries which do not fall within the province of this Review,—but to take occasion from it to present our readers with some of the most interesting observations of the father of history on the countries, which, on political or geographical grounds, stand in close connection with India.

We see no reason indeed why we should not be allowed to treat Herodotus himself as an *Asiatic* writer, and to pass him under review as such. It is common, we are aware, to identfy the first

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Greek historian, as to mental characteristics, with the ordinary European Greek type as exemplified in the Athenians. Dr. Whewell,* for instance, calls him a lively and garrulous Ionian, *pace tanti viri,* we demur as a matter of opinion to his applying the epithet garrulous "to the painstaking and scrupulous historian," but an Ionian he certainly was not. He was born, according to his own statement, at Halicarnassus, a Doric colony in Caria. This would imply that he was a Dorian by extraction; but we shall be greatly mistaken if we suppose that the Dorian idiosyncracies, of which the Spartans were the peculiar exponents, must necessarily be found in such a place as Halicarnassus, and at the period at which Herodotus was born. Six hundred years of colonial life—which is the period between the Doric occupation of Halicarnassus and the birth of Herodotus—under, first, Lydian, and afterwards Persian, government, and that too in a country differing widely in its physical aspects from the bleak and mountainous regions from which the Dorians first emigrated into Greece, must have produced a considerable change in the character of the inhabitants. We do not indeed think it likely that the colonists had intermarried with the natives to any great extent. Some Ionian emigrants from Athens Herodotus tells us, had done so; but it is clear from the way in which he speaks of the occurrence that this was a solitary exception, and that it was customary for emigrants to take their wives with them,—an example, by the way, which our Australian colonists would have done well to imitate. There is however quite sufficient influence in the climate, and especially in the political position of the Asiatic Greeks under their Lydian and Persian rulers, to account for their comparative degeneracy from the bold, unyielding character of their European brothers. And this view of the character of the Asiatic Greek colonies will account for Herodotus' adopting the Ionic dialect in the composition of his history. His vernacular, the Doric, was rugged and unmusical, and but ill-adapted to give appropriate expression to those exuberant and highly poetic thoughts with which the historian's travels had enriched his mind.

In following Herodotus in his remarks on the various nations which he visited, or about which he obtained what he thought reliable information, we shall begin by noticing a few of his geographical remarks on the Peninsula of Asia Minor. The intelligence he gleaned in different quarters about the north eastern parts of Asia Minor, and especially the Caspian sea, will next engage our attention. We may then follow him to Egypt, the country in which he was most interested, and concerning which he has left us the most valuable information. Modern researches in the ruins and inscriptions of Babylon and Persia will amply repay us for

* History of the Inductive Sciences. Vol. I. p. 30.

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accompanying the historian to those interesting countries. And lastly we shall endeavour to shew that his information about India is much less vague and inaccurate than has generally been supposed.

In the infancy of maritime pursuits, Asia Minor was naturally the highway for the intercourse between Europe and Asia. Both its form and its position rendered it the connecting link between the great eastern monarchies and the rising powers of the west. It is chiefly under this character that Herodotus seems to have considered it: he looked upon it as a slip of neutral ground intended by nature to form the "Grand Trunk Road" for the nations of the earth. He shews indeed considerable acquaintance with the names of its various divisions, while treating of it as comprising four out of the twenty satrapies into which Darius divided his empire; and he was undoubtedly most thoroughly at home in the geography of its western coast. But his strong point is the military and commercial road which, beginning at Sardis, passed through the whole of the Peninsula, and terminated at Susa. His itinerary is worth extracting entire.

"There are royal stations all along, and excellent inns, and the whole road is through an inhabited and safe country. There are twenty stations extending through Lydia and Phrygia, and the distance is ninety-four parasangs and a half. [The "half" implies that parasang-stones or even half-parasang-stones were erected on the line of road.] After Phrygia the river Halys is met with, at which there are gates, which it is absolutely necessary to pass through, and thus to cross the river: there is also a considerable fort on it. [It must be remembered that the Halys formed the boundary between the old Lydian and Median kingdoms.] When you cross over into Cappadocia, and traverse that country to the borders of Cilicia, there are eight and twenty stations, and one hundred and four parasangs; and on the borders of these people, you go through two gates, and pass by two forts. When you have gone through these and made the journey through Cilicia, there are three stations and fifteen parasangs and a half. The boundary of Cilicia and Armenia is a river that is crossed in boats; it is called the Euphrates. In Armenia there are fifteen stations for resting places, and fifty-six parasangs and a half; there is also a fort in the stations. Four rivers that are crossed in boats flow through this country, which it is absolutely necessary to ferry over. First, the Tigris; then, the second and third have the same name, though they are not the same river, nor do they flow from the same source. [He means the Greater and Lesser Zab.] For the first mentioned of these flows from the Armenians, and the latter from the Matienians. The fourth river is called the Gyndes, which Cyrus once distributed into three hundred and sixty channels. As you enter from Armenia into the country of Matiene, there are four stations; and from thence as you proceed to the Cis-

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sian territory, there are eleven stations and forty-two parasangs and a half, to the river Choaspes, which also must be passed in boats : on this Susa is built."

This road is now used by caravans travelling from Smyrna to Ispahan, and the only alteration in its course is made to suit the more easterly portions of Persia in which it now terminates. "On the whole," says Heeren, "the ancient and modern roads agree in one particular, the reason of which we are told by Herodotus ; that is to say, they chose the longer in preference to the shorter way, that they might travel through inhabited countries and in security. The direct road would have led them through the midst of the steppes of Mesopotamia ; where security would have been out of the question, on account of the roving predatory hordes. Therefore, in ancient times, as well as the present, they chose the northern route along the foot of the Armenian mountains, where the traveller enjoyed security from molestation and an abundant supply of all necessaries."

It is however doubtful whether Herodotus possessed much knowledge of the interior of Asia Minor except of this great road. He estimates, for example, the whole breadth of the peninsula, from the Levant to the Euxine, as somewhat less than a five days' journey for an active man. This would require the rate of travelling to be about sixty miles a day, which is, we suppose, about double of what any man can perform, if he is to travel five days successively. Herodotus' calculation, therefore, makes the peninsula about half of its real breadth.

But with the western parts he is thoroughly familiar, and his memory was stored with recollections of the peculiarities belonging to the country of his birth. While discussing the formation of the valley of the Nile, he illustrates his theory by a reference to similar formations, though on a much smaller scale, in the parts about Ilium and in Tenthrania, in the neighbourhood of Ephesus, and the whole plain of the Mœander. He had unquestionably examined the sedimentary deposits on his native coasts, and had accounted for them on sound geological principles. Nor had he forgotten the ancient monuments with which his native country was enriched. His narrative of Sesostris reminds him of a monument erected by that conqueror at Nymphi, a few miles eastward of Smyrna, to serve as a memorial of his conquests. He describes it as the figure of a man, five cubits high, cut out in the rock, holding a spear in his right hand and a box in his left, and bearing an inscription engraved in Egyptian characters on the breast, between the shoulders, to this effect, "I have obtained possession of this country by my shoulders."

This monument, which was erected before the Trojan war, and is more than three thousand years old, is to be seen in the

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present day. Murray's Handbook to the East recommends the traveller in Asia Minor to visit this interesting relic, and assures him that he will find the monument agreeing exactly with the description given of it by Herodotus, except that the spear and bow are in the contrary hands to those which he describes. Herodotus's mistake is perfectly natural. He was describing the monument *apropos* of something the Egyptian priests told him about the conquests of Sesostris, and he probably made a note of it at the time from memory: accordingly he places the weapon in the respective hands in which they would ordinarily be found, the spear in the right, the bow in the left; forgetting, or not having observed, that the arrangement on the monument was peculiar.

Our historian had made diligent enquiries respecting the nations lying to the northeast of Asia Minor, but he was unable to obtain any information which he could understand or explain, and he therefore confines himself to a simple record of what he had heard. He tells us this expressly. Over and over again he calls attention to the fact that he is simply a retailer of intelligence, and the attentive reader need never be at a loss to discover where the historian withholds, and where he yields, his assent to the wonders related to him. And even when he does not express his disbelief of some startling and most improbable piece of information, there are always sufficient indications in the style of his narrative to shew that he does not make himself responsible for the truth of the facts. He often records *what he was told simply because he was told so*, judging, as it would seem,—and most likely not on any defined principles but from the historical instinct,—that, in the times in which he wrote, traditional reports, whether true or false, ought to be recorded as part and parcel of the *history* of the people from whom they emanated. It is much to be regretted that the early commentators on Herodotus did not observe the obvious distinction which the historian draws between the facts which came under his own observation, and those which he obtained at second-hand. Of the latter kind are those reports which reached him concerning the wonderful nations who lived far to the north. In those marvellous countries, he was told, there lived a people called the Argippæi, who had goats' feet, and others who slept for six months in the year. Herodotus had no means of ascertaining what was the probable explanation of these marvellous statements, and he therefore contented himself with simply recording them. Could he have done better? Most certainly not. We moderns, who have made such extensive progress in geographical research, can recognise in these goat-footed beings the inhabitants of the Ural and Altai mountains, with their knee-

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joints secured against the cold by goat-skin wrappers, while the people who sleep for six months are those denizens of the polar region who never see the sun for six months at a time. We should even be inclined to go a step further, and congratulate ourselves upon having ascertained the interesting fact that people in those aboriginal periods had a sense of the ludicrous, and rejoiced at "taking in" our inquisitive traveller.

Herodotus' account of the Caspian sea possesses great interest for the geologist. He is correct in calling it a lake, and affirming that it had no visible connection with any known sea; but his ideas of its position and dimensions were derived not from the actual condition of the sea in his time, but from a traditional account of what it had been in ante-historical periods. How he happened to fall in with traditional sources of information on such a subject, it would be difficult to say. But there can be no reasonable doubt that such is the case. His Caspian includes the sea of Aral, and the space now lying between the two seas. This is proved not only by the peculiar form he ascribes to it—for he represents the major axis of the oval to lie east and west, instead of north and south—but also by his supposing that the Oxus and Araxes emptied themselves into it, both of which flow into the sea of Aral. This junction of the two seas could hardly have existed within the historical period, and certainly did not exist when Herodotus wrote. But in primeval times there is every reason to believe that the two seas were united.

"M. de Mouraviev asserts," says Bell, "that he fully recognised the ancient shores of the Caspian between the present coasts and the southern extremity of the sea of Aral. At this moment the Caspian sea is subsiding; and the decrease of its waters is the more remarkable within these few years, as vessels drawing eighteen feet water could lately navigate this sea, and now it will admit of none that draw above fifteen feet at the most. A few years ago, the waves of the Caspian washed the walls of Bakon; at present they are at a considerable distance from it,—and the consequence is, that the ships of war of the Russian Imperial Navy are no longer stationed in the Gulf of Bakon, but in a tolerably convenient part of the Isle of Sara, which is ten miles distant from it. But what is most extraordinary is that this subsiding of the waters has uncovered first the top and then the lower parts of a vast caravanserai, which is situated in the sea, the distance of about two versts from the coasts. Thus it appears that at some period, more or less remote, the Caspian sea was much lower towards the western coasts than it is at the present moment, when it is observed to be subsiding. In support of this singular fact, it may be added that, according to the unanimous tradition of the country, people formerly went along the shore of the Caspian from Lankhara to Salian; and that the road, now partly covered by the

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waters of the sea, is no longer passable. The fall of the waters has also left exposed some new islands. One of these is several versts in extent. The soil of it is very firm; and it is probable that in a few years it will be inhabited by fishermen, like all the other isles of the Caspian. The Djanderia, or the southern and principal of the three mouths by which the Sir discharges its waters into the Aral, has been dry for a period of ten years, and the Konvan-deria, forming the middle branch, has certainly considerably diminished within the last hundred years. The environs of the Aral lake abundantly demonstrate that its shores have been gradually narrowing, and that the shifting sands are insensibly gaining upon it."

To the above interesting information it may be added that the tract of country between the two seas bears the appearance of having been formerly covered by water, while the eastern shore of the Caspian, which lies in nearly the same level as the adjacent country, is jagged and uneven, as if formed by the gradual subsidence of the water. The sea of Aral is now one hundred and seventeen feet above the Caspian, but this was not originally the relative altitude of the two seas. Geographers believe that they can detect the ancient level of the Caspian at an elevation three hundred feet above its present surface: it may, therefore, easily have included the sea of Aral; while the lower elevation of the Caspian at the present day is to be accounted for by the more rapid evaporation to which it is subject in consequence of its extensive surface. As we write, a friend informs us that the Caspian and Black seas are now encroaching so much on their respective shores as to render their eventual junction not improbable. This information is given on the authority of a Russian engineer. We suspect the "wish is father to the thought," in this case. Any alteration in the features of the country which would open an entrance for Russia into Central Asia without obliging her to send her armies across the deadly Caucasian range, would be an immense boon to that aggressive Power; but we doubt whether this wish is likely ever to be fulfilled. The Caspian is, it is true, eighty-three feet and a half below the level of the Black sea, but the space between them is so closely guarded by the giant arm of Caucasus that this junction could not be formed unless assisted by a convulsion of nature, in any part of the Euxine coast south of Anapa. The encroachment of the Black sea, therefore, could hardly take place on any extensive scale; unless, indeed, it intends to fraternise with its neighbour through the intervention of the sea of Azof: but what likelihood there is of any junction in that quarter we are unable to say. The abovementioned fact regarding the disclosure of an ancient caravanserai by the subsidence of the Caspian sea, would, however, seem to prove that that sea has

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now attained its utmost limits as to superficial extent, and that while in ancient times when the bulk of water was much greater than at present, it was able to overcome the slender barriers presented by the loose soil which formed its coasts; in the present day its diminished depth and increased surface have added so much to the rapidity of its evaporation as to cause it to recede from its former conquests. Our Russian engineer must therefore wait. But we are digressing; we forget that Herodotus is the historian of the Persian war, not the Russian.

No country seems to have possessed such attractions for our traveller as Egypt. The peculiarity of its formation, its magnificent monuments, the enormous wealth of its government, the fabulous antiquity of its history,—all combined to render it a most interesting object of research. He visited it in person, and took the utmost pains to make himself acquainted with its religion, history, geology, architecture, national and social peculiarities, and its industrial resources. Nothing was left unexplored. The minutest subject claims his attention as well as the greatest, the most abstruse as well as the most familiar. His researches into the age and construction of the Pyramids do not cause him to abridge his account of the natural history of the crocodile. He is neither afraid to discuss the probable age of the valley of the Nile, nor ashamed to tell us which is the most *piquant* and scientific way of cooking the byblus. How can Major Rennell say* that "as a man of science and a natural philosopher, he ranks very low indeed," and that only history and morals are his strong points? Look at the thoroughly scientific way in which he commenced his researches. At one day's sail from the mouths of the Nile, he tells us, they cast the lead in eleven fathoms of water, and found that the bottom consisted of alluvial mud. The greatest number of miles accomplished in one day by a vessel was one hundred and sixty miles, but the average daily rate of sailing was not more than thirty-eight. The former of those distances is obviously inconsistent with Herodotus's calculation of the depth of water, but the latter may have been tolerably correct. Two thousand years later, Shaw found black mud at a distance of sixty miles out at sea—an observation that would seem to confirm the substantial accuracy of Herodotus' statement. But, with our traveller, this was no idle experiment: it was intended to supply him with the first fact in a series of inductions by which he hoped to ascertain the nature of the country and the manner of its formation. The existence of mud at so great a distance from the shore led him to attribute the formation to its true cause, namely the alluvial deposit made by the Nile; and the fact seems to have given him a clue for

* Geography of Herodotus, p. 6.

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the prosecution of his speculations regarding the general formation of the country.

After describing, with considerable accuracy, the extent and general appearance of Egypt from the coast to Heliopolis and thence to Elephantine,—almost all his measurements having been verified and found wonderfully correct,—he proceeds to give his opinion as to the way in which the whole of that space had been formed. He considered that the original line of coast lay in the same parallel with the position then occupied by Memphis, and that a gulf of the sea ran southwards in the present valley of the Nile between the Arabian mountains on the one side and the Libyan on the other. He does not say positively to what length he believed this gulf to extend, but he appears to have thought that it ran parallel with the Red sea and terminated near the point where that sea debouches into the Indian ocean. He supposed also that the average width of this gulf was about the same as that of the Red sea, which he computes at half a day's sail at its widest part,—a calculation much below the truth, unless it be intended for the western arm called the sea of Suez. But how came this long and deep gulf to be filled up with the rich alluvial deposit which Herodotus found teeming with inhabitants and constituting the wealth and prosperity of the country? "Nothing easier," says our historian, looking back with the utmost coolness and simplicity through vast periods of time which would stagger any but the practised geological reader. "Suppose," says he, "the Nile were to turn its stream into this Arabian gulf, what is to hinder the sediment which it would deposit from filling up the whole space in the twenty thousand years: nay I think it might be done in ten thousand years." Very possibly,—as we hope to shew in the sequel: in the meantime we must stop to remark that this speculation, however ingenious, involves, as one may see by a glance at the map, a somewhat erroneous view of the relative positions of the Nile and the Red sea; for the entrance into that sea is in the same parallel with Gondar in Abyssinia, and if the Gulf which Herodotus imagined to run up from the Mediterranean extended to that parallel, the dimensions of the Nile would be so much abridged as to render its filling up so large a tract of country highly improbable. But Herodotus was not a man to be satisfied with a speculation. He must have positive evidence, if attainable, before he could thoroughly make up his mind. Accordingly he continues his researches regarding the formation of the country to see whether the facts of the case bear out his conclusion. One important fact he discovers is that the coast of Egypt projects considerably further into the sea than the adjoining portions of country on each side; and he naturally enough attributes this projection to the existence of some pro-

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pelling power higher up the country not possessed by the neighbouring lands. And what could this be but the Nile? The lower country must also at some former period have been covered by the sea, for numerous sea-shells were found lying about on the mountains, and a saline crust had formed on the rocks and ancient monuments. Land also was found in abundance on a mountain just above Memphis, implying that the sea had extended as far as to that point inland. An additional argument was deduced from the difference between the soil of Egypt and those of the adjacent countries, Syria and Libya,—that of the former country being black and crumbling, while the soils on either hand were, towards Syria, argillaceous and flinty, towards Libya, red and sandy.

Herodotus' opinion that the formation of Egypt is to be attributed entirely to a cause which had been working uniformly for ages and was still at work when he visited the country, was confirmed by information supplied him by the priests that in the time of king Maris,—which he computes to have been nine hundred years previous to his own time—the whole surface of Lower Egypt was inundated when the Nile rose eight cubits; whereas, when Herodotus was in Egypt, the lands were not overflowed unless the Nile rose fifteen or sixteen cubits. The elevation of the land in the immediate vicinity of the Nile must therefore, he computes, have been increased by seven or eight cubits, that is, ten or twelve feet within a space of nine hundred years. It is probable that the historian is wrong in calculating the interval between his own time and that of Maris to be only nine hundred years; modern chronologers reckon it to be about fifteen hundred years; but even that extended period will not account for so great a rise in the surface of the country. Four inches in a century is the rate of deposit in the neighbourhood of Cairo as established by data obtained within the last nine hundred years; and if the process had been going on at a uniform rate, the deposit of eight cubits of alluvial soil would represent a period of not less than thirty-six centuries. The erection of dams and construction of canals would tend to diminish the rate of deposit in later times, but even this qualification will not warrant our allowing a less period than three thousand years for the increased elevation of the country which the priests informed Herodotus had taken place since the time of Maris. But this period is quite within the reach of traditional record, and we are therefore not inclined to disbelieve that the statement of the priests did actually represent what the original surface of the country had been according to their traditional authorities. We may consider this statement, then, as being the earliest geographical information which we possess concerning Egypt. The real

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history of its alluvion, indeed, goes back far beyond that period, for geographers tell us that the present base of the rock on which the pyramids of Memphis stand, is seventy or eighty feet above the level of the base which was originally washed by the sea,—a deposit which, at the present rate, could not be formed in a less period than two hundred and ten centuries. But Herodotus does not pretend to have obtained historical or traditional information regarding any period of such high antiquity. His calculation of the time in which the Red sea would have been filled up by a river similar to the Nile, does not profess to have any other basis than speculation. It may however be worth remarking that the two hundred centuries which he allows for the completion of this work agrees very nearly with the actual age of the Nile's alluvion in the neighbourhood of Memphis. We shall not attempt to decide whether this coincidence is designed or not.

Herodotus' speculation about the causes of the Nile's periodical rise, though erroneous, is exceedingly interesting, and at the same time so suggestive of the state of philosophical enquiry among the Greeks of his time that we are tempted to refer to it at length. We cannot do better than extract Dr. Whewell's account, in his History of the Inductive Sciences, of these early attempts at scientific investigation.

"'Concerning the nature of this river,' says the father of history, 'I was not able to learn anything, either from the priests, or from any one besides, though I questioned them very pressingly. For the Nile is flooded for a hundred days, beginning with the summer's solstice; and after this time it diminishes, and is, during the whole winter, very small. And on this head I was not able to obtain anything satisfactory from any one of the Egyptians, when I asked what is the power by which the Nile is in its nature the reverse of other rivers.'

"We may see, I think, in the historian's account, that the Grecian mind felt a craving to discover the reasons of things which other nations did not feel. The Egyptians, it appears, had no theory, and felt the want of none. Not so the Greeks; they had their reasons to render, though they were not such as satisfied Herodotus. 'Some of the Greeks,' he says, 'who wished to be considered great philosophers, have propounded three ways, of accounting for these floods, two of them, he adds, 'I do not think worthy of record, except just so far as to mention them.' But as these are some of the earliest Greek essays in physical philosophy, it will be worth while, even at this day, to preserve the brief notice he has given of them, and his own reasonings upon the same subject. 'One of these opinions holds that the Etesian wind, (which blew from the north) are the cause of these floods, by preventing the Nile from flowing into the sea.' Against this the historian reasons very simply and sensibly. 'Very often when the Etesian winds do not blow, the Nile is flooded nevertheless. And moreover, if the Etesian winds were the cause, all

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other rivers, which have their course opposite to these winds, ought to undergo the same changes as the Nile; which the rivers of Syria and Libya so circumstanced do not.'

"The next opinion is still more unscientific, and is in truth, marvellous for its folly. This holds that the ocean flows all round the earth, and that the Nile comes out of the ocean, and by that means produces its effects. 'Now,' says the historian, 'the man who talks about this ocean river, goes into the region of fable, where it is not easy to demonstrate that he is wrong. I know of no such river. But I suppose that Homer or some of the earliest poets invented this fiction and introduced it into their poetry.'

"He then proceeds to a third account, which to a modern reasoner would appear not at all unphilosophical in itself, but which he, nevertheless, rejects in a manner no less decided than the others. 'The third opinion, though much the most plausible, is still more wrong than the others; for it asserts an impossibility, namely, that the Nile proceeds from the melting of the snow. Now the Nile flows out of Libya and through Ethiopia, which are very hot countries, and thus comes into Egypt which is a colder region. How then can it proceed from snow?' He then offers several other reasons 'to shew,' as he says, 'to any one capable of reasoning on such subjects, that the assertion cannot be true. The winds which blow from the southern regions are hot; the inhabitants are black; the swallows and kites stay in the country the whole year; the cranes fly the colds of Scythia, and seek their warm winter quarters there; which would not be if it snowed ever so little.' He adds another reason founded apparently upon some limited empirical maxim of weather-wisdom taken from the climate of Greece. 'Libya,' he says, 'has neither rain nor ice, and therefore no snow; *for* in five days after a fall of snow, there must be a fall of rain; so that if it snowed in those regions, it must rain too.' I need not observe that Herodotus was not aware of the difference between the climate of high mountains and plains in a torrid region; but it is impossible not to be struck both with the activity and the coherency of thought displayed by the Greek mind in this primitive physical enquiry.

But I must not omit the hypothesis which Herodotus himself proposes, after rejecting those which have been already given. It does not appear to me easy to catch his exact meaning, but the statement will still be curious. 'If,' he says, 'one who has condemned opinions previously promulgated may put forward his own opinions concerning so obscure a matter, I will state why it seems to me that the Nile is flooded in summer.' This opinion he propounds at first with an oracular brevity, which it is difficult to suppose that he did not intend to be impressive. 'In winter the sun is carried by the seasons away from its former course,* and goes to the upper parts of Libya. And

* We are afraid there is no authority for this rendering. Herodotus describes the sun as being *driven* towards the south in the winter *by storms*. Dr. Whewell's anxiety to "let" Herodotus "down" as gently as possible has led him into this inaccuracy. The historian's ideas of the sun's position and course are sufficiently proved to have been erroneous by his remarks on the African Periplus and the solar phenomena of India.

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there, in short, is the whole account; for that region to which this divinity (the sun) is nearest, must naturally be most scant of water, and the river sources of that country must be dried up.'

"But the lively and garrulous Ionian immediately relaxes from this apparent reserve. 'To explain the matter more at length,' he proceeds, 'it is thus: The sun, when he traverses the upper parts of Libya, does what he commonly does in summer; he *draws* the water to him, and having thus drawn it, he pushes it to the upper regions, (of the air probably,) and then the winds take it and disperse it till they melt in moisture. And thus the winds which blow from those countries, Libs and Notus, are the most moist of all winds. Now when the winter relaxes and the sun returns to the north, he still draws water from all the rivers, but they are increased by showers and rain torrents, so that they are in flood till the summer comes; and then, the rain failing and the sun still drawing them, they become small. But the Nile, not being fed by rains, but being drawn by the sun, is, alone of all rivers much more scanty in the winter than in the summer. For in summer it is drawn like all other rivers, but in winter it alone has its supplies shut up. And in this way, I have been led to think the sun is the cause of the occurrence in question."

The overland route to India has made most of our readers familiar with the general opinion of the learned regarding the builders and antiquity of the Pyramids, and the purpose for which they were built. We need not therefore enter into these questions, but shall content ourselves with just touching on one or two points which serve to illustrate the patience, the acuteness, and the trustworthiness of our traveller. The most northerly of those situated on the elevated plateau of Memphis is attributed to Cheops by Herodotus, and modern research has endorsed his statement. The second and third are also declared by Lepsius to have been correctly assigned by the historian to Chephren and Mycerinus respectively. But it is still more to the credit of Herodotus' research to observe that his account of the manner in which the pyramids were constructed is entirely verified by later discoveries. He tells us that the pyramid was first built in the shape of a small pile of steps. This pile formed the kernel of the huge structure with which it was afterwards clothed. Machines for raising the blocks of stone which were intended to form the shell of this kernel, were then planted one on each step, and the blocks were raised by each successive machine to the step immediately above, and so on till the highest parts of the pyramid were completed. The edges of the stones were then cut away, and the whole was made to assume the form of a perfect solid triangle. Till within the last few years this account of the historian's was only partially understood; but in 1843, Dr. Lepsius, the leader of the Prussian Scientific Expedition, was fortunate enough to solve

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the question of pyramidal construction by his observation of a pyramid at Meidun. This is his account:—

"It (the pyramid) lies almost in the valley of the plain, close by the Bahr Jussuf, and is only just removed from the level of inundation, but it towers so loftily and grandly from the low neighbourhood that it attracts attention from a great distance. From a casing of rubbish that surrounds almost the half of it, to the height of 120 feet, a square, sharp-edged centre rises after the manner of a tower, which lessens but little at the top, i. e. in an angle of 74°. At the elevation of another 100 feet there is a platform on which, in the same angle, stands a slenderer tower of moderate height which again supports the remains of a third elevation in the middle of its flat upper side. The walls of the principal tower are mostly polished, flat, but are interrupted by rough bands, the reason of which seems hardly comprehensible. On a closer examination, however, I found also within the half ruined building round the foot, smoothened walls rising at the same angle as the tower, before which there lay other walls, following each other like shells. At last I discovered that the whole structure had proceeded from a little pyramid, which had been built in steps to about the height of 40 feet, and had then been enlarged and raised in all directions by a stone casing of 15 to 20 feet in breadth, till at last the great steps were filled out to a surface, and the whole received the usual pyramidal form. This gradual accumulation explains the monstrous size of a single pyramid among so many smaller ones. Each king commenced the construction of his pyramid at his accession; he made it but small at first, in order to secure himself a perfect grave even if his reign should be but short. With the passing years of his government, however, he enlarged it by adding outer casings, until he thought himself near the end of his days. If he died during the erection of it, the outermost casing only was finished, and thus the size of the pyramid stood ever in proportion to the length of the king's reign. Had the other determinative relations remained the same in the lapse of ages, one might have told off the number of years of each monarch's reign by the casing of the pyramids, like the annual rings of trees."

This is not the only instance, as we shall see below, in which the learned and genial doctor has had the satisfaction of vindicating the truth of Herodotus' statements.

Our historian resisted the temptation (if it ever assailed him) of theorising as to the purpose for which these enormous structures were erected. He simply records what was told him, that they were the burial places of ancient Egyptian kings. Modern writers have not been so self-denying. "It would be in vain," says Mr. Gliddon,* "to detail all the nonsense, that, from time

* This gentleman is very unfair to Herodotus. He says the historian's work was like Hodge's razors, only made to sell, and that it was only intended to read at the Olympic games to a Grecian audience, more ignorant in those days, etc. etc. The story of the recitation of this great work at the Olympic games rests on the unsupported testimony of Lucian, who lived nearly six centuries after the histo-

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immemorial, has been written on the pyramids of Memphis, which, by some, have been considered antediluvian; although two of the most ancient being built of sun-burnt brick, could not have endured the waves of the deluge for a single month. Others have ascribed their erection to giants or genii; they were said to inclose the impenetrable secrets of mystic demonomania, or to have been built for the mysteries of initiation. Again, they were supposed to have been erected for astronomical purposes. Then, it has been mathematically demonstrated, that they were built to "square the circle:" they are said to have stood over reservoirs to purify the muddy waters of the inundation; to have served as the sepulchres of entire royal families, or for masses of population. In short, each speculation has exceeded its predecessor in absurdity, excepting when confined to the objects of astronomy and sepulture." To this catalogue we may add that they are supposed by some to have been erected for the purpose of conveying to remote posterity, by means of hieroglyphics inscribed on their surface, a knowledge of the national history; by others, to serve as observatories; by others, as repositories for grain, probably during the years of scarcity in Joseph's time; while others again believe them to have been the grievous tasks performed by the oppressed children of Israel previous to the exodus. It is now almost universally agreed that Herodotus is right, and that the pyramids are tombs and nothing else. It is asserted, indeed, that an astronomical reference is plainly discernible in their construction.

rian's death! We have another quarrel with Mr. Gliddon. He says of our traveller, "for his own sake, we must hope he did not (although he says he did, as far as the first cataract) visit *Upper* Egypt, else he would not have left Thebes undescribed; or have listened to the idle tale that the sources of the Nile were at *Elephantine!*" This is Herodotus' account:—

"With respect to the sources of the Nile, no man of all the Egyptians, Libyans or Grecians with whom I have conversed, ever pretended to know anything; except the registrar of Minerva's treasury at Sais in Egypt. He indeed seemed to be trifling with me, when he said he knew perfectly well; yet his account was as follows: 'That there are two mountains rising into a sharp peak, situated between the city of Syhu in Thebias and Elephantine; the names of these mountains are, the one Crophi, the other Mophi; that the sources of the Nile which are bottomless, flow from between these mountains; and that half of the water flows over Egypt; and to the north, the other half over Ethiopia and the south. That the fountains of the Nile are bottomless, he said, Psammitichus king of Egypt proved by experiment; for having caused a line to be twisted many thousand fathoms in length he let it down but could not find a bottom. Such then was the opinion the registrar gave, if indeed he spoke the real truth; *proving*, in my opinion, that there are strong whirlpools and an eddy here; so that the water beating against the rocks, a sounding line, when let down, cannot reach the bottom. I was unable to learn anything more from any one else."

In another place Mr. Gliddon undertakes to shew that it was *impossible* for Herodotus, in his circumstances to have obtained correct information. We shall not dispute the point with him. If we can only shew that Herodotus *is* accurate, Mr. Gliddon may prove, to his heart's content if he pleases, that he *could not have been.*

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Sir John Herschel remarks that "at the date of the erection of the great pyramid of Gizeh; which precedes by 3970 years (say 4000) the present epoch, the longitude of all the stars was less by 55° 45′ than at present. Calculating from this datum the place of the pole of the heavens among the stars, it will be found to fall near A. Draconis: its distance from that star being 3° 44′ 25″. This being the most conspicuous star in the immediate neighbourhood, was therefore the pole star of that epoch. And the latitude of Gizeh being just 30° north, and consequently the altitude of the north pole there also 30°, it follows that the star in question must have had, at its lower culmination at Gizeh; an altitude of 26° 15′ 35″. Now, it is a remarkable fact, ascertained by the last researches of Colonel Vyse, that of the nine pyramids still existing at Gizeh, six (including all the largest) have the narrow passages by which alone they can be entered, (all which open out on the northern faces of their respective pyramids,) inclined to the horizon downwards at angles varying from 26° to 28°. At the bottom of every one of these passages, therefore, the then pole star must have been visible at its lower culmination—a circumstance which can hardly have been unintentional, and was doubtless connected (perhaps superstitiously) with the astronomical observation of that star, of whose proximity to the pole at the epoch of the erection of these wonderful structures, we are thus furnished with a monumental record of the most imperishable nature."

This astronomical intention, however, is to be understood as being entirely subordinate to the purpose of sepulture for which the pyramids were erected, and probably, as Sir John Herschel hints, their northerly aspect was superstitiously connected with this. It does not appear that they were of any *utility* in the advancement of astronomical science. "No other *astronomical* relation," says Sir John in another place, "can be drawn from the tables containing the angles and dimensions of the passages; for although they all point within five degrees of the pole of the heavens, they differ too much and too irregularly to admit of any conclusions. The exterior angles of the buildings are remarkably uniform; but the angle 52° is not connected with any astronomical fact, and was probably adopted for architectural reasons." We have been particular in quoting this opinion and the high authority on which it rests, for Herodotus' silence regarding any *astronomical* purpose in the construction of the pyramids would have betrayed, had any such purpose existed, either carelessness for allowing so important a fact to escape him, or an inadequate perception of its historic value.

The next monument possessing archæological interest is the immense lake to the south of Memphis, partly excavated and partly natural, called lake Mæris. It was about seventy-five leagues in circumference, according to Herodotus' account. As the canal connecting it with the river could be opened or shut at

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pleasure, the lake formed a species of reservoir for the reception of any superfluity of water in case the Nile rose above its usual limit. This water could afterwards be distributed over a space of 370,000 acres of land when there was a deficiency in the ordinary rise of water over the country. Its fisheries were very extensive and a source of considerable revenue; according to our historian the daily sum received when the flood was retiring was nearly £200, and when the reservoir was filled upwards of £60. The position of this lake has long baffled the researches of travellers; but it is now said to have been ascertained by M. Linant de Bellefouds, who believes that he has traced for many miles the ruins of the masonry by which it was surrounded. Lepsius coincides with M. Linant's opinion.

"'Up to this time,' he says, it was only agreed that the lake lay somewhere in the Faiûm. As there is at the present time in this remarkable half-oasis only a single lake, the Birget el Qorn, lying in its most distant part, this was of course taken to be Lake Mœris: there appeared to be no other solution to the question. Now its great fame was expressly founded upon the fact that it was artificial (Herodotus says that was excavated) and of immense utility, filled at the time of the overflow of the Nile, and at low water running off again by the canal, on one side towards the lands of the Faiûm, and on the other, in its backward course, it waters the region of Memphis, and yielding a most lucrative fishery at the double sluices near the end of the Faiûm. Of all these qualities, however to the annoyance of antiquarians and philologers, the Birget el Qorn did not possess a single one. It is not artificial, but a natural lake, that is partly fed by the water of the Jassuf canal; its utility is as good as now existent; no fishing boat enlivens the hard and desert-circled water mirror, as the brackish water contains scarcely any fish, and is not even favourable to the vegetation at the shores; when the Nile is high and there is plenty of water flowing in, it does swell, but it is by far too deep to allow a drop of the water that flows into it to flow out again; the whole province must be buried beneath the floods, ere they could find a passage back again to the valley, as the artificially-deepend rock gorge by the Bahr Jassuf, branching from the Nile at a distance of forty miles to the south, lies higher than the whole oase. The *Niveau* of the Berget el Qorn now lies seventy feet below the point at which the canal flows in, and can never have risen much higher. This is proved by the ruins of ancient temples lying upon its shores. Just as little do the statements tally that inform us that on its shores were situated the Labyrinth and the metropolis Arsinoë, now Medinet el Faiûm. Linant has discovered mighty mile-long dams, of ancient solid construction, which form the boundary between the upper part of the shell-formed convex basin of the Faiûm and the more remote and less elevated portion. According to him these only could be intended to restrain an artificially-constructed lake, which, however, since the dams have long

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since been broken through, lies perfectly dry; this lake he considers to be Mœris. I must confess that the whole, after his personal information, impressed me with the idea that it was a most fortunate discovery, and one that would save us many fruitless researches; and the examination of the region has quite solved every doubt of mine as to the accuracy of this judgment; I consider it an immoveable fact."

We must confess, however, that we think the subject requires further investigation. It does not appear to us that the lake can be considered to have been thoroughly indentified till the remains of the two pyramids, (which Herodotus tells us were erected in the middle of the lake, fifty fathoms above the water, each surmounted by a colossal stone figure in a sitting attitude) have been discovered. Two monuments have indeed been discovered, which M. Linant is inclined to identify with the above-mentioned pyramids; but Lepsius seems to have proved* first, that they are not of very high antiquity, and secondly that they are in a position which could not originally have fallen within the limits of the lake.

In the immediate vicinity of lake Mœris is one of the greatest wonders of antiquity,—the labyrinth. Herodotus describes it as a huge building consisting of twelve courts enclosed with walls, with doors opposite each other, six facing the north, and six the south. The same exterior wall enclosed them all. It contained three thousand rooms, fifteen hundred on the ground floor, and fifteen hundred underground. He was permitted to inspect all the upper rooms personally, but the priest refused him admittance to the subterraneous rooms, alleging that they contained the sacred remains of—strange bedfellows!—crocodiles and kings. Herodotus expresses the utmost astonishment at the whole building. The temple of Artemis at Ephesus, and of Hera at Samos, though magnificent in their way and superior to any other buildings that Greece could boast of, were as nothing to this labyrinth; nay even the pyramids themselves could not be compared to it. He speaks of halls, corridors, passages, winding ways through the courts, chambers with stone roofs, walls covered with sculptured figures, and colonnades of white stone. The priests informed their visitor that this stupendous structure was erected by the twelve kings who reigned over the twelve divisions of Egypt about two hundred years before. Professor Eadie (Early Oriental History) is mistaken in saying that Dr. Lepsius has proved this information to be incorrect, and Mr. Wheeler who follows the Professor without having verified the citation in Lepsius' letters, has fallen into the same error. We make no apology for extract-

* Letters from Egypt, p. 87.

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ing the learned Doctor's most interesting verification of this magnificent structure.

"I came near to the spot (he says) with a certain fear that we should have to seek to confirm the account of the ancients by the geographical position of the place, that every form of its architectural disposition would be wiped away, and that a shapeless heap of ruins would frighten us from every attempt at investigation; instead of this, there were immediately found, on a cursory view of the districts, a number of confused spaces, as well super as subterranean, and the principel mass of the building, which occupied more than a stadium, (Strabo,) was distinctly to be seen. Where the French expedition had fruitlessly sought for chambers, we find literally hundreds by and over each other, little, often very small, by larger and great, supported by diminutive pillars, with thresholds and niches, with remains of pillars, and single wall slabs, connected together by corridors, so that the descriptions of Herodotus and Strabo are quite confirmed in this respect; at the same time, the idea never coincided in by myself, of *Serpentine*, cave-like windings, instead of square rooms, is definitely contradicted.

"The disposition of the whole is, that their mighty clumps of buildings, of the breadths of 300 feet, surround a square 600 feet in length and 500 in width; the fourth side is bounded by the pyramid lying behind which is 300 feet square, and therefore does not quite come up to the side wings of the great buildings. A rather modern canal, which may be pumped up, at least at this season of the year, is diagonally drawn through the ruins, cutting right through the most perfectly preserved of the labyrinthic rooms, and a part of the square in the centre, which was once divided into courts. Travellers have not wished to wet their feet, and so remained on this side, where the continuation of the wings of the buildings is certainly much concealed by the rubbish mounds; but even from this, the eastern bank, the chambers on the opposite side, and particularly at the southern point, where the walls rise almost 10 feet above the rubbish, and 20 above the level of the ruins, are very easy to be seen, and when viewed from the heights of the pyramid, the regular plan of the whole lies before one like a map. Erbkam has been employed since our arrival in surveying the place, and inserting in the plan every room and wall, however small; the ruins on the other side are, therefore, much more difficult in the execution of the plan; here it is easier, as there are fewer chambers, but therefore more difficult to be understood with respect to the original structure. The labyrinth of chambers runs along here to the south. The Aulæ lay between this and the northerly pyramid opposite, but almost all traces of them have disappeared. the dimensions of the place alone allow us to suspect that it was divided into two parts by a wall to which the twelve Aulæ, no longer to be distinguished with certainty, adjoined on both sides so that their entrances were turned in opposite directions, and had close before them the inunmerable chambers of the labyrinth. Who was, however, the Maros, Mendes, or Imandes

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who, according to the reports of the Greeks, erected the labyrinth, or rather the pyramid belonging to it, as his monument? In the royal lists of Manetho, we find the builder of the labyrinth towards the end of the *twelfth* dynasty, the last of the old empire shortly before the irruption of the Hyksos. The fragments of the mighty pillars and architectures, that we dug out in the great square of the Aulæ, give us the cartouches of the sixth king of the twelfth dynasty, Amenemha III., thus is this important question answered in its historical portion. We have also made escavations on the north side of the pyramid; because we may expect to discover the entrance there; that is, however, not yet done. We have obtained an entry into a chamber covered with piles of rubbish that lay before the pyramid, and here we have also found the name of Amenemha several times. The builder and possesser of the pyramid is therefore determined. But the account of Herodotus, that the construction of the labyrinth was commenced 200 years before his time by the Dodecarchs, is not yet confuted. In the ruins of the great masses of chambers surrounding the great square; we have discovered no inscriptions. Later excavations may very probably certify to us that this whole building, and also the arrangements of the twelve courts, really fall in the twenty-sixth dynasty of Manetho, so that the original temple of Amenemha was only included in this mighty erection."

It should be added that the statement of the priests is, on *a priori* considerations, most likely to be correct. The Dodecarchs were six or seven hundred years posterior to Amenemha: what then could have been the object of Herodotus' informants in assigning so much lower an antiquity to the structure, unless the case was as they represented it?

Exception has been taken to the terms in which Herodotus describes the personal appearance of the natives of Egypt. Speaking of the origin of the Colchians, he endeavours to shew that they were of Egyptian descent because, says he, "they are black-skinned and wooly-headed." It has been supposed from these words that Herodotus believed the Egyptians to be of Negro origin. But the meaning of these epithets is capable of considerable modification; and we are confident that our historian meant no more than "swarthy and curly-headed," for he acknowledges that this identity of colour and hair is but a slender reason for inferring the identity of the two nations as to race, there being "many other nations," as he says, "possessing similar characteristics." It is clear from this that he meant to describe the ordinary *Oriental* complexion and hair. He could not have meant Negroes. If he had seen *any*,—which is doubtful—he could have seen but very few: it is impossible, therefore, that he could have spoken of *their* characteristics as representing the usual oriental type.

But he *does* seem to lay himself open to animadversion in his

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remarks on the origin of the Egyptians. His idea is that the Egyptians, as a people, were coeval with the creation of man, and that the upper part of the country constituted their original habitation. The lower parts, consisting of the delta and the adjacent territory, he supposes not to have been formed, but to have come into existence subsequently through the deposit of the Nile's sediment,—thus affording an increased space for the growing population of the upper regions. This theory, which would refer the origin of the Egyptians to the Ethiopian and Negro races, is entirely at variance alike with the conclusions of the most eminent ethnographers and the phenomena exhibited by the monumental remains of north and south Egypt respectively.

The remains discovered in the north can claim, it is now confidently asserted, a much higher antiquity than those of the south; while ethnographic investigations have established beyond a doubt the Caucasian, and therefore Asiatic, origin of the Egyptians. Cuvier and Blumenbach affirm that all the skulls of mummies which they had an opportunity of examining presented the Caucasian type. Dr. Morton, an eminent American physiologist, has made an examination of one hundred Egyptian crania.

"It shows," he says, "that more than eight-tenths of the crania pertain to the unmixed Caucasian race; that the Pelasgic form is as one to one and two-thirds, and the Semitic form one to eight, compared to the Egyptian: that one-twentieth of the whole is composed of heads in which there is a trace of Negro and other exotic lineage; that the Negroid conformation exists in eight instances, thus constituting about one-twentieth part of the whole; and finally, that the series contains only a single unmixed Negro." This is the table:—

Sepulchral Localities.	No.	Egyptian	Pelasgic.	Semitic.	Mixed.	Negroid.	Negro.	Idiot.
Memphis,...	26	7	16	1	1	1	.....	...
Maabdeh,...	4	1	1	.....	.....	2	.....	...
Abydos, ...	4	2	1	1	.....	.....	.....	...
Thebes, ...	55	30	10	4	4	5	.....	2
Ombos, ...	3	3	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	...
Phila, ...	4	2	1	.....	.....	.....	1	...
Debôd, ...	4	4	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	...
	100	49	29	6	5	8	1	2

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The unscientific reader will be inclined to smile at the item mentioned in the last column; but there is no doubt that science has so thoroughly investigated the phenomena presented by the human skull under every known condition that we are enabled to detect natural idiotcy with unerring certainty. We are afraid however that this evidence comes too late if, for the want of it, the Egyptian judges were ever put to a non-plus in a suit *de lunatico inquirendo* in the case of these two idiots.

It may, however, fairly be urged in behalf of Herodotus that he was totally unacquainted with the fact that all mankind are sprung from a single pair, and that they were distributed over the earth from one common locality situated in the central parts of Asia. With *his* facts, and nothing more, to guide him, he gave as good an account as could be given of the origin of the Egyptians. If the Delta came into existence *after* the creation of man, as he supposed it did, nothing was more natural than to conclude that the nearest inhabitants gradually occupied it as it became habitable. To suppose that new land was continually forming in the neighbourhood of the ancient inhabitants of Upper Egypt and that they neglected to take advantage of the boon, while distant settlers from the plains of Asia came in and occupied it, was, under Herodotus' view, utterly incredible. But the historian's error on this subject does not in the least vitiate his general conclusions as to the character of the Egyptians. He did not know that the Ethiopians belonged to a different race, and he, therefore, felt no hesitation in considering them the ancestors of the Egyptians. But he *did* know that the Egyptians were Caucasians, that is, he recognised in them precisely the same type as that which he found in all the oriental countries which he visited. It should also be added that, when an opportunity of examining the skulls of the Persians and Egyptians, who fell in the battle of Pelusium, was presented to him, the only difference between the skulls which struck this keen and minute observer was that those of the Persians were exceedingly soft, and would yield to the slight impression even of a pebble, while those of the Egyptians were so hard that the blow of a large stone would scarcely break them. This difference was explained to him as arising from the fact that the Egyptians expose their heads to the action of the sun from childhood, without even the protection of their hair to screen them, whereas the Persians cover their heads with a turban. Would a writer who investigated whatever fell under his notice in this observant manner and took pains to record it for the information of others, have overlooked the important difference which exists between the Caucasian and Negro types, if it had ever been presented to his view?

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But we must quit this interesting field of research, and accompany our historian on his scientific pilgrimage. Babylon is the next place marked on our way-bill; but before we proceed thither let us stop a moment to notice the interesting fact that Herodotus was acquainted with the singular distribution of sand over a strip of country extending from the Sahara of Africa to Mooltan. The evidence of this in the historian's work is scattered over many places, and we have not room to quote them all. But our readers, we are sure, will be satisfied with the authority of Humboldt for this statement. This is what he says*: "The venerable father of history, Herodotus, so long insufficiently appreciated, has in the true spirit of a comprehensive observer of nature, described all the deserts of northern Africa, Yemen, Kerman, and Mekran, (the Jedroria of the Greeks) as far even as Mooltan in Western India, as one sole connected sea of sand."

Babylon lies on the edge of one of the divisions of this desert; our last paragraph, therefore, has not carried us far out of our way. The first thing that arrested our traveller's attention was the extreme fertility of the soil. There was little or no rain, he observed, to water the fields, nor did the river overflow its banks as in Egypt, but the want was supplied by artificial means of irrigation. The chief produce was corn, which yielded continually as much as two hundred fold; but there was no appearance of any trees except the palm. This description coincides exactly with that of Xenophon who visited the country about half a century after our historian; but so great an alteration has since taken place, through the destruction of the artificial appliances to which it owed its fertility, that it cannot now be verified. The industrious race that once occupied this plain and rendered it a fruitful garden, has been succeeded by wandering tribes of Arabs, who leave no vestige behind them but such as is left by fire, the mildew, or the sword.

The peculiar boat used for the conveyance of up-country produce down the Tigris and Euphrates has not altered since the time of Herodotus. He describes it as made of leather stretched on a frame-work of Armenian willows, as round as a shield, and having no distinction of shape in the prow and stern. The vessel was steered by two spars worked by two men standing upright, one of whom drew his spar in while the other thrust his out.

His description of the mighty city itself cannot of course, at least in its details, be verified in the present day. "Babylon, the glory of kingdoms. The beauty of the Chaldee's excellency, shall be as when God overthrew Sodom and Gomorrah. It

* Views of Nature, p. 9.

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shall never be inhabited, neither shall it be dwelt in from generation to generation: neither shall the Arabian pitch tent there; neither shall the shepherds make their fold there. But wild beasts of the desert shall lie there; and their houses shall be full of doleful creatures; and owls shall dwell there, and satyrs shall dance there. And the wild beasts of the islands shall cry in their desolate houses, and dragons in their pleasant palaces."*

The substantial accuracy, however, of his description, as to the position and extent of the city, is gradually being attested by modern research, and his statements regarding the building material, the place (*Is*, the modern *Hit*,) from which the bitumen was obtained, and the use of layers of reeds to give stability to the brick work, have been found to be perfectly correct.

But by far the most interesting part of his account is that of the great temple of Jupiter Belus. We give it in Mr. Wheeler's language :†

"In the other division of the city was the immense temple of Belus, or Baal, the deification of the sun as he was worshipped by the Babylonians. This temple was a square building, a quarter of a mile in length and breadth. In the midst of it rose a solid square tower, one-eighth of a mile in length and breadth, upon which were built seven towers, one upon the top of the other, so that there were eight in all. An ascent was on the outside, and ran spirally round all the towers. Halfway up there was a landing-place and seats for resting on. In the topmost tower was a spacious chapel, splendidly furnished, with a large couch and a golden table, but containing no images of the god. The Chaldeans who were priests of Belus, said that the god sometimes came down to earth, and slept on the couch in the chapel. Beneath this chapel there was another, and within it was a large golden statue of Belus in a sitting posture with a magnificent table of solid gold before it. The throne on which Belus was sitting and likewise the step to it were all made of pure gold. The Chaldeans told Herodotus that the gold altogether weighed eight hundred talents, which would be equal to 22 tons, and the present value of the metal calculating £4 to the ounce, would be £2,365,440 sterling. Outside the temple was an immense altar, upon which full-grown sheep were sacrificed, and on which the Chaldeans consumed every year, at the great annual festival in honour of Belus, a thousand talents' weight of frankincense, which was equivalent to about 25 tons. There was also another altar of gold, upon which only sucklings were sacrificed to the god. Herodotus was likewise told that there had been erected within the precincts of the temple an immense statue of solid gold. Darius, the son of Hystaspes, intended to carry it away, but was restrained by his superstitious

* Isaiah, xix. † Vol. ii. page 283-4.

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fears. Xerxes, his son and successor, however, not only boldly carried it off, but killed the priest who forbade him to remove it."

This last historical fact, which occurred about thirty years before Herodotus' visit, accounts for the ruinous state in which he found the temple. It has long been thought that the remarkable mount in the western part of the modern Hillah represents the remains of this famous temple. Heeren argues strenuously in support of this conclusion, although, when he wrote, only three of the eight stories mentioned by Herodotus had been discovered. The identification has since been satisfactorily completed. The following extract from a lecture by Colonel Rawlinson, delivered before the Bombay Asiatic Society, gives us the results of this important verification:—

"A remarkable ruin, named *Birs Nimrud*, and situated on a mound in the vicinity of Babylon, had long been an object of curiosity to all travellers and antiquaries. The great height of the mound, its prodigious extent, and its state of tolerable preservation, contrasting so favorably with the shapeless heaps in the neighbourhood, had very generally suggested the identity of the ruin with the temple of Belus, so minutely described by Herodotus, and as there were large vitrified masses of brickwork on the summit of the mound, which presented the appearance of having been subjected to the influence of intense heat, conjectures that the *Birs* might even represent the ruins of the tower of Babel, destroyed by lightning from heaven, had been not unfrequently hazarded and believed. To resolve the many interesting questions connected with this ruin, Colonel Rawlinson undertook last autumn its systematic examination. Experimental trenches were opened in vertical lines from the summit to the base, and wherever walls were met with, they were laid bare by horizontal galleries being run along them. After two months of preliminary excavation, Colonel Rawlinson visited the works, and profiting by the experience acquired in his previous researches, he was able in the course of half an hour's examination to detect the spots where the commemorative records were deposited, and to extract, to the utter astonishment of the Arabs, from concealed cavities in the walls, the two large inscribed cylinders of baked clay which were exhibited to the meeting, and which were now in as fine a state of preservation as when they were deposited in their hiding place by Nebuchadnezzar above twenty-five centuries ago. From these cylinders it appeared that the temple had been originally built by the king *Merodach-adan-akhi*, at the close of the twelfth century B. C., and probably in celebration of his victory over Tiglath-Pileser I.; that it had subsequently fallen into ruin, and had been in consequence subjected to a thorough repair by Nebuchadnezzar in about B. C., 580. The curious fact was further elicited, that it was named the "Temple of the seven Spheres," and that it had been laid out in conformity with the Chaldean planetary system, seven stages being erected one above the other, according to the order of the seven planets, and their stages being

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colored after the hue of the planets to which they were respectively dedicated.* Thus, the lower stage belonging to Saturn, was black; the second, sacred to Jupiter, was orange; the third, or that of Mars, was red; the fourth, of the Sun, golden; the fifth, of Venus, white; the sixth, of Mercury, blue; and the seventh, of the Moon, a silvery green. In several cases these colors were still clearly to be distinguished, the appropriate hue being obtained by the quality and burning of the bricks, and it was thus ascertained that the vitrified masses at the summit were the result of design and not of accident—the sixth stage, sacred to Mercury, having been subjected to an intense and prolonged fire, in order to produce the blue slag color, which was emblematic of that planet. It further appeared that we were indebted to this peculiarity of construction for the preservation of the monument, when so many of its sister temples had utterly perished, the blue slag cap at the summit of the pile resisting the action of the weather, and holding together the lower stages which would otherwise have crumbled, while it also afforded an immovable pedestal for the upper stage and for the shrine which probably crowned the pile. The only other point of interest which was ascertained from the cylinders was that the temple in question did not belong to Babylon, but to the neighbouring city of Borsipa, the title of *Birs* by which it is now known being a mere abbreviation of the ancient name of the city."

Colonel Rawlinson, it will be observed, has proved that the repair and embellishment of the temple, not its construction, is to be attributed to Nebuchadnezzar. This distinction, if we mistake not, is preserved by Herodotus. He says nothing about the builder of the temple, nor indeed does he tell us expressly to what monarch it owed its magnificence. But he speaks of palaces and temples having been *beautified* in a very splendid manner by Nitocris,—among which no doubt the temple of Belus is to be reckoned. It has been objected to Herodotus' account of Babylon that he does not mention the name of Nebuchadnezzar, but attributes all the great works to Semiramis and Nitocris. This silence may probably be accounted for by his having reserved what he had to say of the Babylonian kings for his promised Assyrian history,—which has not come down to our times. It is impossible that he should have been ignorant of Nebuchadnezzar. He was perfectly acquainted with the relative historical positions of Nineveh and Babylon, for he tells us that the seat of government of the Assyrian empire was transferred to the latter city after the destruction of Nineveh, which event, it will be remembered, immediately preceded the accession of Nebuchadnezzar to

* It is worth observing that a variety of colours was also exhibited on the seven circles of walls which environed the king's palace and treasury at Ecbatana, although the colours agree neither in nature nor order with those discovered on the temple of Belus. Herod. i. 98.

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the throne of his new kingdom. A passage in Diodorus, who speaks of Nebuchadnezzar's having constructed hanging gardens and laid out spacious parks to *please his consort*, (supposed with good reason to be Nitocris), is appealed to as explaining Herodotus' substitution of her name for that of her renowned husband. While we admit that this explanation is probable, we think it more likely, as well as more in accordance with Herodotus' language, to suppose that Nitocris personally superintended these embellishments while Nebuchadnezzar was absent from his capital during the prosecution of his numerous wars.

Our notice of the Persian empire, the conqueror and successor of the Babylonian, must be brief. Early Persian history is as yet in its infancy. Partly owing to the comparatively late period—the sixth century before Christ—when this empire took its place among the ruling powers of the world, partly also perhaps on account of its greater distance from Greece, the source of all our early historical information, our notices of the original state of the country and its inhabitants are but scanty. We shall touch on one or two salient points in Herodotus' account. His description of the Persians, as being originally the occupants of a small mountainous tract lying to the north east of the Persian gulf, is highly probable. The peculiar virtues and the military pursuits which he attributes to them are precisely such as would be most readily developed at such a period and in such a locality. He particularly notices their love of truth and rigid self-denial,—qualities, we very much fear, which not only do not distinguish their modern representatives, but which have given place to the opposite vices of extreme luxuriousness and the most unblushing disregard of truth. The records of the people themselves point to the same locality and the same habits of life. When they left their original abodes, these records tell us, they were shepherds and herdsmen with no property but their cattle. As they increased in number, the exigencies of their position required that they should divide their pursuits, one part following pastoral and agricultural pursuits as far as the nature of the country would permit, while the other part were compelled to follow their original half-savage and military occupations.

The fullest verification, however, of Herodotus' statements in this portion of his history has been supplied within the last few years by the decipherment of a cuneiform inscription on a rock at Behistan in Persia. This rock, our readers are probably aware, is situated on the highway that leads from Babylon to the east, and rises abruptly from the plain to the height of seventeen hundred feet. The surface of the rock, it appears, was first carefully smoothed and then coated with a silicious

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varnish, which is much harder than the rock beneath it, and is better adapted for the preservation of the engraved letters. In order to put the inscription out of the reach of the "Englishman's umbrella," it has been executed on a portion of the surface three hundred feet above the level of the plain. It has been completely deciphered by Colonel Rawlinson, who informs us that its object is to record the names and histories of the various rivals with whom Darius, son of Hystaspes, had to contend for this empire, and of the associates by whose means he was enabled to overcome them. Rawlinson's list of these associates identifies five out of six of those mentioned by Herodotus as having assisted in placing Darius on the throne. We extract the account given by Mr. Vaux in his Nineveh and Persepolis, p. 100 :—

"The names of his associates, are *Vidafraná*, son of Veispares; *Otanes* son of Socris; *Gobryas* son of Mardonius; *Hydarnes* the son of Megabigues; *Megabyzus* the son of Dadocs; and *Ardomanes* the son of Vacces—all Persians of rank.

"The first *Vidafraná* Major Rawlinson considers to be the Intepherenes or Intaphrenes of Herodotus (iii. c. 118-119); he is, perhaps, mentioned first, owing to his recognised superiority of rank. The second, *Otanes*, occurs, as we have seen, in the history of Herodotus, and would appear from his story to have been the prime mover in the conspiracy against the magian. The third, *Gobryas*, appears also in Herodotus, and is associated by him with Megabyzus in the same conspiracy. Gobryas was nearly allied to Darius, the latter having married his daughter, while Gobryas himself married his sister. The fourth, *Vidarna* is the Hydarnes of Herodotus and the Hernes of Etesias. Under Xerxes he commanded in after times the Asiatic coast, and his two sons are mentioned, the one as commanding the Immortals and the other the Arians during the campaign against Greece. The fifth, *Megabyzus*, occurs in Herodotus, while Justin gives the name of Topegrus, and Etesias substitutes two entirely different and unknown names of Megabyzus and his colleague. The sixth, *Ardomanes*, is not mentioned in any of the Greek narratives. Herodotus speaks of a conspirator whom he calls Aspathines, and Major Rawlinson conjectures, not without reason, that he assumed this name from the confidential position which Aspachana enjoyed as the quiver-bearer to the king, according to the brief legend at Nakheh-i-rustam which records his name and office."

In referring to Herodotus' account of India, it should be borne in mind that he had no opportunity of testing, by personal inspection, the information supplied him by his Persian friends. We do not, however, think that his Indian account requires much apology. To judge from some of the fantastic embellishments with which it is adorned—which he gives without note or comment—it would appear that his informants endeavoured

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to practise upon his credulity. They succeeded, no doubt, in a few instances: but we also feel sure that our historian has exercised his own judgment in some of his statements, and has pruned the luxuriant intelligence reported to him by his loquacious informants. It is only to be regretted that he did not use the knife more. A little more critical judgment here and there in his description, would have left us nothing to desire except fuller details on a subject so interesting.

His story of the Indian gold-hunters is at first sight, it must be admitted, sufficiently startling:—

"There are other Indians," he says, "living near the city Caspatyrus and the country of Pactyica, (the city and territory of Cabul), situated to the north of the rest of the Indian nation, and resembling the Bactrians, their neighbours, in their manner of life. These are the most warlike of all the Indians, and the people who go to procure the gold. For in the neighbourhood of this nation is a sandy desert, in which are ants, less in size than dogs, but larger than foxes, specimens of which are to be seen at the residence of the king of Persia, having been brought from that country. The creatures make themselves habitations under ground, throwing up the sand like the ants in Greece, which they nearly resemble in appearance. The sand, however, consists of gold dust. To procure this the Indians make incursions into the desert, taking with them three camels, a male one on each side, and a female in the centre, on which the rider sits, taking care to choose one which has recently foaled. When in this manner they come to the place where the ants are, the Indians fill their sacks with the sand, and ride back as fast as they can, the ants pursuing them, as the Persians say by the scent; the female camel, to eager rejoin her young one, surpassing the others in speed and perseverance. It is thus, according to the Persians, that the Indians obtain the greater part of their gold; at the same time that the metal is also found, though in less quantities, in mines." Herod. iii. 102, 106.

The Indians "living to the north of the rest of the nation" are the inhabitants of the mountains of little Thibet, or little Bucharia, and the sandy desert in the vicinity is the desert of Kobi, which is bounded on the west by those mountains.

"There is no doubt," says Heeren, "that the account of the historian is applicable to this region. We have already remarked that the lofty chain of mountains which limits the desert, is rich in veins of gold; and not only the rivers which flow from it westward, through great Bucharia, but the desert streams, which run to the east and lose themselves in the sand, or in inland seas, all carry down a quantity of gold sand. Besides, who knows not that the adjacent country of Thibet abounds in gold? Nor can we be surprised if, at the present day, the rivers in question should be less abundant than formerly in that metal, as must always be the

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case when it is not obtained by the process of mining, but washed down by a stream. As late, however, as the last century, gold sand was imported from this country by the caravans travelling to Siberia."

But what shall we say to the *ants?* That they were not what we understand by ants is clear from the historian's account, but they probably resembled those animals in form or habits; and hence obtained their name; just as we call the large species of bat with which Calcutta abounds, the flying-fox. But whether the whole story is fictitious, invented by the natives to make the "diggings" terrible, and therefore secure from foreign interference, or whether some burrowing animal did really make it dangerous to approach those localities, who shall decide? Nor is there any occasion, so far as Herodotus and his informants are concerned, to settle this question, for it is now certain that it is no invention of theirs, but a purely Indian story. Colonel Wilford (Asiatic Researches, xiv. 467) tells us that these animals, though they are there represented as birds, are mentioned in the institutes of Menu, and are called *Hamakaras* or goldmakers. Another Indian legend represents them as veritable ants; but in both stories they are said to *make* the gold; while Herodotus, who must undoubtedly have got his account from this source, exercised his critical judgment, and represented the animals as merely throwing up the gold-dust while burrowing in the ground. Is he, then, the childish and credulous reporter which so many of his commentators have represented him to be?

On one point, however, Herodotus had certainly most correct information. The Indians, he tells us, consist of various nations, *speaking different languages.* This remark indicates a tolerably good acquaintance with the general character of the country, and must be allowed to qualify his assertion that the regions to the east of the Indus, i. e. of the Persian province of India, consisted of nothing more than a sandy desert. It undoubtedly implies a wider acquaintance with the country than such as would be obtained from a knowledge of those tribes only who lived near the banks of the Indus. The student of history will appreciate the value of this information, and the philosophical spirit which elicited it from the Persian soldiers or merchants who had visited the country.

The historian continues:—"Some of them lead a nomad life; others not. Others again live amid the marshes of the river (Indus) and live on fish, which they eat raw, and take by means of canoes made of canes." Herod. iii. 98. He is here describing the various tribes that live near the Indus; and it is (to say the least) highly probable that they would be divided, as the historian divides them, into nomads, settled agriculturists,

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and fishermen. Whether these latter ate their fish raw may be questioned; but if they occupied the delta of the Indus *during its formation*, as Heeren and other writers consider likely, the absence of wood for the purpose of cooking would render the statement not improbable.

As we get farther to the east our historian's account becomes still more unpalatable. "Other Indians," he says, "situated to the east of the former, are nomad tribes, living on raw flesh, and called Padæans. They are said to observe the following customs, when any is sick among them, whether man or woman: if a man, the men who are his principal associates, put him to death, alleging that by allowing him to linger on, his flesh would be spoiled. He denies with all his might that he is sick, but the others, not listening to him, kill him and make a feast of him. In like manner if a woman be sick, the women that are her principal associates do the like by her. Those who happen to attain to old age are all killed and eaten; but this is the case with few, as the generality fall beforehand into some disease which causes them to be put to death." Herod. iii. 99. Who these Padai were it is not easy to determine. Major Rennell's attempt to identify the name with Padda, or Padma, an appellation of the Ganges, can hardly be considered successful: is that name assigned to any part of the Ganges except the eastern or Dacca branch? The more important question is, did any of those tribes live on human flesh? Whatever may be the foundation of the report, it is very remarkable that the same story was repeated almost word for word by Marco Polo, nearly two thousand years after the time of Herodotus. Thevenot, quoted by Heeren, who visited India in the 17th century, affirms that shortly before his visit, food of this description was exposed for sale in the bazar of Debea.* Though we are unable to give a positive contradiction to this statement, —which by the way goes much beyond Herodotus'—we must be permitted to express our doubts whether human flesh has ever been eaten by man except in cases of extreme hunger, with any other object than that of completing the sacrificial offering of human life.

It is only, we believe as "a feast upon a sacrifice," or, at any rate, as a *religious* act, that human flesh has ever been devoured by human beings.† But may not the practice of burning the dead have given rise to the report? If this practice were unknown, as it might have been, to the tribes living on the west of the Indus, a report of such a practice might easily have been construed by a

* May not some terrific famine have given a foundation to the story?

† We presume, of course, that Capt. Erskine's account of the Feejeeans, who eat it from taste, is exaggerated.

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barbarous people as implying that the distant occupants of the interior were in the habit of *cooking* human bodies: and if this were the case, we can hardly be surprised at their going a step further, and inferring,—what more natural correlative?—that they also *ate* them.

"There are other Indians," Herodotus continues, "who live as follows: they neither kill anything having life, nor sow seed, nor possess houses, but live on a kind of grain nearly as large as millet, enclosed in a husk, and springing up spontaneously, which they cook and eat in the husk. If any one among these fall into a malady, he retires into the desert and is there laid up; nor does any one shew the least concern about him during his sickness or at his death."

In this description Heeren believes that we have an account of the Marhattas; and the grain on which they are said to live he finds no difficulty in identifying with rice, "which is," he says, "the principal diet of these tribes, and (so to speak) indigenous in their country." One (at least) of these suppositions is a terrible slip for such a scholar as Heeren,—the high table land of the Marhatta country being utterly unsuited to the production of rice. To speak of rice as indigenous in the Marhatta country is about as correct as to talk of the pyramids of the Guinea coast. Nor is his other supposition much happier. We are sadly afraid, but we may say it safely within the protection of the Marhatta ditch, that the Marhattas *do "kill"* living creatures,—whatever they may do in the way of eating. And we cannot help thinking that they did "sow seed." Surely it must be evident to every one that Herodotus' description could never apply to a *national* community, for no nation could continue in existence unless its members exerted themselves to procure food.

He is describing, undoubtedly, a *religious sect*, the adherents of which bound themselves never to take away life from any living creature; who engaged in none of the ordinary occupations of life, lived either in the open air or in natural dwelling-places, and, finally, so entirely disregarded their connection with this visible world as to evince no concern when a member of their body was removed from it by death. Have we not here a description of the most prominent practices of the Buddhists? That sect had been in existence about a century when Herodotus wrote this account, and had, therefore, become of sufficient importance for its fame to have reached Persia, where, probably, it would attract particular attention on account of the almost contemporaneous rise, in that country, of another religious reformation under Zoroaster.

We have thus endeavoured to give our readers an insight into one of the most instructive and interesting books of antiquity.

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Our observations have been confined to those parts of his work which belong more especially to the province of this Review; but enough has been shewn, we should hope, even in this rapid sketch, to explain and justify the immense labour which a succession of writers, from Lucian in the second century to Mr. Wheeler in the nineteenth, have expended upon it. And when it is remembered that Herodotus had access to very few books, and those of slender value; that he was thrown on his own personal observation for his facts, and his own theoretic philosophy for the explanation of them; that his researches in the various branches of the human family include their political history, their distribution over the earth, their religious ideas and practices, their social peculiarities, their personal characteristics, the nature and affinities of their language, and their monumental remains; that he has recorded the habits of animals and the properties of plants; that he was a keen observer of the natural features of a country as well as an accurate describer of its dimensions; and that he engaged deeply in geological speculations, and endeavoured to account (however unsuccessfully,) for celestial phenomena;—when, we say, all this is remembered, we may well be astonished at the boldness of his plan and the success of its execution.

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ART. III.—*Unpublished Letters of Warren Hastings.*

We are about to contribute a few stones to the cairn of Warren Hastings. Not that we propose to write his life, to describe his public career, to examine his administrative schemes, or even to analyze his character as statesman or as hero. That task has been performed by a mightier hand. The writer who follows where Macaulay has reaped, must be content to glean the few ears abandoned in the carelessness of boundless wealth. The story of Warren Hastings, of his early pride, and early failures, his struggles in the Council and his triumph at Benares, his services to England, and the black ingratitude with which they were requited is now a household word. The character of the calm, sagacious statesman, whom no opposition could weary and no insult annoy, who never hated, but never spared, is as familiar to us all as the character of Wellington. But there is a side in Warren Hastings' character not yet so thoroughly appreciated. There ran through that strong nature a vein of genial natural humour such as we believe to underlie almost all great characters. In one it produces the exquisite grace which was the household characteristic of Napoleon. In another it elicits the dry satire which gave salt to the conversation of the Iron Duke. In a third it is the kindly appreciation of art which made Sir Robert Peel the first of amateur connoisseurs. And lastly, in too many it produces the ineffectual striving after poetic excellence, which enables Macaulay to style Hastings and Frederic the Great half statesmen and half Trissotins. The sarcasm is unjustifiably severe. The men of the day who are not addicted to out-door amusement find relaxation in the newspaper and the novel. Frederick and Hastings both found it in small attempts at literature, in little poems, and in those carefully written letters which have embalmed for us so much of the spirit and flavour of that age. In the present case these letters are singularly valuable. They shew us the sunny side of a mind which on the other half is dark with a weight of care which would have destroyed a heart less brave or a temper less serene.

In regard to the original letters of Warren Hastings and several by his friends, that have been kindly placed at our disposal, it suffices to state that their present possessor obtained them after the death of Nathaniel Brassey Halhed *the second*, and nephew of Hastings' friend. He inherited a good deal of his uncle's intellectual ability. He was a very distinguished member of the Bengal civil service, and considered in his day a great authority on all questions of revenue. He was an admirable oriental linguist, and as was stated in a former article of the

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Calcutta Review,* he could pass for a native, sit down and smoke a pipe with any group he fancied, and never be recognized as an European,—the court language or the *patois* of the peasantry being equally facile to him. Those who may expect that these letters will throw any light but of a faint or oblique kind on the Indian career of Hastings, will be disappointed. They are nevertheless not without high interest as admitting us to a fireside familiarity with men who were remarkable in their day for commanding force of character, or rare intellectual powers. In the correspondence before us we see the great Indian Dictator as it were in his night gown and slippers; and the reader can scarcely fail to compare the oriental ogre-like portrait of Burke and Sheridan, with the retired statesman, in his green old age, settled down as a genial, scholarly, urbane, and neighbourly country gentleman.

The materials before us may be stated as being generally of a social and literary nature, with an occasional sprinkling of light political speculation in prose and verse. Of Warren Hastings it were superfluous here to intrude more upon the reader than what we have already ventured to premise. It is different as respects his correspondent and friend, Nathaniel Brassey Halhed, the author of a treatise on Hindoo law, and of the first English Hindee grammar. Of him, much less is known now in the republic of letters, than his eminent talents and splendid acquirements deserve. "Honour to him who first through the impassable paves a road."† The man who furnishes a grammar for a language, unknown save in the far region where it is vernacular, cannot fail to be acknowledged as a public benefactor. He paves a way through the impassable. This will be the more readily acknowledged if we bear in mind the difficulties that stand in his way, and the disproportion between his opportunities and their results. Gratefully admitting our obligations to such an agent, we are further free to confess, that he who was not only the contemporary, but the friend of a Warren Hastings, a Sir William Jones, and a Brinsley Sheridan, could be no ordinary man, even if we knew nothing more concerning him than the simple fact of his being their friend. His mind indeed was one of a quick and versatile turn, as well as of a large capacity for usefulness, had circumstances been more propitious than they proved. He resembled his friend the founder of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, and its first President, in forming an exception to the remark, that a great facility for acquiring languages is not always joined to high intellectual ascendancy, or a fine imagina-

* Article vi. vol. 7.
† Mr. T. Carlyle on Goethe.

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tion. These, however, Halhed happily united, for whatever passed through his mind was sure to acquire, in that transit, those beautiful hues which a fertile fancy well versed in various learning can alone supply. As we never had the advantage of being personally acquainted with that extraordinary man, we presume that our readers will not be sorry to be now introduced to him, by one who knew and loved him well. We mean the late Elijah Barwell Impey. Alas! that we should have to say the *late*, but so it is—"after life's fitful fever he sleeps well—nothing can touch him further." How much touched he was by revived slanders upon his father's memory, we knew by personal communication with himself, for we had the good fortune to be acquainted with that estimable, amiable and accomplished gentleman. Though of gentle and retiring disposition yet had he a resolute will to do bravely what he deemed his sacred duty. His mission was to clear a father's reputation from grievous obloquy, and to brush from his ermine those spots which the arts of that chartered libeller, Philip Francis, had endeavoured to stain it with.

"Contemporary, and of like continuance in Parliament with my father"—says Mr. E. B. Impey—"was Nathaniel Brassey Halhed, a name never to be mentioned by me but with reverence and affection. Our family friendship, and, subsequently, my own personal intimacy with that extraordinary man, enable me to confirm all that has been recorded of the versatility of his talents.* In my long walk through life, I have seldom met the man who knew so much of so many things, or who had so ready a command of all he knew. In him the brightest of intellects was accompanied by the kindest of hearts. His principles were as sound as his erudition, and his friendship not less steady and enduring than his conversation was attractive and admired. Halhed's acquaintance with Mr. Hastings and my father began in India, where he held very important employments, and where his ability and zeal were of incalculable service to the Governor General and to the Company. To Hastings he always professed personal obligations, but it was not singly by the tie of gratitude that he was bound, for life, to that great and good man: he revered Mr. Hastings as an eminent statesman who had saved and enlarged an empire;—and none knew better than Mr. Halhed the difficulties with which he had to contend;—also he loved him as the friend of letters, the patron of every elevating pursuit, the pleasantest of companions, the kindest and the easiest man to live with that might be found in the wide world."

If the stern utilitarian should object that much of our materials comes under the head of literature and criticism of so light a nature as to be even sportive or trivial, it ought at the same

* See Life of Sir W. Jones, by Lord Teignmouth, and Memoirs of R. B. Sheridan, by Mr. Moore.

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time to be borne in recollection that it served to soothe care, and to alleviate the pressure of painful circumstances. It was the lenitive of many a dark hour. It thus innocently promoted a beneficial end. It may do so still; for what amused the great Hastings, may also entertain us, albeit we be a more fastidious if not less mirthful generation. We are perhaps too much of the temperament ascribed to "the lean and hungry Cassius"—scorning ourselves that we should be brought to laugh at any thing. We are in all things not so easily pleased as those who have gone before us. We are made of sterner stuff, and look more for a *quid pro quo* in every thing. We do not like to throw a laugh away even: we must have the laugh's worth first. Our ancestors looked not at the grassy meadow, and the corn field, with a mere cold, calculating glance, as to their probable outturn. They gazed with a consideration quite beside the agricultural or politico-economical one. They had also a feeling for by ways and green lanes, and hedge nests and flowers; where a meditative rambler might take his quiet stroll and enjoy himself, either in pleasant solitude, or in the society of some congenial friend.

"From my earliest years"—writes one of our kind informants,* "I have loved the name of Halhed. The late Robert W. Halhed, of Birchfield Priory, Berks, a dear friend of my father and mother, and scarcely less of myself, was my original informant on the points of the family genealogy, and my passport to the intercourse I afterwards enjoyed with his gifted and eccentric brother." From this source we learn that Nathaniel Halhed, the grandfather, had been a broker in Exchange Alley, where he acquired a considerable estate, and died 17th January, 1730-1, at the age of 66. He had married twice: first, (who died 30th March, 1717, aged 43), Elizabeth, daughter of William Houghton, of Reading, Berks, by whom he had eight children. One of these was Captain of a man-of-war, and was lost at sea. He married secondly, Elizabeth, daughter and heiress of George Mason, of Noke Herefordshire, who died 16th October, 1729, aged 44. By her he had William Halhed of the Noke, and of Great George's Street, Westminster, &c. He was a bank director, and died 30th September, 1786, aged 64. He was also twice married; first to Frances Caswall, by whom he had, 1st *Nathaniel Brassey*, 2nd Robert William, 3rd John (both of whom married their cousins of the name of Caswall) and Ellen Frances, the wife of Edwin Atkins of Kingston—Lisle, Berks. Of the early career of Nathaniel Brassey Halhed our reverend informant could know little, as he was at the time unborn. He then adds—"I distinctly remember to have heard that he proposed to himself three principles of action, from all

* The Rev. Thomas Streatfield—Chartsedge Westerham, Kent.

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of which he deviated. I recollect one only, his determination not to marry in India, whereas he married Helena Louisa Ribaut, the daughter of the Governor of Chinsurah. From this lady, I gathered a beautiful anecdote of Warren Hastings. On his return from India an old friend treated him cavalierly, to his great mortification: this treatment arose from his having given a son, whom he sent to India, a letter of recommendation to the Governor General, and resenting his imagined neglect of the young man. In fact, Mr. Hastings had done all he could for him, but found him utterly unprincipled and incapable of advancement. Mrs. Hastings, who did not like the desertion of an old friend to be added to the other cruel persecutions her husband suffered, was one day urging his making known this *cause* of the check to the young man's promotion, when Mr. H. replied—'Nay, it matters little what he may think of me; but let us not make a father think ill of his own child.'

"Halhed was in later life *exceedingly* deaf, almost precluding the intercourse of conversation. Impossible as it was to converse with him in company, I had many delightful opportunities of gleaning his opinions when we were together domiciled at Beech Hill Priory, and his companion in a rural ramble. I cannot help thinking that he perceived in myself a simplicity and sincerity, which propitiated him, where professional pedantry would have induced him to stand aloof. I need not say to you that his religious opinions were rather wild. Some doubted whether he had any religion at all. In fact, however, I found that though he had deviated from all the beaten tracks, his principles were deeply religious, and his reverence for revelation profound. Though not acquiescing in every old woman's superstitious tale, no child was more docile, where he could reasonably consider the authority Divine."

To the above we have only to add, that on the mother's side Mr. Halhed was lineally descended from Lenthal, the speaker of the House of Commons at the time when the bluff Protector, Oliver Cromwell, ordered a certain *bauble* to be removed. Mr. Halhed received the principles of a sound classical education at Harrow, under the celebrated Dr. Summer, whence, after an assiduous application of ten years, he removed to Oxford, and entered himself of Christ Church College. He remained at Oxford from 1768 to 1770, and was, as we learned, neither conspicuous for extraordinary exertions nor remarked for deficiency of talent. He and Sheridan, as Mr. E. B. Impey informs us, had sate on the same form at Harrow school, and after their schoolboy days the closest intimacy had subsisted between them. Moore mentions Halhed in his life of Sheridan, but as is pettishly observed in the communication of the Rev. Mr. Streatfield, he (Moore)

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"manifestly knew nothing." We may therefore *cum grano* admit his statement that they were afterwards engaged together in various literary speculations. He gives no dates, but we learn from the friend of all others whom, next to Mr. Hastings, he most valued, and whom he from his boyhood appeared to love like a son—viz., Mr. E. B. Impey—that after a separation of many years, which had been spent by Halhed in the east, "they met again in England at the moment when Sheridan, with an entire ignorance of the subject, was preparing his oration on the Benares charge, and acting with the foremost of the enemies of the two men whom Mr. Halhed most loved and venerated, Mr. Hastings and Sir Elijah Impey." It appears that Halhed in his conscientious simplicity deemed that he could save his friend of the '*School for Scandal*' from the commission and propagation of falsehood and defamation. He fondly imagined that if he could once demonstrate to Sheridan from his own knowledge,* that the charge he had undertaken to maintain against Hastings was founded upon false grounds, the companion of his youth would thank him and throw up the charge. At the interview that took place the result turned out otherwise. "Halhed, (we quote Mr. Impey) than whom no one was capable of conveying surer information, entered at that meeting, into full particulars relative to the Benares charge. He opened the discussion with a heart overflowing with candour and conciliation. He was met with an artificial reserve, and an evasive arrogance which at once closed the door to all negotiation. *From that moment Halhed and Sheridan never met nor spoke with each other upon amicable terms.*" Alas! it was not truth, or correct information, that Sheridan was hunting after, for "into the porches of his ears" and those of his party, Philip Francis, had been "pouring his leprous distillment, whose effect holds such an enmity with blood of man!" According to Mr. Moore, Halhed was also a suiter of the fair Miss Linley, who afterwards became Mrs. Sheridan. It was, however, he testifies, a generous rivalship, but the circumstances arising out of Mr. Matthews' duel with the young dramatist, demonstrated the hopelessness of any competitor standing a chance with him.

The learning of the east having formed a considerable part of Mr. Halhed's studies, and an opportunity offering of a writership in the service of the India Company, he went in the beginning of 1771 to Bengal. Here he soon recommended himself to the great patron of literary, as well as official merit, Mr. Hastings, then at Madras, but about to become second in Council at Calcutta. Of the various extracts from literary speculations referred to by

* See the Impey Memoirs.

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Mr. Moore, as having been carried on between Sheridan and Halhed, we have reason to believe that the greater portion was from the pen of the latter. Under all these circumstances, supposing them to be correctly stated, the destination of the young Halhed for the far East may be looked upon as a sort of lover's leap, calculated entirely to cure him of his passion for a lovely object, now entirely beyond his reach. When such a disappointment does not unhinge moral energy, or blight with despair the green vigour of youth, it becomes a question whether on the whole it may not prove beneficial; serving as an instrument of discipline, and preparing the heart, in the fulness of time, for a more lasting attachment. He remained in India upwards of six years.

As already stated, he married in this country Miss Helena Louisa Ribaut, daughter of the Governor of the Dutch settlement of Chinsurah. For some time, it would appear that the union was not a very happy one. There might not perhaps have been on the lady's part "all that young poets dream of whom they love." Admirable in other respects, there might have been some coldness on the lady's part towards the ideal. *His* keen relish too, of the subtle, the humorous, or the occult, might possibly not have met a corresponding accordance in a mind amiably anxious to conform in all things to his, but sometimes at a loss to comprehend all it might desire. The game of ambition played eagerly in the hey-day of youth, strength and prosperity, as well as absorbing literary pursuits, sometimes may incapacitate men of more than ordinary intellectual powers and acquirements, from fulfilling all the expectations of a young girl's loving and devoted heart. Be that as it may, the persevering fondness of the lady, not untinctured with jealousy, (perhaps with reason,) triumphed, at length, over all his foibles and won his unalterable affection and esteem. Mrs. Halhed, indeed, from all we have heard on the part of those who knew her well, no less than from the internal evidence of the correspondence in our possession, appears to have been a very estimable woman, as well as a most amiable and excellent wife. In the dark days of her husband's adversity her good qualities shone forth in their full yet modest and benignant lustre, and her cheerful conformity to altered fortunes, no less than her unobtrusive strength of character, proved his chief solace and support.

It was easier in the days of Mr. Halhed's sojourn in India to acquire an independence than it is now. For this there were obvious reasons, sufficiently familiar to those conversant with the history of our Indian empire. It is sufficient here to note that though the nominal salary of a civil servant was far less than in our own days, various avenues to the acquisition of wealth were

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then available that have since been closed up. Certain privileges were allowed in the way of trade, while a greater latitude in regard to accepting presents was permitted. The amount of available talent too, was then less, or it may perhaps be more correct to say that there was less competition in a wide field than now obtains, so that all men might stand more upon their pretensions, and self-estimation, in a market comparatively limited, than they could now, when India is well known and the means of supply exceed the demand in a service rendered still more honourable by the many distinguished men who have flourished in it since Halhed's day. In a printed memoir of Mr. Halhed that appeared in 1795, we find it stated with reference to his six years' sojourn in the East—"As the busy tongue of detraction has never dared utter a syllable to his disadvantage, during this time, we feel no hesitation in saying that his conduct was such as to entitle him to the full approbation of his superiors abroad, and every degree of indulgence from the Directors at home." His application to business did not wean his mind from his studies; and it was during this interval that he produced his Grammar, and work on Hindoo law.

In 1778 Mr. Halhed returned to England, and employed some of his succeeding years in travelling for health and amusement. Though his constitution had suffered very materially from the climate of Bengal and his intense application, after a short stay in England, he returned to India in 1784, to resume his official functions, but was obliged soon after his arrival to abandon what then proved to him an ungenial and inhospitable shore. He reached England in 1785, at which time, the state of his health was such, as to excite the serious fears of his friends. From this to the year 1790, little trace is to be found of him except in his literary effusions. The pursuit of a convalescent after the most invaluable of blessings, would, even if we had the details, afford little entertainment to the reader. His pursuits, however, were such as did credit to his philanthropy and taste. He wrote verses, studied chronology, collected pictures and books, and led the easy life of the independent gentleman. At the general election in 1790, he started as a candidate for the town of Leicester. He and Mr. Samuel Smith were candidates in the ministerial interest, against two in that of the opposition. The contest was severe, and conducted with spirit for several days, when after the most vigorous exertions, Mr. Halhed, not desiring to enter into boundless expense, agreed with Mr. Montolieu, one of the opposition candidates, to withdraw their efforts on a compromise. He was afterwards more successful in another quarter, being returned for Lymington, Hants.

From Mr. E. Barwell Impey himself we learned that his first

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recollection of him was about 1790, when he was living in an expensive style in Harley street. About the same period, a mistaken confidence in the financial resources of M. Necker, then at the head of affairs in France, induced him as it did many others, (his friend Sir Elijah Impey included), to invest his property in the French funds. The result proved most unfortunate. From certain data we believe that his loss could scarcely be under thirty thousand pounds. He was thus reduced to the dismal prospect of passing the remainder of his days almost on the verge of positive privation. Mr. Halhed sat in two parliaments for Lymington. His chief display in the house, or at least that which created the greatest sensation, was his speech on behalf of Mr. Brothers, who had been an officer in the navy, but who made himself remarkable by setting up for a prophet. The following extract from Mr. Impey's memoirs of Sir Elijah will prove not uninteresting to those of our readers who have not the work at hand to refer to.

"The attachment between my father and Halhed was mutual, and lasted till dissolved by death; nor was it for a moment interrupted by a strong divergency of opinion on some important subjects. On one point, and only on that one, Halhed's imagination was too strong for his judgment. I would speak with the utmost delicacy of this foible of my highly gifted and long lamented friend: nor would I speak of it at all, were it not already a matter of public notoriety. Among other abstruse questions, Mr. Halhed had devoted much time to the study of prophecy, and the awful mysteries of the Apocalypse. The amount of European as well as Asiatic lore which he brought to bear upon these subjects, was immense; nor in a less degree was the ingenuity with which he applied it all. But his head was heated by this one absorbing and inexplicable subject. At this juncture another very inoffensive enthusiast—Richard Brothers, commonly called "Brothers the Prophet," began to utter his wild predictions. Halhed listened, examined, and became more than half a believer in them. This was during the early part of the French Revolution, when the British Government and people took alarm at every suspicious circumstance. Brothers was constantly announcing the fast approaching subversion of all states and kingdoms; but in a far different sense from that maintained by the republicans of France. Government, however, chose to couple his religious insanity with their political madness; and Richard Brothers, for some supposed seditious words, was apprehended and committed to Newgate, as one guilty of high treason. Halhed, who rightly thought that he had been committed on a very irregular and foolish warrant, resolved to stand forward as his champion in the House of Commons, and gave notice of a motion for his discharge."

Mr. Halhed was both a profound and extensive scholar. We

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have the conclusive evidence of Parr* as to his qualifications in Greek and Latin, nor was his progress in Hebrew and Sanscrit behind them. His oriental acquirements, indeed, are those most generally known to the world. To these he added a colloquial knowledge of modern languages, and there is ample evidence in his manuscripts of his being well versed in mathematics. His defects arose in a great measure from excellencies not sufficiently disciplined. The mind which, with mirror-like fidelity, is capable of reflecting the beauties that present themselves to a fertile imagination, may also exhibit blemishes. There is a daguerreotype faculty, so to say, of genius, to represent both combined, nor is it always an easy task for self-love to separate the truly beautiful from the meretricious. Perfection in regard to taste, no less than conception and execution, is very rare. The subject of these remarks was no exception to this truth. That he had his own doubts in regard to the standard of his literary labours, is most probable, had we nothing more conclusive to judge from than his aversion to publication in his more advanced years. This aversion might originally have its source partly in the want of means to meet the expences of publication, which at one, and that the darkest, phase of his life, he laboured under. In the prime of life, he looked to literature, not merely as a recreation, but as an available means of income. In maturer years, he appears altogether to have abandoned such an idea. Whatever in the literary path he contemplated latterly, was only in the way of pastime, or bagatelle. As he grew older, his deafness, we imagine, added to that indifference to publicity which became positive repugnance. Whatever he now composed, was confined to the admiration of a small circle of friends. It is our duty to exhibit him as he really was, nothing extenuating, and nothing withholding that is due to biographical truth. Then shall we have simply to tell of a man of undoubted genius, of rare gifts somewhat misapplied and wasted, of unstained integrity of character, and of warm and kindly feelings and aspirations. His penetrating and expansive mind went perhaps too far upon the wing of imagination into the dim and shadowy regions of the speculative and the mythic. From these again he could at a bound revert to the genial realms of humour and burlesque. As respects the former, such recondite subjects have for many minds an overpowering fascination, drawing it with potent spells into an enchanted land of syrens, and spirits of air and flood.

In the remote tracks of home tradition and Ethnic speculation, his flights were as vigorous as they were frequent, but even in the

* Moore's Life of Sheridan.

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darkest portion of his course, there was a track of light such as genius only leaves. He might not always convince, but he could not fail to charm, by his originality, his learning, and his eloquence. The love of speculation became with him a passion, in some sort, but not an obtrusive one. Far inferior to him in erudition and reading, it is not to be wondered at, that his conclusions might appear startling to near relations and connections. Such are not always the best judges of character, or even the most lenient. In his case, we have the evidence of the Revd. Mr. Streatfield that some members of his family did him grave injustice. This may account for an estrangement of some years' duration between himself and his brothers, who though truly worthy men, nevertheless held very different pursuits from his; and being more practical men, most likely held in sovereign contempt the ideal and the mythic. Unaware of the steps by which he arrived at his induction, we can easily conceive what *caviare* the whole affair must have been to their sense, and how to their honest and more *brawny* impressions, it must have appeared insanity as well as impiety, to hint that Adam was Pan, Eve Pandora, and Vishnu in the Varaha Avatar, the Redeemer of the world! To speak phrenologically, his organ of veneration was so largely developed that he was liable to be carried away by the impulsive liveliness of his imagination, and the ductility of his feelings, beyond the bounds of prudence if not of decorum itself. The brilliancy of his own fancy cast a glare round the most eccentric speculations, which were sure to be illustrated by vivid antithesis, and classic felicity of erudition. It is minds thus toned that are liable to be warped by the mirage of intellectual speculation. The besetting fault of minds so constituted, is a proneness, not to scepticism, but its very opposite, a tendency to the belief of more than is warranted. We shall not be surprised then on finding that an intellect of his calibre should for a moment have been puzzled by the voluble and plausible fanaticism of a man like Richard Brothers, appealing to scripture itself for curious coincidencies which seemed to harmonise with contingencies of the time. We have an apt illustration of this tendency to extension of belief in the marvellous in another remarkable man, also associated with Indian recollections,—John Zephaniah Holwell, the historian of the said catastrophe of the so-called, "Black hole of Calcutta." Mr. Holwell was no less distinguished for his administrative talents and his ability for business, than for certain psychological eccentricities, such as a belief in genii, and that human souls are fallen angels permitted to do penance in the form of humanity. This sort of hobby may be ridden by more than may be dreamed of in the bills of mortality; for

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who is without some oddity of belief, or motive, would he but have Halhed's candour to avow it? Developments of this kind no more infer general unsoundness of mind than the retention of extraordinary opinions, though existing in the mind, predicates their non-existence. It is thus that the mirthful hoyden may be more truly virtuous than the sedate but shy prude. Were all who entertain opinions that their duller or more phlegmatic neighbours may deem odd, to be therefore considered as of unsound understanding, who would be pronounced the reverse? The day has been, nay now is, that suggests the prudence of a man abstaining from riding his hobby too much *coram populo*. A question of abstract nicety might thus place a man in a false position, though in all that affects his dealings with society he may be practically right. Had George III. but whispered a belief in transubstantiation, it would have excited 'admired disorder'—and might have shaken allegiance. On matters of practical government, on the other hand, his obstinacy even to the severing of fourteen colonies from the empire, came within the line of sane prerogative.

It would seem to be a difficult point for many to judge wisely between the physician and the quack, but at this hour we believe quackeries as absurd as Brothers' revelations. To suppose Mr. Richard Brothers to be an honest man even, much less a true exponent of prophecy, if not himself a prophet, was it seems, in days when metallic tractors, earth baths, tar water, and mesmerism attracted a large affluence of implicit faith, deemed a kind of solecism of rationality. The belief itself, or a leaning towards it, in any of these oddities of the day, as in the Brothers' oddity, might have passed with other follies of the hour, but the assertion of one or other of them in so conspicuous a place as the House of Commons was for the million too astounding. Were all who verge on the line of nonsense in Parliament liable to be brought to question in regard to the *mens sana*, on account of what they utter there, it might make a fearful reduction in the votes of the House. As respects Brothers himself, he was by rank and station a gentleman, and as far as we can understand, an amiable and sincere enthusiast. His vaticinations, however, were in one sense inexpedient; they were not seasonable, and had an agitative tendency, at a time when agitation was felt by all to be dangerous. It appears that he not only claimed to be a prophet like unto Moses, but assumed also the character of a Jew, and to be the leader of the Jews, who according to his prediction, were soon to be restored to the holy land. Having at length promulgated prophecies regarding the French revolution, the destruction of London, and so forth, sprinkled with apocalyptic illustrations, Govern-

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ment took the alarm, and he was on the morning of the 4th March, 1795, arrested at his house, by two king's messengers and their assistants, on a charge of high treason. He received the messengers with a complaisance and mildness that were habitual to him, and even expressed his knowledge of the purpose they were come for. After they had shewn their authority for intruding upon him, he submitted without opposition to have all his papers examined. A crowd gathered, who appeared furious at his being arrested. He was taken in the first instance to the house of Mr. Ross, the messenger in Crown Court Westminster. There were grounds, or there were supposed to be, for deeming that he had become the tool of faction to delude the people and to excite sedition. The warrant on which he was apprehended was grounded on the XV. of Elizabeth, in which he stood charged with "unlawfully, maliciously, and wickedly writing, publishing, and printing various fanatical prophecies, with intent to cause dissensions, and other disturbances within the realm, and other of the king's dominions contrary to the statute."

Mr. Halhed now made a motion in the House of Commons for the release of Mr. Brothers. His friends were naturally anxious that he should not thus make, what they not unjustly considered, an exposé of himself. Sir Elijah Impey, with the warm earnestness of genuine friendship, wrote to Mr. Halhed the night before his motion was to come on urging that he should not make such a display. It was all in vain. He replied that he *must* make his motion—and that he should not be at home to Sir Elijah next morning. He had in fact made up his mind to what he conceived an act of imperative duty. "On Wednesday, March 31, 1795,"—(testifies Mr. E. B. Impey,) "Halhed made his motion in the House, and delivered his extraordinary oration. Extraordinary, indeed, and startling and extravagant in its premises was the greater part of the speech; yet so ingeniously and systematically was it constructed, and so eloquently was it delivered, that it was listened to in profound silence for three long hours. My father often described that silence, by saying, "you might have heard a pin drop in the house." Another writer, whose remarks were printed at the time, thus delivers his opinion of Mr. Halhed's performance. "The speech he delivered pursuant to his notice on the 31st March, is one of the finest flowers of parliamentary elocution; for closeness of reasoning, and persuasive candour, it is almost unparalleled. Though the scholar and man of brilliant talents are discernible in every part, yet nowhere is the accuracy of the logician sacrificed to the graces of the orator. We might suppose our own judgment bribed by the occasion of the speech, for assuredly the character of the British senator never

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shines more than when his abilities are employed to rescue from persecution, a man whose only imputed crime is an effort to warn his countrymen against dangers he fancies he sees prepared for them; but when we recollect the manner in which the speech was received, on its delivery—what deep attention pervaded the house—what solemn expectation it excited—with what eagerness every sentence was heard—that wit was, by the importance and elegance of it, disarmed of its profligate sneer, and sophistry of its quirking reply, our judgment becomes unalterably confirmed, and we feel no sentiment but astonishment, that an instant discussion was not provoked, by some candid and spirited member seconding Mr. Halhed's motion."*

The discussion which the writer of the above wished for, did not take place, as there was no seconder, and for some time afterwards there was no end of ridicule in all its phases of squib, epigram and pamphlet—of which the prophet had his ample share. David Levi, the author of "Lingua Sacra," and other works, addressed a series of printed letters to Mr. Halhed, of a controversial character of course. He pointed out the weakness of the pillars against which Mr. Halhed had rested his evidence for Brothers—especially in regard to the apochryphal book of Esdras, which Mr. Levi called an arrant piece of plagiarism, probably written by some Hellenistic Jew, taken into the service of the Christians of the second or third century. He treated with contempt Brothers' pretension to be a prophet like unto Moses, and Mr. Halhed's testimony in support of this pretension. "I cannot conceive," he wrote, "how he (Brothers) can be accounted a Jew, (and which he certainly must before he can lay claim to be their prince), while he is deficient in the most essential qualification of a Jew, namely, God's covenant in his flesh: circumcision is an indispensable rite, and no one can be incorporated into their society till he has undergone the operation. How the prophet came to overlook this, which is so essential to his mission, I know not: but it is plain to me that he has not learned his business,"†

Perhaps an extract from Mr. Halhed's speech may be not unacceptable to our readers, as it keeps close to the argument of liberty of conscience, and personal liberty.

"Christianity, we all know, is subdivided into an innumerable multiplicity of sects, who differ from each other in more or fewer subordinate articles; but they must all necessarily admit the interference, in some shape or other, of God in the government of the world, and the authenticity of the Scriptures, in which all Christianity depends.

* "Register of the Times," April, 1795.

† Letters to N. B. Halhed, M. P. in answer to his testimony, &c. &c.

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Now, though I do not say it is altogether orthodox, yet it certainly is not inadmissible in this free country, where a translation of the whole Bible is published in the vernacular tongue, by royal authority, for any man to build upon those scriptures a theory of his own, in conformity to that which he may conceive to be their true and recondite meaning; always, however, I most implicitly allow, in perfect submission to the laws and police of the country. As a matter most in point, I shall beg leave to instance the very numerous and very discordant commentaries which have been written, more in this kingdom than in any other, on the prophecies contained in the Old and New Testaments. I shall be bold to say, that by the very canons of the Anglican church, the authenticity of the prophecies themselves is put out of all doubt; all the difference that can exist in opinion must necessarily be on the score of intrepretation.

"One man finds the whole of their mysterious and hidden allusions to bear exclusively on Rome, and another on Turkey. France is by some deemed the grand theatre of their denunciations; by others, perhaps Germany or Poland; but if one solitary individual happen to pitch on Great Britain as the destined spot for the elucidation of these enigmatical predictions, surely it is not unreasonable that he should request cool and dispassionate investigation of the grounds of his assertion, before you condemn him to fire and faggot. We have all heard and thought that persecutions for religious opinions were annihilated in England, and that toleration was everywhere making a rapid progress. This toleration is what I now solicit; not immediately on Mr. Brothers' account, but on my own."

It never rains, but it pours. A perfect crowd of witnesses came to the rescue of the sorely beleagured prophet—but some also testified against him. Amongst the latter was one who in her letter addressed to Mr. Halhed designated herself simply as "An old woman." As the reviewer of her letter (1795) remarked, she was a sensible good sort of old woman, who had read her Bible to very good purpose, and minded the apostolic precept, not to give heed to old wives' fables. She pronounced Mr. Brothers mad—and produced what appeared stubborn facts in confirmation of her assertion. She then proceeded to shew the absurdity of applying the prophecies of the 18th of Revelations exclusively to London, as Mr. Halhed had done, and to rally him pretty handsomely on his making Brothers a second Moses, and on his eloquent harangue upon the subject in the House of Commons. Mr. Halhed, however, was not convinced at all, and held out stoutly for his own convictions. The members of his family, and some of his staunchest friends viewed all with infinite pain. His brothers remonstrated to a degree that he considered unwarranted, and estrangement ensued that lasted for some years. It preyed deeply on his sensitive mind, and the effect of this, as well as of his pecuniary losses

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in France, and his inability to live in that easy and liberal style he had been accustomed to, was to make him withdraw altogether from general society for a period of some fourteen years, ranging from 1796 to 1808. During this season of suffering, self denial, and seclusion, his course cannot be very clearly traced—since he entirely gave up writing, even to Mr. Hastings, or the Impey family, with the exception perhaps of Elijah. This state of things could not fail to cause sincere concern to his friends, who nevertheless scarcely knew how to deal with the poor, but proud man, shrinking from all approach to obligation save such as might be acknowledged by a *gentleman* without a wound to his *amour propre*. He persisted, therefore, in standing entirely aloof from society, with a philosophical determination of remaining in that state of self exile until he could enter his circle again, upon more equal terms than were then within his reach. However justified to themselves they might have felt in intention, his brothers at length made the requisite advances to a reconciliation, and admitted frankly that they had been in the wrong, expressing regret that their zeal for his own welfare, and that of his family, had carried them too far. This simple admission was all their warm-hearted relative sought for. It re-established perfect and affectionate union between them, to be interrupted no more, but by death. There is evidence in the correspondence, not only of this cordial readjustment of difference, but of acts of substantial kindness and service on their part, springing from this restored confidence. During the whole time of his seclusion, there is every reason to believe that he was any thing but idle. He had always some speculative field of his own to range, or some attractive intellectual object in view. He certainly wrote a great deal, at the same time that he had an undefined horror of publishing. Repeatedly we find Mr. Hastings expressing regret that some of his ingenious friend's beautiful compositions would never be seen beyond a circle of three or four. The family of his Mœcenas, as he loved to call Mr. Hastings, that of the Impeys, and one or two relatives, came at length to form his little public, beyond which he had no desire that his fugitive compositions should be known.

In the days of their prosperity Mrs. Halhed was a good deal about the Court, and on terms of easy intimacy with the late Princess Elizabeth, who presented her with many valuable marks of regard. Of her Royal Highness' goodness and their grateful appreciation of it, many traces exist in the correspondence. At last Mr. Halhed emerged from his state of voluntary exile, although his increasing deafness, there is reason to infer, enhanced his reluctance to quit it. There is, however, a radiation of kindness centering from several points, that like the magnet

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island of the Arabian tale, loosens the iron rivets of the sternest resolution. Halhed's heart was not a stern one, and could not remain inflexible to the love of so many true friends. It is impossible to contemplate this man of true genius during his isolation of so many years, under the pressure of adverse fortune without a feeling of deep sympathy and respect. How many, under circumstances of a similar nature, have, to "drown care," as the phrase is, sought relief in intemperance! How mournfully frequent have been the instances, when owing to that Circean refuge the wreck of fortune has been embittered by the wreck of reputation! It is in no ungenerous spirit that we would here compare the two school fellows, each so gifted, but each coming so differently out of the fiery ordeal—Sheridan and Halhed. Requiescant in pace. The latter came out of the vale of tribulation without stain on his integrity of purpose, or conduct, under the guidance of uncompromising conscientiousness. Among the scraps of his composition, we find the following lines, never meant for any eye but his own, and which may be accepted as a true transcript of his state of mind. They are dated 3rd July, 1806, and are simply entitled in his own hand writing—

N. B. H.'S PRAYER.

"I ask not life, I ask not fame,
I ask not gold's deceitful store;
The charms of grandeur's wealth and name
Thank heaven, are charms to me no more.
To do thy will, oh God I ask,
By faith o'er life's rough sea to swim,
With patience to work out my task,
And leave the deep result to him."

During the eclipse of his fortunes there were no vain complaints, no murmuring, no unmanly querulousness. He bore all with the dignity of quiet Christian fortitude—the truest and best of all philosophy. He was no grievance monger, that most intolerable of *bores*, laying hold of the button of all he meets, like that unhappy "Ancient Mariner" whom Coleridge has immortalised. At this time too, which may well be called his passage through the "slough of despond," he had to bear with the irritating impertinences (for such they must not unfrequently have been,) of a number of uneducated admirers, or followers of the pseudo prophet, who clung tenaciously to the skirts "of one of us"—and he a member of Parliament.

It is high time, however, that we proceed to lay before our readers portions of the correspondence in our possession. In the letters to Mr. Hastings, there is ever a deferential, not to say

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filial tone, the honest tribute of a grateful and highly cultivated mind; while on the part of the Daylsford family we recognize an earnest desire to anticipate little wants in a delicate spirit of genuine neighbourly kindness.

The following letter to Mr. Hastings was written with reference to a political mission to the Court of the Nabob Vizier of Oude. He asks for instructions and terminates with an effusion in verse, allusive to Mr. Hastings' departure for England.

"*Muzafferpore, 9th November*, 1784.

"HONOURABLE SIR,—It is usual for embassadors, charges d'affaires, and public agents of all kinds to forward to the Court whither they are bound, copies of those credentials and authoritative instructions which entitle them to a confidential reception at the said Court, and of which they are bound to present the originals in person. In conformity to established precedent, therefore, I take the liberty to enclose copies of two letters which came to hand this day from the Nabob Walajah and Sir Edward Hughes. I may perhaps venture on the strength of this circumstance to intreat the favour of you to permit me to be the channel of any communications you may be pleased to make to his highness; and to solicit the honour of your instructions for an answer to the Nabob from myself, so far as may relate to the style which it is proper for me to hold under the connection which his highness' letter so flatteringly supposes. I shall not acknowledge the receipt of this august epistle till your commands reach me.

"I have waited hitherto for a farther answer from Major Palmer respecting the *terms* which I plainly told him were the necessary preliminary to my engagements with the Vizier. His answer might have reached me to-day and has not. But as I would lose no time in accomplishing the object of my wishes, should the result be favourable, I mean to leave this place to-morrow, (where we have been for a few days on a visit to Grand) and proceed immediately to Benares. Wilkins has discovered three very ancient Hindoo inscriptions at Chunar, which he is to have copied, and of which we will take the first opportunity to forward you the explication, should they not be inexplicable. I would now, honourable Sir, take the liberty to request a few words of advice and information from you as to the tenor of the several documents, with which it will be proper I should be furnished by the Vizier, whether I should have a public and authoritative letter to the Company—whether to the king—whether to Mr. Pitt? In what strain they should run? Whether indicative of already established independence, or applicatory for unconditional resignation of all hitherto exercised influence and control? I doubt if we shall ever be able to discriminate all these minutiæ properly at the Court of Oude, unless you will condescend to enlighten Major P—— and myself,—with a set of joint instructions. I would also submit to your judgment whether it would be decent, or advisable, or salutary to the *general cause*, or consistent with my probable en-

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gagements in Oude, (which however I am sanguine enough in consequence of Mr. Palmer's letter to imagine almost beyond the reach of interested malice to circumvent or overthrow), that I should offer to become also agent for the Nabob Walajah in England. It is now the only service I have to offer, and I mean it merely in the event of no such designation having been thought of for or by Major Grattan.

"I am rendered exceedingly happy in the observation that each successive packet from England brings an addition of strength, or at least a presumption of such addition to your arm and to your cause. The prospect of daily invigorating influence will at all events throw a brighter lustre on the remaining products of your labours, and cast a rich tint of sunshine on your final arrangements.

"But ah! when from the parting vessel's stern,
A nation's woes shall in your bosom burn;
While, as Calcutta fades beneath your eye,
That breast shall heave the last parental sigh,
To think that o'er this strife-devoted plain,
So long reposing in your cares—in vain,
Up rais'd by mammon, and by faction nurs'd,
So soon the storms of anarchy must burst.
Say can a frail exotic's tender frame
Repel the torrent, or defy the flame?
Your gardener hand, dear Sir, first gave it root,
Your kindly influence bade its buds to shoot;
Can it but wither, when those beams are gone,
In air ungenial, and a foreign sun?

"Mrs. Halhed begs leave to present her best respects, and I have the honour to remain, with the sincerest gratitude and esteem,

Hon'ble Sir,
Your most faithful and devoted, humble servant,

N. B. HALHED."

"*Benares, 12th November*, 1784.

"HONOURABLE SIR,—I have hit upon a source of perpetual amusement on an inexhaustible subject: "The abuse of language in modern poetry, by introducing the idioms and expressions of the poetic language of the antients into modern verses." I have taken the liberty to subjoin a few stanzas by way of specimen: and I hope I am not presumptuous in requesting your assistance, when you feel a necessity of relaxing a little from the toils of empire, in adding to my humble effort, which has only the merit of being so lax and disjointed, that it will admit a stanza on any subject in any part where you may be pleased to put it. And I will venture to say you have only to open any book whatever of modern rhymes, to find in the first ten lines twenty expressions or thoughts that your taste will feel fully worthy of being exposed in my new pillory for poets, as the matter is infinite. You will not be surprised that my essay has no close, and as it is particularly calculated for being filled up by fits and starts, as the maggot bites, the want of connexion is no blot—so here goes—

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"On the false taste of the moderns in poetry—
Of all the rusts and crusts and fusts
Which spoil and stifle genuine taste
Of fiddles, paintings, medals, busts,
In jasper, giall, antique, or paste
Nought like your modern poets' idiom
For staff, bombast, and nonsense all—
While in poetic Icarian flights that giddy'em
They labour only for a fall.—
Verse should be common sense refin'd,
The thoughts all pure, compact and new:
A well-wrought picture of the mind
Its colours warm, its outline true.

Epic.
While* ..... sips his matin news
—— Suppose the rhyming fit comes on.
—— Turns *this* his laundress to a muse,
His tea pot to a helicon?
What magic whips him from his chamber
A thousand miles an end at least,
Up a steep two-fork'd rock to clamber
Where nothing grows for man or beast?
—— "The God of verse dwelt there."—I know it,
And just as much each school-boy knows:
But trust me, Sir, your modern poet
Should fly his brains, and not his toes.—
In *Greece*, Parnassus was just by—
And Pegasus might waft them soon—
But, would your *English* songster fly,
It must be on an air-balloon.

Tragic.
What more impertinent by nauseous
Than talking of the *buskin'd* muse?
While we should hiss the each modern Roscius
For only wearing high-heel'd shoes.

Comic.
If to the comic stage I run
Need verse with lies my reader mock?
—— all know, I went to see the pen,
And not the actor's dirty sock.†

Lyric.
When Whitehead by a sea-coal fire
Eke's out his annual tax of rhime,
Think you, he "sweeps the sounding lyre
"In heav'n-born raptures" all the time?

Pastoral.
When Lubin in the month of May
Beholds his Delia's auburn locks—
His pipe allowably may play, ——
But why apostrophize his *flocks?*
What poet now has flocks to drive,
Or cottage with a sheep-walk to it—

* Any name you chuse of two syllables.

† I'll to the comic stage anon,
If learned Johnson's *sock* be on.—MILTON.

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Give him but one whole sheep alive,
You'd pose him mightily to stow it.
Theocritus perhaps *had* sheep—
His Idylls *fact* and *nature* speak:
Our bards should other measures keep,
Who buy their mutton by the steak.

"I stumbled upon this as I jogged in my palanquin hither from Patna, and have scribbled it down the instant of my arrival. Here I must wait (and I shall wait with much impatience) till I hear from you and from Palmer. I trust in your goodness not to let the matter die away: and if you will condescend to broach the hint I before mentioned to the Minister, it cannot but succeed. Wilkins presents his antediluvian respects, and I have the honour to remain, with the most inviolable attachment,

Hon'ble Sir,
Your most faithful
and devoted, humble servant,
N. B. HALHED.

"13th November. Addenda.—My letter having been too late for yesterday's dawk.

"To spout alternate rhymes, is common
In Italy, as sloth or Eunuchs.
But when did sturdy British yeomen
Alternate ought save ale and blue knocks ?*.
Who *really* "tunes a vocal shell?"
Can it be tun'd ?—set once about it
You'l find a post's horn sound as well.—
Yet who can write a song without it ?
In verse no heathen god can 'scape us:
All *these* are idol-worship-holders.
From Jove to honest old Priapus
In they must come by head and shoulders.
Still Saturn sweeps his reckless scythe on,
Lucina *still* protrudes each Fœtus:
Aurora quits the bed of Tithon,
And Sol descends to that of Thetis.
Full twenty thousand odes per annum
In strains devout on Venus call.
More yet has Cupid than his Grannum,
———— and Cloacina most of all.
"Manibus Sacris" on a tomb
Writes the whole Elegiac herd:
This was plain sense in pagan Rome,
Tho' in a christian church absurd.
A pundit in Bengal, or Molavee
May daily see a carcase burn:
But you cant' furnish, for the soul of ye
A dirge sans *ashes* and an *urn*."

* Vide Pope's and Gray's Pastorals.

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"*Cawnpore, 18th November*, 1784.

"HON'BLE SIR,—I arrived here at 1 P. M. at Mr. Magrath's bungalow, and scribble a copy of the enclosed while dinner is getting ready. In excuse for it I can only say, that I really intended to speak of the learning, the integrity, the virtue, the philosophy and the disinterestedness of Bramins. But that when I came to "*sweep the sounding lyre*," the devil of one of them could I find—and Mrs. Melpomene or whoever is the proper officer on these occasions obliged me to say what I have said. As a poet I might plead the privilege of fiction. But alas it is all sober fact! and therefore I cannot possibly have hit the sublime. I believe there might have been more of it, but the accursed dawk bearers have obliged me to walk so much (not being able even to drag the palanquin after me in some places,) that I was tempted to bestow all my iambics upon them. I have the honor to remain with the most undeviating respect,

Hon'ble Sir,

You very faithful and devoted, humble servant,

N. B. HALHED.

Shall not stop to visit Col. Ironside.

"*Bath, 17th December*, 1804.

"MY DEAR HALHED,—Have you any objection to the publication of your lines written in the form of an epitaph on a common prostitute? I ask the question merely, but do not desire your answer to it as an assent to a request; nor if returned in the affirmative, shall I convey it as a favor. In truth, I wish it was printed in capitals, and affixed to every church-porch and market-place in the kingdom. I must add to the former, another question: should you object to your name being put to it, or to its only being known that you were the author of the poem? In truth, any man not absolutely torpid to the world's good will, which I will not believe, nor like to believe, that you are, might be proud to own it. It has been once already published, but carried by the vehicle to which it was committed into oblivion. A stray copy, therefore, may yet fall into worse hands than mine, or rather those to which I should transfer it.

"I am here on a transient visit, and shall return home the day after to-morrow.

"Pray present my respects, and add my affectionate regards to Mrs. Halhed; and receive from me the assurance of my warmest and most sincere attachment.

"I left Mrs. Hastings well. Adieu, my friend.

Yours ever,

WARREN HASTINGS."

"*Pall Mall, 20th December*, 1804.

"HONOURED SIR,—As Mr. Halhed's thumb is still too bad to hold a pen, he has made me his amanuensis to convey his best thanks for your kind letter this moment received, and as he cannot say nay to you, he is only particularly desirous that the poem alluded to,

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when printed, should appear nowhere but upon the church-doors according to your proposal, as it is then not likely to disturb the trade or tranquillity of the survivors of the lady in question, whose ill will, as he does not chose to encounter, he had rather not his name should be held up in reprobation amongst them. Seriously speaking, while he knows your partiality for the Author, he cannot but accuse you of over-rating the merit of the piece, or at least of an exaggerated opinion of its probable effects. So if you really wish it published, he will certainly submit with pleasure to your inclination on the subject, and in return he hopes you will gratify him by suppressing the five particular letters which form the word HALHED, leaving to your option the entire remain of the alphabet, to arrange into any sounds that may be most agreeable.

"And now, my dear Sir, I will resume the pen for myself, and only say, that his *thumb* is as sound as mine, but he says as the rage is for intercepting letters, and publishing private correspondences, he is determined not to give the chance of any of his falling into such hands, and as long as he will but employ mine, to obey your wishes, I shall endeavour to be as correct a transcriber of his words as my liabilities will allow. The sentiments of his heart are so in union with mine, that I never need apply to him to assure you of the grateful attachment with which it glows; and with what ardour we not only at this season, but at all times, offer up our prayers to the Almighty to pour his choicest blessings on you. And we beg you will present our affectionate respects, and good wishes to Mrs. Hastings, whom we are happy to find you left in good health; and hope you will not have suffered from travelling in this piercing cold, but that you are both as well as we wish you, and that ere long we may have the satisfaction to assure you in person of the respect and attachment with which I subscribe myself,

Honored Sir,
Your grateful and affectionate
LOUISE HALHED."

"Should you not have an original copy of the poem, command me to transcribe one for you out of my book, which contains all the verses of my good man I could save from the flames, to which he has committed a great number, and excuse this sad scrawl, for I can hardly hold my pen the cold pinches me so."

From Mr. Halhed to Mrs. Hastings on receiving a Christmas Ham.

"MY DEAREST MADAM,—Your very acceptable ham brought me a charming letter, and your very acceptable letter brought me a charming ham, like every thing else at Daylesford. I knew that all the delightful beings of the groves inhabited that blissful spot; that nymphs of every description were to be found there, in all their elysian perfection, and of course the sweetest Hamadryads; and where would be their merits, if they had no hams to dry? When I read those two beautiful lines the other day—

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'My next is a villa where grumblers reside,
'And gluttons and cowards in slovenly pride.'

God forgive me, I immediately thought of the party at Stow (which led me to sty) and very little expected so soon to see so astonishing a specimen of one of those celebrated gentry. Now my head is so full of that admirable couplet, that I really wish to be fully certified this thrice-christian ham is not a morsel of the said pasty, before I venture to plunge a knife into it. Its intended companion I should have supposed might once have been a general officer, and a cordon blew, if you had not obligingly informed me that it was originally a hen, perhaps one of Monsieur's chickens, as his elder brother does not deal in the article. Certainly Daylesford must be that very country of which Rabelais somewhere speaks with so much panegyric, where he says, the very hogs, God bless us, feed on nothing but myrobalons, and it seems even the Ham quitted it with great reluctance, for while Miss Turkey danced hither on her two fair legs a week ago for our Christmas dinner, my lord ham hoped in leisurely upon his one stump only last Saturday, consequently a day after the fare; a pair of them might perhaps have travelled much quicker. I suppose when alive it must have been an admirable performer on the organ, for as a very old proverb has long attributed peculiar excellence to the pigs of Chipping Norton upon that fine instrument, no doubt so very accomplished a gentleman would not fail to profit by the neighbourhood of that suillian academy. The delicious collar of Brawn was to be sure a vocal member of the same body corporate, and sang perhaps as divinely as any dying swan at the closing period of its existence; but whatever might be its melody, nothing could exceed the excellence of its taste. If this were to continue, I must think myself transplanted into Africa, and prepare to swear fealty to Isis and Osiris, the first great monarchs of the land of Ham. Now my dearest benefactress, have the compassion to send us up a stomach or two, at some favourable opportunity. Admit we have swallowed the collar of Brawn whole, and the turkey ditto, cheese ditto; there are 21 yards of—ham, equal to 336 ounces, at four ounces a day adequate to the consumption of twelve weeks;—but we will cut off a week for the bone, and there remain eleven! Why it will carry us through the winter, and we may sing, "A fig for the butcher." O if your hogs had but come to years of discretion when we saw company! Mr. H. says that we two sitting down to table with that mountain of ham between us, puts him in mind of the epigram in Martial which he bids me to copy with a translation annexed.

'Non cœnat nisi apro noster, Line, Coecilianus:
'Bellum Convivam Coecilianus habet!'

There téte á téte we dine the winter through—
And tis a monstrous *bore* betwixt us two.

"So if you will kill us with kindness, who is to pay the apothecary for our dying? for you know very well, we cannot die for nothing in London.

"You see I write in excellent spirits, but it is because in stripping

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the ham of its inexpressibles, we were made happy by your kind note, mentioning dear Mr. Hastings being "perfectly well," and you gave us no reason to fear but that you are the same, which is meat, drink, and every thing else to us; and we daily implore the Giver of all good, to add to the 75th annniversary of our dearest friend's existence as many more years of health and happiness as human nature, in this sublunary state, is capable of furnishing strength for; May all the best compliments, usually confined to this complimentary season attend you both the whole year through, and every day be a Xmas. in its festivity, though not in its shortness, or its cold. We live in an age of fearful events; and though with you we most fervently wish the calamities of the times may be averted from us, and from all those we esteem, yet we dare not flatter ourselves that the storm is blown over from this country: may it pass unfelt and innoxious over the hospitable roof of our beloved friends and patrons is the heartfelt prayer of, my dearest Madam,

Your obliged and affectionate friend,

LOUISE HALHED."

"*Daylesford House, 8th January*, 1808.

"MY DEAR MRS. HALHED,—Mrs. Hastings was so delighted with your letter, that she not only gave it to me to read, and to read it to her; but has insisted upon my taking it, and answering it for her. For the first I have thanked her, as I ought, for I was as much delighted with it as she was: but for the injunction which followed, I have prayed to be excused, conscious of my inability to obey it; for upon holding it up to the light, I saw, or thought I saw, a figure behind, busily employed in illuminating all the characters; and as I feel an humiliating consciousness of a total want of the same illuminative faculty, I have no other way to avoid the disgrace of discomfiture than by declining all attempts to equal or imitate it. But I am commanded to thank you for the oysters which you sent us, and to that I find my talents pretty equal, as the oysters have almost wholly fallen to my share; and I offer you Mrs. Hastings' thanks, and with her's my own, gratefully; assuring you, that they were, and still are (I believe) the best oysters that I have tasted since the year 1767, when from daily practice I was a gourmet in oysters. I am not sure that the praises which you bestow on our piggery were serious. I hope so, because it is my exclusive department, having devoted all that I possess of invention, since my superiors have pronounced me unfit for the higher occupations of life, to the improvement of that article of the agricultural system; with what success it does not become me to pronounce. I do not know the family, or progenitors of the ham. Mr. Halhed's conjectures concerning both may be right: but he is mistaken in the affinity of the brawn, which (I beg your pardon for not apprizing you of it) derives its ancestry from Ajaccio in Corsica, the birth place of the great conqueror and monarch of the western world; and the contiguous sties are shewn to this hour, in which the first squeaks were uttered, the prognostics of their future fortunes."

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"I thank Mr. Halhed for his couplet, and own that it is ingenious; but I am better pleased with the transcription than the composition of it. Will you have the goodness to shew him the following lines, which I met with lately at the end of an old thesaurus, and desire him to translate, or explain it. I cannot for the life of me, guess what it alludes to.

'Qualiscunque fluit variæ per viscera terræ,
'Quicquid habet puri fons, Arethusa facit.'

"I cannot describe to you with what a transition from mirth to the most awful and grateful feelings of affection we both read your kind wishes to us both, nor am I sure that though more immediately concerned, I felt them more than my dear Mrs. Hastings. You were not forgotten by us, my dear friends, on the 1st of the month, when by custom we pronounced those fervent wishes which we feel, as for you we do most ardently all the year through. You have not many friends, if any, that love you better than we do. Adieu, and heaven bless you!

WARREN HASTINGS."

"P. S.—Mrs. Hastings desires me to add, that she received a letter from Lady Imhoff this morning, conveying the most welcome intelligence, that both her son and daughter were in perfect health."

"10*th January*, 1808.

"HONOURED SIR,—Between your excellent ham and Mr. Halhed's Latin I have been doubly gratified by the honour and happiness of a most kind entertaining letter from yourself, in addition to that I had the pleasure of receiving from Mrs. Hastings. I must confess I did not myself quite stomach the application of Martial's epigram hashed up with Mr. Halhed's sauce; he says he was aware of the ambiguity you seem to hint at, and indeed was afraid you might turn the tables upon him, and retort by a different application of the same epigram.

One ham through winter feeds you téte á téte!
Trust me the bore is not upon the plate.

But this I myself could have borne; for I look'd at him when I read it as if I thought my own neck had escap'd the collar, and he felt the innuendo. No, says he, I will be a match for you and your sneering look, in coupling me with the ham; for now Mr. Hastings shall imitate it another way, and you shall not save your bacon.

On a sole ham while fed the winter through,
Where you see but one boar, said ham sees two.

When his laugh was over, he said he had anticipated a worse drubbing than this, which he has humbly suggested for you in behalf of so exquisite a joint; as he was afraid you might have exclaimed in anger still more archilochian.

'Quid te, ——* juvat, veteri miscere Falerno
In Vaticanis condita musta cadis?

* Illegible.

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Quid tantum fecere boni tibi pessima vina,
Aut quid fecerunt optima vina mali?
Convivæ meruere tui for tasse perire ———
Amphora non meruit tam pretiosa mori.'

Hence with your ounce, your scruple and your drachm,
Nor weigh by snippets so superb a ham!
What harm, at full t'enjoy the wholesome fare?
What good, to starve in the sanctorian chair?
Off with these guests, who stint the sav'ry store,
Then call such admirable pork a bore.

"While he bows in due humility to your just indignation, he is at least comforted in the success of his discernment in having discovered a twang of royalty through all the salt, and pickling, and smoking, and soaking, and stewing, and other processes to which the ham and the brawn had been subjected, before they reached the tip of his tongue; his mistake between Versailles and Corsica was at most but geographical, and that is nothing extraordinary in the present blurred and blotted state of the map of Europe. Still he cannot think there could ever be much harmony in the tones of a collar issuing from the sties that you mention.

'Twere well for earth's wide regions, sea and shore—
Ajaccio's music—were it but a bore—
Alas! no melody those organs speak—
Napoleon only grunts—while monarchs squeak.

"A man who has but one species of merit is hardly worth a button, because his peculiar talent may happen never to be called into exertion; and yet I must honestly confess, that when I knew you in the full exercise of a hazardous sovereignty over an extensive empire, I thought it the only employment to which you could turn your hand; but the excellence of your pork has undeceived me; and I find you equally expert and unrivalled in the management of a colony, into which to have introduced even cleanliness, attests more experimental skill than to have civilized all the Rajmahl districts: but, however, you have this advantage in your settlement, that you can confer a favour on one among fifty competitors, sans vous faire quarante neuf ennemis et un ingrat. O that we could but drive the Cabinet and Privy Council into your piggery! but at the end of all your labours you would be forced to confess that hogs were less incorrigible than Yahoos. It is lucky, however, in these times of discontent to have a manageable tribe to deal with, and I hope the doctrine of the *rights of swine* has not yet been broached in your *dynasty*—but I beg pardon for the misapplication of the word, as you are determined your pigs shall not die nasty. In this vile town we can only imitate the manners of your quadrupedal government in the subordinate qualifications of grunting and grumbling; but to be clean and well-fed is a luxury not compatible with the actual principles of taxation. The happiness of your hogs will I doubt not, become proverbial, like that of the slaves of a former planter in St. Domingo, where it was customary to say in

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describing a happy man, that he was heureux comme un Negre de Galet.

"I have obey'd your commands in showing Mr. Halhed the Latin couplet. He bids me reply, his name is Davus not Œdipus; and that like the cocket-writer who when called upon to interpret his own scribble, indignantly answered he was not paid to be cocket-reader. He can construe it, and he can imitate it, but for the soul of him he cannot understand it; and Alpheus happens not to live in this parish, to ferret out the Arethusa in question. The lines however are very pretty, and have a delicate meaning, perhaps not unlike the following—

'Glide as it may life's stream—or slow or fleet,
'Tis Marian gives whate'er it owns of sweet.'

"If we rejoiced in the contents of your obliging letter, we encored at the news contained in your welcome postcript, and are very happy to hear of the welfare of Sir Charles and Lady Imhoff.

"Your conclusion, my dear Sir, is much too kind not to excite in us the warmest sentiments of gratitude and affection. We are perfectly sure of your friendship, and that of our dear Mrs. Hastings; but if we were not, it is impossible that we should love you as we do, without kindling in your breasts a sympathy bordering upon esteem. Professions are the paper currency of regard, but we pay in sterling cash, and are proof against bankruptcy; so I can only add our sincerest wishes for both your healths and happiness, while I subscribe myself,

Honoured Sir,
Your affectionate and grateful
LOUISE HALHED."

From Mrs. Halhed to Mr. Hastings, dated 16th January, 1808.

"HONOURED SIR,—How shall I express the delight and gratitude with which I received your most kind and entertaining letter, in addition to that I had the pleasure of receiving from Mrs. Hastings this year. If you were amused as you say by the perusal of my scribble, my wishes are filled, and I only regret that when you come to hold this to the light you will not find it illuminated with the same gas, for that is our favourite light now in Pall Mall. But comets you know do not emit their fire every day, and so you must accept the humbler star, who is not less desirous to attract your eyes the less able to contribute to your amusement—we were both I assure you most highly gratified with every line of your incomparable letter, and had it no intrinsic merits, what satisfaction must it not afford to those that love you as we do, to see such a fine steady hand-writing at the age of 75! The surest and most unquestionable proof of a mind perfectly at ease, and of nerves unshaken by intemperance or decay; how many do I know much younger than yourself unable to carry a teacup steady to their lips, much less to guide the pen with comfort to themselves and entertainment to their correspondents. My dearest Sir, do not lament the blindness of your superiors in leaving you to enjoy the rural improvement even of your pigs, but rather say

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as I find it recorded that Cato did, I had rather it should be asked why I had not a statue, than why I had one.

"I rejoice the oysters proved so good, I wish I could make them multiply as fast as you take them out of the barrel till you were tired of eating any."

"*Pall Mall, 5th March*, 1808.

"HONOURED SIR,—I have delay'd from day to day to thank you for your kind and affectionate postscript to dear Mrs. Hastings' last favour; in hopes that I might have sent you something to amuse you, but one may as well force a river, as the genius of a poet; it may be led to flow in another course by turning its banks, but nothing else will succeed; therefore my dearest Sir, though there are many fragments ready to amuse you with, when we have the happiness of seeing you again, you must at the present accept only a few lines from my humble pen; as I am truly anxious to know how our dear Mrs. Hastings is, whom I trust and hope is perfectly restored to health, and that you both enjoy the mild opening of spring in your elysian fields, from whence I fear it will not be easy now to entice you to the thick atmosphere of London; yet I will indulge the hope that you and Mrs. Hastings will favour your friends with the satisfaction of seeing you here, and where none will more rejoice to pay their respects to you than Darby and Joan of Pall Mall, who in the mean time beg you will accept for yourself, and present to your beloved wife, the assurance of our most affectionate and unalterable attachment and respect, and allow me to subscribe myself ever,

Honoured Sir,
Your grateful and affectionate
LOUISE HALHED."

In the following we have a specimen of Mr. Hastings' facility in versifying, not without point.

"*Daylesford House, 24th March*, 1808.

"MY DEAR MRS. HALHED,—My poor Mrs. Hastings is confined to her bed with a most severe cold; and has desired me to request in her name your acceptance of a leg of pork—not Corsican. I am sorry for it, remembering what a gainer I was by one of that breed in our last commercial intercourse. This is a Chinese. I hope it will prove as good to the consumers, if not so productive to the manufacturer.

"Mrs. Hastings has also enjoined me to make my apology to you for not having long ago returned my acknowledgments for your last kind letter. She knows the cause of this delay; that all my neighbours to whom I used occasionally to apply for franks, have either left the country, or vacated their seats in Parliament and that I have no means of conveyance left for a letter, without a violence inflicted on my conscience, but the belly of a tur-

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key in its season, or a basket of pork. As to entertainment, or any matter of information, which I might estimate at the value of the postage, I have absolutely none: for what interest would it afford to you, my dear Madam, or my friend Halhed, to be told that our favorite cow has calved twins, and that we mean to rear one of them upon principles of philosophic inquiry, to see whether it will turn out a free-martin? Or how will you be edified by the anecdote of a twin lamb being clad with the skin of a dead lamb, and passed upon the poor mother of the latter for her own? These events never happen, I know, in Pall Mall; and I only allude to them now, to prove how barren of intellect a man must necessarily be, who lives wholly in the country, and having no stock of his own within him, possesses only the poor resource of a farm yard, or a hog sty.

"But as I have, unhappily, no better, I will tell you the story of a twin lamb, from a principle which I borrow from Sarah Webb, the superintendent of our poultry, who seduces her hens to lay, when they are obstinate, and will not, by putting into their nests ill-formed lumps of chalk, designed to represent eggs. And they do lay; for *they* are not incorrigible. The story shall be related on a separate piece of paper. The event to which it alludes, as well as its record, happened about the time of the battle of Marengo, either before, or after it, I forgot which; but I verily believe, before. The exactness of the chronology is of consequence, and I am sorry that I have forgotten it. Mrs. Hastings desired me to add much that in her own expression was kinder and more affectionate than I can make it appear in mine, both to you and Mr. Halhed, in every sentiment of which, as in most others, my heart is in unison with her's. She has also charged me with a playful message, which must be the ingredient of another letter, either from herself, or from me: for I can laugh upon other subjects; but not cheerfully, or naturally at this time, upon any in which she is either the principal, or a party. Besides, I have received my commission so late, and have executed it with such a shameful waste of time, that I have hardly a sufficiency left for the task which I have imposed upon myself.

"Adieu, my dear Madam and believe me to be ever,

Your sincere and affectionate friend,

WARREN HASTINGS."

"Diseas'd, and worried, and of life bereft,
Far from the flock a lamb deserted lay:
Last of its downy coat despoil'd, and left
With rot to moulder, or to kites a prey.

An alien lamb, clad in the borrow'd hide,
With surreptitious claim the mother press'd.
She, well deceived, her milky store supplied,
And the base nursling as her own caress'd.

The scene (for I beheld it) deep impress'd,
As in a mirror, my reflective thought;

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And by the visions of my fancy drest,
This strange, but moral composition wrought.

I saw a potent state, of ancient frame;
Of numbers countless; o'er the nations round
Pre-eminent in greatness, wealth and fame;
With science, arts, and martial glory crown'd.

Next I beheld, high seated on a throne,
That adamantine stood, or seem'd to stand,
A manly form majestic: round him shone,
The guards and emblems of supreme command.

A magic robe his graceful limbs attir'd;
(Some saint had wove the talismanic spell)
Which who beheld, with awe and love inspir'd,
Low at his feet in adoration fell.

Sudden an earthquake shook the hallow'd ground;
And the throne trembled to its deep-laid base:
Wolves howl'd, and vultures soar'd with screams around,
Peace fled, and civil rage usurp'd her place.

From the scar'd pageant, in the foul debate,
The regal mantle fell: the bloody crew,
Their former love by madness chang'd to hate,
The living idol of their worship slew.

New scenes of war and rapine now disclose,
(The march of years abridg'd by rapid flight;
For time and space in dreams their measure lose,)
Successive horrors to my mental sight.

One issuing from the tumult, where it fell,
The regal mantle, yet distain'd with blood,
Seiz'd, round his body pass'd, and (strange to tell,)
With all its sovereign pow'rs invested stood.

The crew, the murd'rers of their legal lord,
Low at his feet their adoration pay;
In thought behold their long-lov'd rule restor'd,
And distant regions trembling, own its sway.

Here darkness clos'd the scene. In wonder lost
I pass'd its mystic movements in review,
Doubtful of what it seem'd portentous most,
The state of France, or my deluded ewe."

Mr. Halhed by return of post capped these lines of Mr. Hastings, but though reluctant to omit them, it behoves us to hus-

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band our space as best we can, where materials are so abundant. A letter nominally from Mrs. Halhed, and in her hand writing, has reference to Mrs. Hastings' illness from fever. It is full of versified passages, of course, from her husband's ready pen. He yearns for the country, after Virgil, thus—

"This gloomy town's a fish-pond in my sight,
For knaves to angle in, and fools to bite:
If neither, like an out of water fish I am,
O Rus, Rus! quando ego te aspiciam!"

In fact it would seem that he longed to be at Daylesford.

"Far from the busy hum of men,
The poet guides in peace his pen,
And paints ambition's bloody scheme,
Brim full of horrors, *as a dream*.
But shackled in this noisy cage,
Mid cheats of every rank and age,
This magic lanthorn for the mind,
Where bustling forms and colours gay,
Their thin significance display.
Forlorn he *snuffs* the well known smoke,
Too dull to think, too sad to joke:—
His fancy flags, his tongue grows dumb—
His life and ev'n his verse — a hum."

Here is Mr. Hastings' reply, with some original verses from his own hand.

"*Daylesford House*, 31*st March*, 1808.

"I cannot express, my dearest Madam, the pleasure with which my dear Mrs. Hastings and I read your first letter, nor the gratitude, and affection, and admiration, which by turns took possession of our bosoms on the perusal of the last. I might say perusals, for we read both more than once, and parts of both more than I kept count of. We both felt most the most elegant and moral lines on Mrs. Hastings' indisposition, myself in particular, as I hold their superior excellence to be a proof that they came warm from the heart. One line of them is perfectly original, and as true as it is poetical. The same character belongs to the sentiment conveyed in all the four lines with which it most happily closes. We were as much diverted, though we could not bestow on him the same warmth of heart, by "Showman Lucifer" and his gang; and yet more by your abuse of me for my philosophical experiment. The better version of my deluded ewe has produced upon me the effect of inspiration, and I give you the fruits of it in the inclosed fragment; which in its first formation, and yet more in its correction, and in the attempt to accommodate it to Mrs. Hastings' difficult, but accurate judgment, has cost me more labor than I ought, without shame, to own. Accept it, my amiable friend, as my last gift of the kind, from my pen, or head. If the heart had taken any part in it, you, my dear Madam, would have given it some of the.

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graces which it sadly wants; and I must tell you, that the first objection to it that struck my dear Mrs. Hastings, when I first read it to her, which I did with all the emphasis and pathos which could cheat her of her approbation, was, that I had said nothing in it of the beautiful address to her, and the prayer which concludes it. I said, I felt them as much (and perhaps more, as being more interested in the subject,) as she did; but that I could not do more without a call. Adieu, my dear Madam. Our joint love attends you both. Our joint vows for your health were offered up yesterday with the last glasses of our dinner. I hope you felt them.

"Alas! It has this moment struck my recollection that to-morrow will be the first day of April, and I am half inclined to keep back this letter and its inclosure for a later and less inauspicious package, if this may not be postponed. Permit me, however, to take the occasion of this remembrance, to ask Mr. Halhed whether this strange mode of giving an anniversary sanctity to the day may not have been derived from the Hooly, or both from one common origin.

"I am, my dear Madam, with sentiments of the warmest and equal affection, both for yourself and your good and respected husband, which are those also of Mrs. Hastings,

Your sincere and faithful friend,
WARREN HASTINGS."

"I have the great satisfaction to announce Mrs. Hastings much better."

"O for a nose of proof, whose potent sense
Might penetrate through all external fence,
(Like the fam'd priests, which Grecian poets tell ye,
Smelt ruin latent in a horse's belly,
Or thine, great James, which from the lobby floor
Could snuff up treason through the cellar door)
Through coat and doublet truth authentic scan,
And separate the semblance from the man!
Then on Detection's active wings I'd hie
To town,—if e'er Detection taught to fly,—
For Hyde park corner soar, a bustling scene,
And scent the fragrant haunts of men between;
(Forbid by her, to whose imperious sway
Pleas'd I submit, and all she will obey,
The road of Uxbridge, else the better way,
To pass the gate by decent verse unnam'd,
And busy Bond-street of her sons asham'd)
Thence down Pall Mall; but for a moment stint
My flight, and stop at Halhed's for a hint:
Last to the holy fanes of palace-yard;
For these, religion, law and freedom guard:
Where patriot bands assemble, lords in suits
Of sober cost, and commoners in boots;
Whose pores in diverse congregated streams
Waft their rich odor's down the silver Thames:

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There take my station; or on William's roof;
Or Margret's spire, if reformation-proof;
Or from St. Peter's tow'rs my nose expand,
And snuff the special virtues of the land:
But let me, warn'd to fly the wrath to come,
Shun, holy Stephen, thy pestiferous dome,
Where once the glasses of corruption flew,
And in their way three printer's devils slew.

"Ah! vain the dream. No borrow'd wings have I,
To bear me buoyant through the vacant sky;
Nor could my genius an excursion bear
Far from the precincts of my elbow chair.
To this confin'd in dosing mood I sit;
Or wake, to strain at imitative wit;
For hard-earn'd rhymes my torpid fancy pose;
To sneeze the sole employment of my nose.
And well its pow'rs, and mine of flight, are lost,
By the vile east-wind in their purpose crost:
Though sped from India, which first gave it birth,
By me the land the best belov'd of earth,
Let not its breath approach my sense too near.
There Minto sweats, and I can smell him here.

"Enough.—To thee, my friend, I now consign
Th' unfinish'd theme. Its origin was thine.
Thy nose from rheum, thy wit from fog is free;
And ev'ry sense can prove a muse to thee."

"*Pall Mall, April*, 1808.

"HONOURED SIR,—I received your most kind and excellent letter frank'd by a very excellent member, whose name I do not recollect in Stockdale's Parliamentary list, but he is I presume a descendant of Lord Bacon, and Mr. H. tells me, must be in high fashion in *Aperil*. While we rejoiced to hear of Mrs. Hastings' amended health, for which we offer our most hearty congratulations, we were not a little concerned to find the interruption of your's, momentary, I hope we may call it, and that your nose has by this time recovered its serenity, or only disturbed by the imaginary purgatory provided for it by your all-creative brain, and not by the teazing defluxion of a cold. And that it may continue *proof* against all obstacles both from within and from without in future, is our most ardent wish! You urge a continuation of the original and yet fertile topic you have so successfully broached: but you know it is a delicate subject for a stranger to meddle with, and sometimes is not handled with impunity, besides there is some latent ambiguity in your expressions, which time, that discloses all things, will doubtless develop. You allude to my *letters*, as if I had written two; whereas I have positively written but one, and sent but one, in which I do not recollect that I mentioned smelling, but as connected with smoke. Now it is very true that

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smoke must be a very principal ingredient in most of those delightful scents you have so poetically described, and with the peculiar merit of poetry, at a moment when by the suspended state of your odorative faculty you are under the necessity of taxing your invention for the examples: and very luckily too, for many a fume will pass very glibly upon the imagination which would throw the perceptive organ into convulsions, if exposed in all its nudity to actual contact with the real subject. You urge a continuation, but a continuation from this quarter would be like that described in Hudibras, a fustian continuation of a satin cloak, such as you will see it, if it should survive the perils of parturition, to which indeed it is not yet arrived. But why so suicidically resolve to lay down the pen? There is indeed (as Mr. H. tells me) classical authority for it—"Victor cestus astemque repono"—but all that is Latin, and I don't understand a word of it, tho' I am told it means "I shall leave off merely because I can do better than any body else." Poets to be sure, are much obliged to you for so magnanimous an exertion of self-denial, but if you expect thanks as encouragement for it from any other quarter, I can only predict for you a woeful disappointment.

"I have delivered your message to Mr. H. about April day, but he says (he understands the learned to place the Hooly as according with our May-day, and he believes they have no occasion in India to set apart a particular day in the year for the manufacture of the commodity so plentifully fabricated in England on that anniversary —but the origin of it he imagines to exist in the visible and notorious partiality of the inhabitants of this philosophical island for their own knowledge, wisdom and sagacity: which, that it may not quite overbloat, and perhaps burst them, our provident ancestors consecrated one day to the sole inculcation of the Pythagoric lesson of 'Nocie teipsum'—allowing them to be as learned, as sensible and as profound as they pleased for 364 days in the year. This is his opinion of the matter. But mine is somewhat more charitable, for I conceive that the true pith and intent of the solemnity consists in shewing them that they are naturally so wise, knowing, and experienced, that to bring them down to the common level of the world, it is necessary to have one day in the year solemnized by the ceremony of making them fools for which there could be no reason or use at all, if they were so already. Your most kind and entertaining letter however did not arrive till the second of April and consequently found us *ready-made* tho' what you say of *two* letters, when I positively have written but one, seems calculated to give us the finishing stroke. As the anonymous author of the motley fragments on which you have bestowed so liberal and so prodigal an encomium is seriously desirous to preserve the most rigorous incognito—it it impossible to describe, from authority, the extravagant self applauses which he will undoubtedly feel at being the subject of such exalted panegyric, whenever it reaches his ears; which undoubtedly tingle at this moment, however distant they may be, at the repetition of them—by my perusal of your letter.

"And now, my dear Sir, accept my adieu. You have grieved me so

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much by your's to the muse, that I can no longer smother my concern, and I am not fond of epistolary whimpering, which I feel is growing fast upon me. I will exert the last remnant of my forbearance in requesting you to present our most sincere and cordial congratulations to Mrs. Hastings on her convalescence, and our most affectionate regards ever and ever attend you both.

I am, my dear Sir,
Your most obliged and affectionate
LOUISE HALHED."

Postcript.

"No playful message come!
So country poets too can *hum!*
Unless 't were glancing at the pork,
To make a playful knife and fork.
But ah! too luscious far is pork
For us, who never drew a cork."

"We really cannot make out what gate is not to be named."

The "Nose-of-proof" verses produced a reply apparently from Mrs. Halhed, and in her hand writing; but it is easy to see who stood behind her chair. This was followed by an extension of the idea on Mr. Halhed's part, which we must waive for the present. Mr. Hastings having come to London on business was not able to see his friends the Halheds, but wrote to Mrs. Halhed a letter dated, 6, Portugal Street. He alludes to his harvest—"the blessed occupation of an unthinking mind"—as being uncommonly abundant—and such as he hopes it may have proved throughout all England. "They (the crops) appeared so on each side of the road as I passed from Daylesford to London. It was not always so, as it appears by the following humble apostrophe to Mr. Pitt, written, I forget when:

"My harvests drench'd by nightly rains decay:
My rents in taxes are dissolv'd by day.
Why, Pitt, this mighty pother, but to prove
Thy rule divided with imperial Jove?"

"Pray shew these, with my love, to Mr. Halhed."

Then follow these lines as a P. S.

"Once when my fellow tillers of the land
Felt their loins ache, smote by Pitt's iron hand,
I winc'd, but gave my rent, each varied tax
To fill, and fed contented on my stacks.
Now all I gain by produce of my stacks, is,
That though I cease to feed, I pay my taxes."

At length Mr. Halhed bethought himself of applying to one no less distinguished for true genius, than for the brilliance of his

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Parliamentary career—Mr. Canning. His application was in the following terms:

"*No.* 17, *Pall Mall*, 11*th September*, 1808.

"RIGHT HONOURABLE SIR,—Among the crowd of unhappy beings whose aggregate composes the commonwealth of wretchedness, there is not perhaps an individual with sufferings so truly acute, and distress so unutterable as the decayed gentleman. Such is the person who now ventures to obtrude himself upon your notice. Possessed of considerable property, but all locked up in France from the very commencement of our hostilities with that country, all his other means having gradually melted away during this terrible interval, he is now reduced to the necessity of seeking from his exertions that maintenance which he has been used to derive from his fortune. * * * If there exists at present, or should providentially occur, any opening though which the services of such a man might be rendered useful at once to Government and to himself, I most anxiously solicit the preference,—and with the only merit of conciseness in my importunities, well knowing the value of every moment to you,—but with unfeigned admiration of your talents and the sincerest respect for your character, I hasten to subscribe myself,

Right Hon'ble Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
N. B. HALHED."

To the Right Hon'ble GEO. CANNING,
Secy. of State, &c. &c.

On the 14th of the same month—he writes for the first time, for years, to Mr. Hastings—direct; and in his own hand writing. Sclerocardia, shadows out London—and there are voluminous productions of Mr. Halhed's pen under the title of a "Sclerocardian," that is of an inhabitant of the hard hearted city, he himself being, we now scarcely add, one of the kindest hearted men in the world. In a vien of irony he condemns the Bank *paper* system of the day, to which on principle he was always opposed. The rest of the allegory, and its application to Mr. Canning will be obvious to the reader.

Extract from the Memoirs of a Sclerocardian.

"This was the period of projects and paradoxes. Among the former one, the principal was that of a society who manufactured every possible species of commodity by means of a well, in which by an apparatus contrived to imitate mastication they reduced the most worthless materials into a homogeneous pulp resembling chyle: which when properly dried in moulds prepared for the purpose, and by the help of other supplementary processes—became an indisputable succedaneum for all the productions of nature and art. A palace or an elephant, a windmill or a pack of hounds, a fleet of ships or a set of horses were alike instantaneously conjured up by this miraculous invention. No attention was paid to the different bulk or value of the

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articles required: the pieces of substitutable pulp, although not distinguishable to vulgar intellect by any discrimination of size, figure or proportion, were at all times precisely commensurate with the substances into which they were to be commuted: one of them by a single flirt of the finger became a leg of mutton, another a house and park, and a third a diamond necklace, a gold watch or a shewy equipage. Everything cognizable by all or any of the five predicables had its representative in this novel species of chylification: it seemed like witchcraft, and was indeed not a little indebted to the black art for its success. It was said that scarcely a fine woman in the whole precinct but had her exact equivalent, perfect as a facsimile, in this manufacture, and that the original and the model were at all times interchangeable.

"Elated both with their talents, and with the wonderful encouragement they enjoyed, the projectors even went further; and did actually modify their protean material so as to make it a regular and admitted substitute for invisible and impalpable objects. Nothing, for instance, was more frequent than a pulpified oath, a promise or an alibi: thousands were manufactured (as it was currently reported) in the shape and sound of a monosyllabic affirmative, and some, though rarely, were detected as the representatives of a surly No.—Votes indeed were so customarily created by this artificial manipulation, that at length it became impossible to distinguish the genuine from the factitious. Souls also were an article in which they drove a prodigious trade, equal at least in quantity to those produced by the clumsy method of parturition. In short the transmutations and metamorphoses effectuated by this ingenious knot of manufacturers, extended to all persons, parties and professions, to all existences physical and metaphysical, and seemed co-extensive with all sublunary space in the opinions of those who were bewitched by the hocus-pocus of this extraordinary legerdemain.

"These arts of imitative sophistication quickly diffused themselves like wild-fire; and the great Club of pulpification presently generated an innumerable hord of affiliated societies in the country-provinces, who masticated in their turn stacks of wheat and chambers of malt, coal, lime and iron, salt, clay, gravel and dung, with the same facility as other more dainty or more portable commodities. But the evils introduced by this universal practice of substitution, the overthrow of every rational estimate of proportional values, the confusion of all sound ideas of right and wrong, and the amalgamation of all moral principles with the poisonous qualities of avarice and prodigality, appertain rather to the philosophical examiner, than the mere superficial annalist of passing events."

"On turning over a great number of thick-scrawled but undecypherable pages, we at length stumbled upon the following sentence which was tolerably legible, but we shall not vouch for the accuracy of our transcript.

"'The Reis Effendi of the Sultan of Sclerocardia strolling one day in the bazar of the metropolis, Satanapûra, entered into a knick-nackatory or shop of haberdashery of hardware: where after cursorily

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admiring the gold snuff-boxes and filligree toothpick cases, the painted fans and glittering trinkets exhibited in the windows, his notice was attracted by an old box that stood in a neglected corner of the repository—which seemed although now besprent with dust and cobwebs, to have once been well-shaped and not without ornament; curiosity led him to peep into it, and he found in it a variety of instruments like carpenter's tools—the iron part all rusty by neglect, and the wood work wormeaten and decaying. No wonder he turned away his eyes with contemptuous indifference from so despicable a piece of antiquity, when just as he popped down the lid, he caught a glimpse of what had formerly been gilding, on the handle of a chisel. This led him to interrogate the toyman as to the original destination of that dirty box: who replied, that it was formerly the tool-chest of a famous Basha of Hastinapûr in Bangdèsa—who had often expressed his satisfaction both at the quality and edge of the instruments it contained, and had himself worked them with acknowledged success—but that since he had quitted the viceregal musnud, and buried himself in the civilization of a colony of grunt-isqueakian savages, the chest had remained half buried in filth and obscurity, and the tools been consigned to inaction and rust. On this, the State minister, whose name was Abukanyanga Beg, paused a moment, and told the shopman to clean it up a little, and he *would consider about the purchase*, if it might be had cheap."

"And now my dearly-beloved friend and patron, you see me once more—proprio pollice and no longer in the borrowed plume of my dear amanuensis. As I broke my ten years fast on *your* excellent Daylesford-butter and French roll, in Portugal Street *lately*, so *now* I break the dozen-year-silence of my pen, by addressing myself to *you* with a thousand and a thousand acknowledgments—warm from the heart—for all the fervour of your friendship and all the steadiness of your attachment. During near fourteen years of my voluntary imprisonment your constant kindness and unwearied attention has *so far* enabled me to subsist, partly on hope, and partly, like a bear in a cave, by sucking my paws. But though I am by some folks thought to have outjob'd Job, I must honestly confess I cannot outstarve starvation: seeing therefore this said bladder-bellied fiend gaining upon me with hasty strides I have at length, a few days since you left town, mustered up a little courage, and demanded of him as of any other ghost what he had to say? He answered me out of the Stratford rubric, that he should certainly "sit heavy on my soul to-morrow"—if I did not turn to, and repent of my long inactivity this very day. As the threats of a spectre may, *for ought I know*, be as formidable in purpose as in opinion, and not wishing to risk the last thin integument of my ribs on the experiment of braving him—I instantaneously determined to take up my mattock and go into the market, to be hired by the first lord of a vineyard who should be in want of a labourer, and I have offered my services to the great Abukanyanga Beg abovementioned; but whether he has seen or heard of my application—and what may be the consequence—I will most obstinately reserve to a future opportunity, when

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very likely I may be less able to utter it, because I shall know more of the matter. With my most sincere and affectionate regards to Mrs. Hastings—added to those of Mrs. Halhed—and with our united wishes for the health and happiness of you both—as the truest friends we have ever met with—and far beyond all we could have hoped for, I subscribe myself,

My dear, dear Sir,
Your most grateful and sincerely affectionate
N. B. HALHED."

Pall Mall, 14th September, 1808.

Next day he broke his long silence towards another and most sterling friend to the last—Sir Elijah Impey.

"*15th September*, 1808.

"MY DEAR SIR ELIJAH,—To you who have so stedfastly befriended me through all the best parts of my life, and on the immutability of whose attachment no obstinacy of retirement or unwarrantable inactivity on my side has ever made the slightest impression, I owe it most imperatively to take the earliest opportunity of communicating my resolution to resume, if possible, some of the functions of social life; and at the same time assuring you with my own pen of my profound sense of the obligations you have ever unremittedly conferred upon me, and consequently of the unalterable warmth of my esteem and affection for yourself and Lady Impey, who participating with you in all the kindness of the most tender and disinterested friendship for my dear wife and myself, merits in every point of view a full share of our gratitude and regard, which never shall decay but with our lives. To put you in possession of the reasons which have operated so unexpected a change in my conduct, I hasten to inform you, that the urgency of want (arising from a cause which you well know) has at length compelled me to quit my deep though voluntary seclusion, and to attempt once more to elicit the means of existence (aye, bare existence) from a struggle with the busy world. I had flattered myself that by exercising the most rigid self-denial, and deriving a sort of negative subsistence from severe privations, I should be able to drag on a miserable independence until the restoration of peace with France. But my computation has fallen short, my experiment has completely failed, and I have at last been driven by those unutterable distresses which none but a decayed gentleman can be exposed to, or even well imagine, to turn my thoughts to the possibility of obtaining charity under the semblance of patronage. Two short days have decided my plan. After revolving in mind all that I know (very little, I confess,) relative to the persons who now fill the prime offices of Government, I determined to make the offer of my service to Mr. Canning. Without recommendation, without introduction, (for my protracted inhumation has long since bereft me of even so much as personal acquaintance with any man of influence or connection) I have simply addressed myself to his judgment and his

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feelings, and my own pen has been my Sir Clement Cotterell; whether I may hope for any success from so informal a solicitation will depend, I think, on the peculiar disposition and character of the individual, which at my distance it is impossible to appreciate. It is, however, my very last stake: and if I lose,————

"I would not trouble you, or my other only remaining dear friend, Mr. Hastings, with a premature disclosure of my intentions—for I know you would both have rushed forward to my aid, under whatever inconvenience, and perhaps under a conscious disability of being essentially serviceable. But now that the ice is broken, now that the Secretary of State is in possession of my wishes and of my application, a favourable report of my talents or my industry cannot but be most opportune. If, therefore, it falls in your way to waft by a side wind a recommendatory innuendo to the ministerial ear, I am sure I need not canvass you twice.

"I wrote yesterday to Mr. Hastings—and this is absolutely my second epistle since my determination to re-enter the circle of humanity, if it would receive me: and I believe I shall write no more: for where shall I find a third—similis ant secundus to yourself and my Mœcenas of Daylesford?

God Almighty bless you and yours, My dear Sir Elijah, and I beg you to believe me (with Mrs. Halhed's best love also)

Your most obliged and affectionate friend,
(Signed) NATHANIEL BRASSEY HALHED."

"Our kindest united regards attend Lady Impey and our friends Elijah and Miss Mary.

The next letter in our file is from Lady Impey. There are several besides it in our possession—all having reference to continued acts of kindness, and exhibiting the amiable and excellent writer in a light that claims for her memory our sincere admiration and respect.

To Mrs. Halhed.

"MY DEAR FRIEND,—In consequence of a letter received this morning from your good husband, mine has taken flight for Pall Mall, accompanied by your favourite Elijah, which is very satisfactory to me. It gives me pleasure to find that our old friend consents to return to the society of his friends. I trust that you will do all in your power to encourage so happy an event, and I hope that you will endeavour to prevail on him to return with Sir Elijah to Newick Park. Every thing he wishes can be as well negotiated here by himself and his friends, as if he continued in London—and I cannot tell you how supremely happy you will both make me, by seeing you arrive with him. God bless you both,

Your most affectionately
M. IMPEY."

Sept. 16, 1808.

"P. S.—Plenty of room for any servants you may choose to bring."

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Mrs. Halhed's reply is dated Pall Mall, 19th September, expressing in warmest terms, her sense of Lady Impey's goodness. It appears that Sir Elijah and his son had most earnestly pressed her husband and himself to accompany them back to Newick—but they excused themselves as it was not *then* in their power to do so. We suppose that the cause here was simply *res angusta domi*. To Mr. Halhed's letter with the extract from the Sclerocardian memoir—Mr. Hastings' reply is as follows:

Daylesford House, 16th September, 1808.

"My dear Friend,—The sight of your name at the end of your letter, the first object of it that catched my eye, impressed me with sensations of surprize and pleasure beyond what I have long felt. I thank you for allowing me to be the first of your friends (the first in heart I do believe I am) to whom you have preferred to break through your long reserve. If I had ever attributed it to coldness, I would thank you for having broke the ice. I think I read the chapter of your Sclerocardian with more satisfaction, than I felt when I heard it with the advantage of your reading it to me. Perhaps I perceived some of the beauties which escaped my attention in the first instance: perhaps others have been added in this edition of it: or perhaps its last effect may be better ascribed to that which it produced on Mrs. Hastings, who was my auditress, and increased my pleasure by the pleasure which she expressed. The appendix affected me in a very different manner, and still more your letter. From the first I infer that the first advance was made by the great man to you; from the latter, that the offer was made by you. He is said to be "a fellow of infinite jest, and most excellent fancy:" but I have taken it into my head, that he is a sneerer, a character rarely associated with that feeling which impels a man to wish to derive benefit from the services of one in distress. I do not therefore indulge any sanguine hopes from him. But I wait with anxious, very anxious expectation of what may result from it. As to myself, you know very well that it was my intention to have resumed my profession of upholder; but had the misfortune to fall into a saw-pit, and was so crippled, that I have never been able to handle an axe or a chisel since; nor even to sharpen them, though in this art I was once thought more expert than in their actual employment. You see, that I comprehend your innuendos; but shall not follow them beyond my own justification. In truth I do not feel myself in a humor for it.

"My dear Halhed, I disclaim all title to your acknowledgments, and feel a pain almost of compunction, while I read them. Your penetrating mind intuitively saw the inclinations of mine, and gave me the credit of performance, which was due only to intention. This is all the merit I ever had with you; but I will not assert the degree of it.

"Accept from Mrs. Hastings and myself, for yourself and our dear

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Mrs. Halhed, the assurance of our affectionate regards and best wishes, and believe me ever your sincere friend,

WARREN HASTINGS."

"P. S.—I was desirous of answering your letter by the return of the post; but a first visit from our new great neighbours, L. and Lady Redesdale interrupted my purpose, and left me too little time to attempt it, when they separated. It is possible this may not go till to-morrow, as I wait for a frank, and may be disappointed of one for this day.

No letter come yet—"all a Blank."*

"HONOURED SIR,—The kind and affectionate answer you wrote to my dear husband assures me that you watch the post daily with anxiety, and perhaps feel disappointed that you have not yet received anothere epistle from him, but the misfortune was that when he dispatched his letter to the great Abukanyanga Beg, he did not know he was not in Satanabad, and the letter was kept a few days at the office, and then despatched after him. So Mr. H. waits to thank you for your most friendly letter, till he has an answer; but the sad events in Portugal may well engross the Beg's mind so that he cannot think of such an oyster as is in Pall Mall. Yet I have the satisfaction to tell you that the delay causes no despondence, but that my good man rather augurs favourably from the silence, it carrying the appearance of considering the matter, as we have heard two instances of his polite and feeling negatives to applications made to him, wherein he said, "the next best thing to serving a person, was that of a prompt answer if he could not," and therefore Mr. H. thinks it better notwithstanding the zealous advice of our kind friend Sir Elijah, to *sit still* until he has some clue about the reception of his letter, as by an exhibition of his talents in writing something he might mar his own business, having no knowledge of the great man's disposition and sentiments, and we trust and hope our beloved Patron will approve of his waiting to see the result of his application.

"Mr. H. is highly delighted with the excellent manner in which you improved upon his little apologue of the tool-chests. He says your application of the terms *Upholder* and *Saw-pit* is infinitely happy and well-pointed—as well as your allusion to your former use of the tools—while now, you say, you can neither chisel out a mortise for so miserable a tenant as he is, nor yet *axe* any of the powers that be to make room for him. Of your former merits as an upholder no man is more gratefully sensible than himself—and he yet lives to thank you, whereas *some of your work* has long since been transferred to the care of the undertaker—and he hopes you will verify in this secondary capacity the character of Lycoris in Martial.

Omnes quas habuit, Tabiane, Lycoris, Amicas
Extulit—Uxori fiat amica mea!
Like his own bounty Hastings braves decay—

* From Mr. Canning.

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The friends it rais'd successive pass away—
Live on—dear upholder of great and small!
And prove grand undertaker to us all.

"*Amen* says I, God bless you my most beloved and respected friend; would my pen could express all the gratitude of my heart for your and dear Mrs. Hastings' unremitting and constant attachment, and well may I say

"Amitie doux appui de l'homme en sa misere
La coupe des douleurs est par toi moins amêre."

For you even, best of men, know "that in adversity even a friend will depart;" believe then how highly we prize the jewel of such friendship as yours! and what a cordial it has and does prove: yes, to the last moment my heart beats shall it remember it, and supplicate the Almighty to shower down his choicest blessings on you and your beloved partner; and may your barns increase seven-fold, and all your flocks have twins. I had flattered myself with a few lines from dear Mrs. Hastings with her *absolution* to my husband, trusting that she was convinced of the truth of his apologies,* but I will cherish the hope that the time is not far distant when we may both in person as in heart come and thank you; in the mean time with our affectionate respects to you both, believe me ever, Honoured Sir,

Your grateful and affectionate
LOUISE HALHED."

Pall Mall, 23rd September, 1808.

A present of a Michaelmas goose from Mrs. Hastings is alluded to metaphorically in Mrs. Halhed's next letter to her husband.

"*Pall Mall, 29th September*, 1808.

"MY DEAR SIR,—When Brahma was once in a fit of perplexity for the provision of his Michaelmas feast, Vishnu condescendingly assumed the form of the Hansa Avatar, and came to the relief of the poor ———† noddled puzzlecap. Whatever may have happened since to Brahma, the goose at least has maintained its shape and roastability, to the present day, and which is the more to be admired, even in that very spot where Medusa's Cupidific aspect had converted so considerable a part of the species to a morsel for the stone-eater. The carnal brood has however providentially escaped annihilation: and the actual representative *hero* of the batch, being the first Daylesford goose that has invited us—is not only most gratefully received—and with all our best acknowledgments to our dear benefactress, but hailed also as a phenomenon of auspicious omen—that so long as we do but furnish mouth and appetite, Providence will mercifully send geese or quails, to thurst themselves voluntarily down our throats.—

* For not going to see her at Portugal Street when she was in town.
† Illegible.

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Now to put you in possession of the present suspended state of the temple of expectation—which is my next topic,—I must trouble you with a correct delineation of the whole process of the edifice; and first for a basement or the ground floor."

Here he gave his friend a copy of his letter of application to Mr. Canning, already known to our readers. He had now received the Right Hon'ble gentleman's reply, a copy of which he also forwarded.

Private.

"*Bruton Street, September* 28, 1808.

"SIR,—I am really ashamed to have left your letter so long unanswered—unacknowledged, I should rather say—for the difficulty of answering it, is that which has hitherto restrained me, and which prevents me at present from saying more, than that I assure you, it is not from want of feeling for the situation which you describe or still less from any feeling of disapprobation of the step you have taken, that I have been silent—and that I very anxiously wish that I had the means, in which case I should not have been wanting in the inclination, to come to your assistance.

I have the honor to be,

Very truly Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
GEO. CANNING."

N. B. HALHED, ESQ.

On this, to use Mr. Halhed's own words, was raised a sort of temporary bungalow, to serve for a second floor as follows :—

"*Pall Mall, th September*, 1808.

"RIGHT HON'BLE SIR,—I esteem your pardon of my intrusion, and the candour of your answer, as each of them a very considerable favour, and the honour you have done me in shewing that I have not mistaken the feeling turn of your mind, as equal to both. Permit me to return you my most grateful and hearty thanks for them all: and in the hope of being deemed at all times devoted to your service, to assure you of the sincere esteem, with which I have the honor to remain,

Right Hon'ble Sir,
Your most obedient and most faithful humble servant,

"Here then (continues Mr. Halhed's letter) the battle pauses faute de combattans. I know he will not forget my application—and I have not so far demeaned myself as to make it ineligible to form an amicable connection with me—which at present I rather deprecate should the next move be in the shape of invitation—for notwithstanding my dear Mrs. Hastings' unwillingness to accept my apology on the score of deficiency of address, I can only say had she been at the Governor of India's elbow when he had the condescension to help on the coat of a nameless individual—and had peeped into the naked wardrobe she

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would be completely satisfied of the authenticity of the excuse. In your last favour—for which I can never sufficiently thank you—you demurred at the ambiguity (apparent only) between the apologue of the tool-chest and the newspaper narrative that followed—as to the origin of the intercourse between the great man and the box. On better consideration—you will be aware that a tool-chest could not in a well constructed fable, quit its corner, and hammer out in propria persona a musty harangue of old saws—though it might make a plane case visible to an open eye. Now the use of the passive voice threw a sort of negative activity on the side of the box—and it is cautiously mentioned, that the great minister's notice *was attracted* by the tool-chest —consequently the said notice was *acted upon*, and did not commence the action.

"But is it not surprising that so excellent an upholder should look upon his tools as all mere dead instruments, owing energy, power of application, and all appearance of their having ever existed, to the merit of the head that directed and the fingers that exercised their several properties? However, you have here the *whole* that has passed. The said story of the upholder—in the last letter from hence with three lines to introduce the doggrel, was all that I furnished. To say the truth, that letter, was like every other production of the same hand, warm from the heart, and owed all its merit to its total want of study—for men only think, where women feel,—I mean as to the comparative intensity of the thing. The dear scribe presents her kindest regards. ———— your new neighbour, Lord Redesdale, is not entirely unknown to me, nor perhaps I to him, as we bow when we meet. I dined in his company once at my old friend's Mr. Justice Rooke (since dead,) brother to the Bengal Raven—and liked him much, He is besides connected with Lymington my quondam borough. I have no doubt he would, on application, very readily lend me his good word—were it not that I suspect him to labour at present under a stroke of taciturnity, a temporary paralysis of the fauces, being—if I am not mistaken, a confirmed side-mouthian.

I beg you to believe me, &c.

(Signed) N. B. HALHED."

In Mr. Hastings' next letter he throws out the idea that under circumstances as they then existed, a Latin Secretary to Government might possibly be entertained, for which office no man could be fitter than his friend Halhed. He also expresses *peccavi* in respect to his former unjust suspicion about Mr. Canning. The letter gave cover also to a seasonable remittance.

"*Dayleford House, 30th September*, 1808.

"MY DEAR FRIEND,—I cannot answer your letter in the playful style in which it is written. I am pleased with your two letters to Mr. Canning, and very much with his to you; because it admits of the inference, though it does not say, that if you could specify any

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office or employment for which you had no competitor, and which was wanted, he would give it to you. Now it has occurred to me, that in the present state of ill temper which our nation bears to France, and which has been considerably aggravated by the unpopularity of the late convention, a minister who should introduce the practice of drawing up all our future diplomatic papers in Latin would obtain the approbation of all the people of England for it. There cannot be a fitter man to begin such an innovation than Mr. Canning, nor one fitter to suggest it, and to offer his services for the execution of the new plan, than yourself. Turn it in your mind; but don't let any other mind get it to turn. At any rate keep *him* in your mind. He is a gentleman, and *on very good grounds* I give him full credit for liberality and sincerity. In a former letter I abused him; for which I pray God to forgive me.

"If my hint is good for any thing, perhaps it would—no, I am wrong. Only, whatever you do, shun every appearance of importunity.

"My dear Mrs. Hastings, whose heart beats in unison with my own in whatever concerns you, or our dear friend Mrs. Halhed, requests that you will be her debtor for the enclosed. From almost any one but from her or myself, the offer would be an insult:—not from us;—besides, as you have not resented the goose, she says, you have no right to quarrel with her for the egg which belongs to it.

"We desire you to accept our joint regards, and present them to your excellent, amiable lady.

I am ever, my dear Halhed,
Your sincerely affectionate friend,
WARREN HASTINGS."

"*Pall Mall, 1st October*, 1808.

"MY DEAR MADAM,—The right I had acquired of addressing myself to you from the very visible correspondence that has so long subsisted between Mr. Hastings and my wife—and of which my conscious inability to do you justice, had hitherto prevented me from availing myself—is now converted into a duty so imperative and a necessity so urgent—as to compel me to waive all the customary preliminaries of formal approach, and throw myself at once at your feet in a transport of gratitude and affection.—Alas! shall I own it? not merely the known goodness of your heast and acknowledged tenderness of your disposition, but the dear, unimpeachable evidence of past experience has taught me to apprehend that the very moment of my throwing off the mask of gaiety through Mrs. Halhed's borrow'd pen, and venturing at a few lines of plain truth from my own —would but be a tax upon your friendship, and I blush to own it, not very unlike an appeal to your generosity.

"I knew you had practically imbibed the genuine spirit of Christianity in the application of the most benevolent of its principles—and as perfectly aware that along with the precepts of feeding the hungry was coupled that of clothing the naked, which made me very cautious in the construction of my apology for depriving myself of the

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gratification of visiting you—as well as of exhibiting my decayed self in many less enviable societies. I foresaw indeed the impossibility of my ever returning into the world without some such a discovery, because every year that elapsed did but augment the shackles which confined me to privacy; and yet it was still an awkward attempt to defraud you of the satisfaction of exercising your compassion and extending the sphere, already so wide, of your sensibility. But indeed the plea of distress is become almost the common language of the day, and I know the most enlarged means are insufficient to supply the many calls upon the sympathy of their possessors.

"I cannot, therefore, my dearest Madam, find words to express my feelings upon the present occasion, nor to describe the service which at this crisis of my destiny your most opportune liberality has conferred. Your debtor indeed I am, under the most constructive of all obligations, of friendship guaranteed by honour: and I shall not insult your delicacy by the obtrusion of a badge of slavery in the form of a stamp: but shall sign any name on the back of your precious draft, as a scarecrow to my perfidy, if I should live to deserve so severe a memento. My dear wife who is if possible still more awake to all the finer perceptibility of gratitude than myself, unites with me in all I can say, or rather cannot say, to testify my deep sense of your kindness, and the warmth of my esteem and regard in return.

"To our beloved Mr. Hastings I beg leave to steal in a short acknowledgment of his most friendly letter, just to assure him that I am much more convinced of the propriety of his idea relative to the adoption of diplomatic latinity, than of the likelihood of its being just now realized, or of my own abilities for its effectuation. I fear it has too republican an appearance to be welcomed any where by any of the few original powers still extant in the world, and least of all by this, as it was Cromwells. I am however very happy to find he does not disapprove of my letters to the great man, which I am convinced are not quite in the official style, and were indeed meant as novelties for the perusal of a Secretary of State. What can I say more? but that now as ever and if not impossible still more than ever I describe myself most truly and as the title of my very dear Madam,

Your most affectionate friend and
most obliged debtor,
N. B. H."

To Mrs. Halhed.

"*Daylesford House, 28th October*, 1808.

"My dear Friend,—Having obtained the rare vehicle of a frank, I avail myself of it to thank you for your very entertaining, and ingenious letter, and to desire your forgiveness for having suffered a whole fortnight to pass without that acknowledgment. In truth I had nothing else to write in answer, and this was not worth 4½d and the trouble of reading it besides. Do not however conceive that you have been absent from my thoughts in this long interval. You have,

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I can truly affirm, given much employment to them, but this has been devoted to one subject only, and to as little purpose, as the production of the pearl in your allegorical oyster. In truth, my dear Halhed, I can think only of your wants, and read the wonderful efforts of your imagination with little other pleasure than that which they afford me in the hope of the same powers contributing to your substantial relief. I have just read over again the answer of Mr. Canning to your letter, and I verily believe it to be sincere. Why else should he make professions, and by the application to them of the term "at present" hold out the expectation of some future reality? The treachery of a courtier would be thrown away upon a man, who is not worth the tenth part of a vote. I have run over all the great names in the Court Calendar, but cannot find one to whom I am known, and who, if I could interest him in your behalf, at the same time possesses so much interest as to make mine ultimately effectual. I fear the case with Mr. C. is that of every minister, especially of one not well established, that he has more engagements than places to fulfil them; and that a claimant must devise a new place, or prove in some way or other that he can make himself subservient to the interest that he courts.

"All this, my dear friend, may serve to shew my will and regrets, but afford to you neither counsel nor comfort. I am in truth a yâr béwoofadar. I can neither help you over your difficulties, nor intercept those that still pursue you, like the river to which Shah Allum gave the positive of that appellation. Still think me your friend, though an unprofitable one; for I have a pleasure in assuring you that I am such, and in the belief that it will be grateful to you.

"We are anxious for better accounts of Mr. Halhed's health. Mrs. Hastings ever remembers you both with the same interest of affection. As I began my letter with an apology for writing too late, she reproves me for writing so soon after one that she herself has written to you. I pray you to present my kind regards to Mrs. Halhed.

Adieu, my dear friend,

Yours most affectionately

WARREN HASTINGS."

P. S.—I have picked the lock of your rich cabinet, but cannot unock the last drawer of it without the key.

From Mr. Halhed to Mr. Hastings.

"*Pall Mall, 16th December*, 1808.

"MY DEAR SIR,—After fourteen years of the most inflexible retirement and persevering continuance in my own habitation—behold a new epoch—I emerge once more into Society—and am actually in danger of sleeping from home, nay of a temporary change from my own dungeon to Sir E. Impey's mansion. My first India-voyage had nothing in it half so tremendous! I was then young, and curious and active—I could gladly have peregrinated round the whole globe, and even deviated a little from the settled route by an occasional excursion to the seven planets: but now I am become listless, torpid,

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and of immoveable apathy. But Sir Elijah hurried up to town on the moment of receiving my first letter communicating my intentions of attempting to gain an honest livelihood, with such an alacrity of friendship, and so eagerly pressed our acceptance of an immediate apartment under his hospitable roof, that it was only by a most condescending act of grace that he suffered himself to wait for our actual arrival till Christmas—and now Christmas is come: and we must set off on Sunday. Well! if stability had been attainable in this world, I flattered myself with its exemplification in my own person—but even an oyster, I see, may not only be crossed in love, but also become partner in a post-chaise. Mrs. Halhed, who has long been as anxious to move, as I to be stationary, is no less alarmed than myself at the thoughts of submitting to the elegant comforts of an extensive establishment, and the unrestrained enjoyment of a friendly circle. But I hope we are in no imminent danger of life or limb from the experimental apprenticeship we are just undertaking—while we have both long seemed to be *out of our time;* and above all, we look forward with eagerness to the opportunity of consulting the oracles of friendship at Daylesford, and of personally presenting the offerings of inviolable esteem at the shrines of unwearied bounty and ever fostering benevolence in that quarter.

"To-morrow, my dear Sir, as Mrs. H. tells me, is your birthday, "jure solemnis mihi"—for you have done much for the world, and all for me—who in fact have never done any thing fit or worthy to be done, for myself. In sheer equity therefore your nativity *should be*, as *it is*, of much more importance to me than my own—for which I never concern myself; but the 17th December,—it is one of the very brightest days in the year to me—"namque ex hac Luce Mœcænas Meus affluentes!"

"This the blest day, from whose auspicious sun
Commenc'd my Patron's stream of life to run!
But 'tis not *birth* can bliss or good supply:
Our gen'ral lot is to be born and die.
'Twixt these extremes extends a wasteful void,
Or well-spent interval of hours employ'd.
For not from years we estimate the sage—
Nor measure merit by the lapse of age;
Else ev'ry dotard, by this partial scale,
Might o'er all-knowing Solomon prevail.
His be the prize, whose lengthening days we find
Rich in the four grand principles of mind;—
Justice—that rendering back the talents given,
Looks up, and owns its gratitude to heaven;
Prudence, that eyes the future in the past,
Sees the world wane, nor hopes its joys can last;
Firm *fortitude*, to bear what fate ordains,
And *temperance* holding head-strong nature's reins.
True happiness, true glory these impart,
Improv'd by use, and mellowed in the heart.

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On Hastings, then, ripe wisdom's meed we fix,
From youth maturing up to seventy-six!

Oh! would it were seventy-six ten years hence! *But then, I could hardly live to see what a divine old man you will make at eighty-six; to which period you certainly will arrive,* unless the world, which I will not insure, should tumble about your ears in the mean time.

God bless you, my dear Sir, and our ever esteemed Mrs. Hastings and keep you both from all the intermediate calamities—is Mrs. H.'s constant prayer and mine; and most heartily wishing you all the compliments of the approaching season, with a codicil for those of all the rest of the year, I beg you to believe me,

Your most sincerely devoted
and affectionate friend,

We have marked a line or two in the above in Italics as containing a prophecy, or at any rate a remarkable coincidence. Mr. Hastings died in his eighty-sixth year—and Mr. Halhed's aspiration of seeing the fine old man at eighty-six was gratified. Our readers have already seen how quietly Mr. Halhed could pun without laying that emphasis on it which so often spoils the jest. In the letter that follows, from Mr. Hastings to his friend, they will see a specimen of his humour, in which he easily assumes the newspaper tone of the day.

Dylesford House, 20th December, 1808.

My dear Halhed,—Accept my most hearty thanks for your two kind letters, for the last especially; and a sentiment of acknowledgment which thanks cannot express for the admirable verses contained in the last. Praise from the heart is always pleasing, and is justifiably pleasing; but when adorned with the brightest graces of poetry and blended with the philosophy (and that of a Reeshee could not be better expressed than yours) it is most delightful. I congratulate you and our dear Mrs Halhed on your emancipation from what you call your apprenticeship, your apprenticeship of twice seven years; the length of a patriarch for his wife; and I verily think that your Rachel deserves that compliment more than Jacob's did, if she had any share in the motive of it. I feel a little something like a grudge that Sir Elijah has the first possession of you; for Mrs. Hastings and I had meditated the same design upon you; but deferred the execution of it till the spring of the approaching year, for two reasons: the first, because we had the promise of a visit from a great personage, whom you would not like to meet on your first return to society, as we were uncertain how he would be accompanied, nor when he would come. He will be with us to-morrow. The other evasion is not one which of itself would have prevented us making the effort to engage you. It is our wish to share with you the blessings—such we estimate them—of a Daylesford sun, preferably to the coldest atmosphere that the winter engenders on the southern division of England. This I

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give under my hand, and fingers too, which scarcely feel the pen that indites it. But I have your promise, and we shall claim the performance of it at as early a period as you please of the next year. I am glad, however, that our friend Sir Elijah will have the benefit of a friend near him, who can administer to him so well as you can, the consolation which he may require, on the privation of his most justly beloved son; and who can inspire him with the fortitude to sustain even the apprehension of it. I suspect however that he will be quit with the apprehension only, as I know of no foreign service to which his son can be called, but Spain; and the chances are many, that Spain will be completely subdued, before another embarcation can be formed, or any which may be now ready put to sea.

Mrs Hastings desires me to send her affectionate remembrances to you and Mrs. Halhed; and we both join our fervent wishes,—and our wishes are prayers,—that God may bless you both through the ensuing year and render it more fortunate that any of the past. I must tell you that she made me read your letter to her a second time, and was at least as much pleased with the poetry of it as myself. All is well that ends well. She had before censured you for travelling, and premeditating it, on a Sunday; which you may receive as indirect and unintended praise; for I confess that we ourselves have not unfrequently committed the same trespass on the Sabbath. She requests you will tell Mrs. Halhed that on the receipt of your letter she sent to recal a turkey and a ham, which had been actually despatched to her, intending to reserve both for your return home.

Adieu, my very dear friend, and believe me ever,

Your truly affectionate

WARREN HASTINGS.

"I have written through the force of habit with a vacancy left for the direction of a single letter, though I expect a frank for it.

"Give our affectionate regards to Sir Elijah and Lady Impey, and our dear Marian."

"I desire that you will give me your opinion of the following specimen of a political newspaper.

"'*Letter from an Officer at Cadiz, 15th December*, 1808.

"'The advices from the north are of an unpleasant nature. Castanos with the eastern division of the army had established his head quarters at Irun. The consequence was, that on the first appearance of the enemy, his soldiers took fright, and fled. The other division, under Blake, suffered a check at Wrynose, and this was followed by a total defeat at Sorenose. He has been since superseded in his command by an officer of a promising name, and a prominent character;* but it is thought that the army will not be again in a condition to face their opponents. The commander indeed endeavors to countenance a different opinion, and gives out that though the Spaniards

* i. e. Romanos, corruptly written Romana.

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have been beat in two encounters, he is confident of success with one more.

"'Our little friend, Billy Dulgerid, has been deputed by the acting Governor of Gibraltar to the States of Barbary, to solicit their assistance. He wrote some time ago, that the Moors were ready to transport a formidable army to the coast of Spain, only desiring, as a preliminary condition, to be put in possession of a good provision of hand Grenades. This requisition appeared so extraordinary to the Governor, who knew that the Moorish forces consisted wholly of cavalry, and were unacquainted with these missiles of European warfare, that he suspected some mistake, and the rather, as Billy could not speak a word of Arabic, which is the language of the country, and in the hurry of his departure had left his interpreter behind. Under this persuasion he sent back the messenger with a letter requiring an explanation. By tempestuous weather in the passage, and other stoppages on shore, many weeks elapsed before Billy's reply was received, which cleared up the mistake, and shewed it to have been committed, not by him, but by the Governor,—the words which he had read for "*a good provision* of *hand Grenades*," (not indeed very legibly written) having been intended by the writer to state the condition, that the Moors should be put in possession of "the *good province*, or *land*, of *Grenada*," which is known to have been the object of their continual regrets, ever since their expulsion from it in the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella. The correction of the error came unfortunately too late. The tide of affairs had turned:—the troops which had been assembled for the proposed enterprize had consumed all their provisions, and were disbanded; so that all hopes of aid from that quarter have vanished. Such is the fatality of all our measures, which are ever defeated by indecision and procrastination, arising from the most frivolous causes.'

"We stop the press to insert the following extract of a letter just received from our correspondent in Finland:—

"The king of Sweden has nominated General Duke, an .....* tic Tartar by birth, to the command of the army in this province. We marched under his orders this morning at day-break. We had not come a mile before we fell in with a strong post of the enemy, defended by eight men and a boy. It was taken by a coup de main without loss on either side. The affair was not great; but it was a feather to our commander, who wanted it: for he had scarcely assumed

* "'This hiatus was caused by the friction of the package containing the letters. We cannot find any word that will make out the name in the geographical dictionary. Baltic and Adriatic, that is, the seas of those names, lie too distant from Tartary; and Emetic belongs, as we believe, exclusively to another science.'

"The above written nonsense was finished more than a week ago, and intended to mix with your other and better ingredients for a merry Christmas: but a spark of remaining modesty, suggested by the want of a frank, easily induced me to lay it by till I got one. Bad as the composition is, it is better by ———. What was to have followed is forgotten, a letter from Newick when I had written thus far having discouraged me from proceeding. I could not send a composition of levity to the house of affliction."

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the command of the army, when he found it in hot water. The soldiers were sick of the war: so were the officers; many of these had thrown up their commissions. This, with other well timed discharges had allayed the bad humors; but symptoms of risings still continued to break out from time to time."

Our readers, we presume, will not grudge the space we devoted to a few of Mr. Halhed's poetical compositions. The sonnet was a favorite vehicle with him in his visits to Parnassus. His effusions embrace a great variety of topics,—grave, gay, or mythical.

To Lady Mawbey.

"Say not, beloved friend, that Heaven at strife
With nature, couples malady with wealth:
Sure 'twere unthankful, in the wane of health,
Against life's Author thus to deem of life.
No: *temp'rate* use will either boon secure:
But Reason, stern instructess, must supply
The wholesome discipline of poverty,
And riches bless but as they feed the poor.
High tho' to view your stately dwelling stand
Without, within, a master-piece of art:
Tho' to the park's extent your taste hath plann'd,
Luxuriant seasons all their smiles impart;
Whate'er of good or grateful they produce
Not from themselves is drawn, but from their *temp'rate use*."

Surely there is exquisite tenderness and beauty embodied in this sonnet.

To Mr. Halhed.

"O, let me under my Louisa's care
Be gather'd to my fathers! Let me feel,
With my extreme perception, her fond zeal
Smoothing my ruffled pillows! Let her share
(As she's most worthy) in my dying pray'r
For both our souls! while her kind fingers steal
With trembling touch o'er my glaz'd eyes and seal
Their lids, just stiff'ning into death's void stare!
Still shall I recognise, though outward sense
Attest not, her dear cheek laid close to mine;
Her heart's quick throbs, her sigh's dumb eloquence;
So my last breath shall bless her matchless love,
And waft her merits to the realms above."

Our next selection relates to an event connected with that tall bully-like pillar stigmatised by Pope, as *lying* where it stands. Some of us are old enough to remember the circumstance.

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On a Jew felo-de-se who threw himself from the top of the Monument.

"Curtius the second! whatsoe'er thy view,—
In leaping from the monument to ground,
Could no more manageable gulf be found—
Than England's vast metropolis, to shew
Thy courage or good will?—Had every Jew
But one joint wind-pipe all Great Britain round,
Ev'n then 'twould hardly close th' abyss unsound,
To break it from a precipice so new.
Cheats as they were, thy brethren still remain,
Curb'd by no rigor—by no menace aw'd:
Still yawn the chasms of usury and fraud,
And thou wast prodigal of life in vain!
But to the column gav'st one record true—
An Israelite died here, who prov'd himself no Jew."

The following complimentary effusion, like a scorpion, has a sting in its tail:

"————admitted to a lady's room one day
(Boudoir, or work chamber, or what you will)
Lost in surprise, my head as in a mill,
Turn'd with the wonders of its nice display—
All China strove in delicate array
Each bracket, angle and recess to fill:
Tea-pot o'er tea-pot rising higher still—
Cups, basons, saucers, all of purest clay.
Nigh these, an ill-assorted figure sat;
Produce it seem'd of Egypt's tasteless clime,
Coarse workmanship, not unassail'd by time,
Of lumpish visage, on its haunches squat,
Too bad for use, too clumsy for a shelf—
Too ugly for parade—in short it was *herself!*"

Mr. Halhed, indeed, had a happy turn for epigram—considerably enhanced no doubt by his partiality, for Martial. We can only spare space for a short specimen or two. One is dated 15th February, 1808—on the death of the Marquis of Thomond, by a fall from his horse.

"Lapsus eque Thomond, quantum, heu! se distat ab ipso!
Insedit modo jam Vir— cecidítque lutum."

"How vast a gulf cross'd Thomond from his horse!
A man while seated—and when thrown, a corse!"

The following three epigrams were sent to Mr. Halhed by the Rev. Mr. Cane.

"Captain Macheath with passion fir'd,
A Polly,—Lucy,— both admir'd,
Mais Halhed a plus admirè,
Car Les Graces sont ses *Tiers consolidés!*

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Ideas come, says Loccke, from sense,
As pounds the offspring are of pence.
With Halhed who would dare to strive,
Whose senses *four* excel all other's *five!*
Halhed, however smooth it run,
A man of taste, you hate a pun:
Yet I confess I still am led,
To think that Halhed is *all head!*"

Mr. Halhed thus replied—

"Halhed admires—as well he may
Your charming '*Tiers consolidé*,'
Where *each* in merit's high degree,
Stands representative of *three*—
And thus the united *three* combine
To form th' equivalent of *nine*.
Where is the mighty wonder then,
With every muse to guide *your* pen,
While Halhed's can no aid command,
Save a mere *Hoddy-doddy's** hand;
That just comparison ensures
The odds of *nine to one* on yours;
His pen's a bulrush weak and vain;
Yours a most potent matchless Cane."

Mr. Hastings, in the next letter, begs to be excused for his long silence caused in a great measure by indisposition, for which he consulted Dr. Vaughan, and afterwards Sir Henry Halford.

"*Daylesford House, 16th May*, 1809.

"MY DEAR HALHED,—Do not impute my long silence to neglect or to an indifference to the genuine affection that breathes in your letters, and marks your whole intercourse with me. When I received your letter, I was earnestly and incessantly engaged in answering twenty-one queries proposed to me by the Board of Agriculture; and as Mrs. Hastings had exempted me from the positive duty of writing to you, by making you, through Mrs. Halhed, acquainted with the return of health, I went on my way, saying, I will write to morrow, —a term definite in intention, but very indeterminate in practice: and the occupation which I mentioned continued so long, as to exclude every other, and to give my procrastination a kind of prescriptive right. But here I am; and not a line will I write upon any other paper till I have written all that I have to write upon this, already one-fourth wasted in apology.

"You already know that we have had the pleasure of an unexpected visit from your friends, Sir E. and L. J. Impey. The immediate occasion of it was alarming; but we had the great satisfaction to

* Old Nursery rhyme—"Hoddy-Doddy, all head and no body."

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see her wear the looks and complexion of health, and her good spirits have uniformly accorded with their indications. Sir E. seems uncommonly well. I wish I could persuade him to rise earlier in a morning; but I despair of success, and have not attempted it. I do not know but I may, if it be but to give him an opportunity of combating my objection to his sleeping till ten, with his to my rising at five and six. My own case has something of novelty in it. I left Portland street a very invalid: I arrived almost well at Tettsworth, and the next day in perfect health at Daylesford, though my nights were infested with feverish returns,—these however being perceptibly abating, I am now, and have been for some time past, in much better health than I had before my late indisposition: yet as I grew well a new disease succeeded,—a swelling in both my legs and feet. This increased to such a degree in my right foot as to be alarming, and its appearance to my sight disgusting. By Dr. Vaughan's prescription, I have taken for it sweet spirit of nitre diluted with imperial three times a day—but am not sensible of any amendment. Any exertion aggravates the affection of parts, and the flesh-brush instantly allays it. By the advice of a very acute experimental physician, I make my breakfast wait some minutes every morning for the exercise of the dumb bells, to the great exacerbation (is that the medical word?) of the morbid irritation which commonly precedes that meal.....So much, and too much, of myself. I have great pleasure in being able to tell you, that my dear Mrs. Hastings is uncommonly well, and visits her farm on her poney in all weathers. I remember to have heard you more than once say, that poetry was prophetical of something that never entered into the mind of the composer of it. This sentiment was lately exemplified in a sonnet which I addressed to Mrs. Hastings about three weeks ago. It begins with—"Hail, ever blooming May!" Would you believe it? on the very first day of the month she ventured on horseback, and was caught by two hailstorms. I certainly predicted them, and most certainly by inspiration, but I can take my oath that I did not intend it. I bless you in my heart for your encomium on her goodness, and her virtues, and for those too I am ready with my oath, to attest them. She unites with me in affectionate regards to yourself, and dear Mrs. Halhed; and we both rejoice to hear of her amended health, and especially that its progress keeps pace with the spring; for I think I never witnessed a finer. Heaven bless you both, my dear friend!

"Since I wrote the above, Sir Elijah has intimated his and lady I.'s intention of parting from us next Monday, which I have opposed on the ground of her ladyship being evidently better in health than she was when she arrived. I do not know whether he left me undecided; I hope so. I have one or two calls to town, and their final determination may regulate mine. This excursion will enable me to adjust some points of consequence to the arrangement of my time, and one especially, which I have much at heart; to settle with you the time when you will give us the promised pleasure of being our guests. It had been our intention to solicit it at the same time that our friends had devoted to their visit, had we been in time apprix-

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ed of it. For the present, adieu, my friend. I am ever, with the most heartfelt affection, yours,

WARREN HASTINGS."

In his reply (dated 18th May, 1809) Mr. Halhed congratulates his friend on his restitution of health, as nature's triumph over art :—

'God made the country and man *made the town*,'

"and made it a most execrable amalgam of all the impurities and of all the four elements in the natural world, and their antitypes in the moral. Escaped from these and the iatrical toads that fatten on them, into the pure regions that still retain a smack of the perfection in which their Creator fashioned them : nature has re-asserted her rights in you, and her claim for unlimited gratitude from all those who have the happiness to know you. As for the interlude of the dumb bells—if they confer an appetite for your breakfast—they are certainly beneficial : but if you would infer that by enlarging the interval from the pillow to the tea kettle, they augment an irritation already morbid : it is not to the belly we must apply the medicine, but to the irritability, a disease of which I have entirely cured myself, by simply bearing it. Perhaps a glass of factitious Spa-water taken at first rising, would qualify the acid of the stomach, and give a better appetite for the muffin an hour afterwards, with a greatly improved ability for well digesting it. Proceeding downwards we gradually approach the legs whose Odematous intumescence I lament as an inconvenience and an eyesore, and but little more. Throw nitre to the dogs and stick to the flesh-brush, is the language of experience, and that *your own*."

Of the two prescriptions we are free to confess that malgre what the sons of Esculapius may say, Mr. Halhed's appears to us to be the most professional and the shrewdest of the two. In his next letter Mr. Hastings confesses that he has derived benefit from Mr. Halhed's prescription ; he also alludes to a versified edition of the debates in Parliament which Mr. Halhed used to send him periodically—and of which we should be glad to introduce a specimen or two, but that our limited space at present forbids.

From Mr. Hastings to Mr. Halhed.

"If I could, I would write you a letter of poesy :
You can do it with ease, but with me 'tis not so easy.
You possess the great art, which, if any, but few know,
To write ten score good verses, stans pede in uno ;
To the hand from the head, as this dictates its plenty,
Inditing, and calamo writing currente.
And to speak the plain truth, I can't find in my conscience
To make you pay double for reading my nonsense ;
For the cost of my letters in prose, though but four pence,
Is too much ; but in rhyme, 'tis as dear as four more pence.

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"This looks like one of Cobbet's papers, with a motto of his own composition prefixed to it, and not seldom one of his worst. I thank you, my dear friend, for the admirable continuation of your chronicle, and desire, *in return*, that you will go on with a new chapter at the close of every session of Parliament, only as long as I live: and if I can, I will live long enough for you to make up a good sizeable octavo. Perhaps, in that period, things may take a new turn, and instead of absurdities to ridicule, and corruptions to censure, you may be perplexed by a choice of wise measures, and virtuous statesmen, claiming the best exertions of your genius in their commendation. Surely such a reformation may be expected from the laudable training of the flower of the British youth; one seminary of which filled Cavendish Square, in my own delighted sight, with barouches, and admiring spectators: "delighted," although I lost by it full thirty minutes in the attempt to traverse the thronged street from Mrs. Motte's door to Lady Blunt's, nearly opposite to it. You will be pleased to hear that the swelling of my legs has subsided, and come almost to their bearings, taking the word in every sense. This effect has been produced, neither by pills, by galvanism, by repose, nor by diet, but by, or in despite of, severe exercise of them, and evidently more than is good for them at the time that I impose it upon them. In other points I have literally conformed to your advice, and have got well. The advice was salutary, and I thank you for it, but more for your kind interest in my dear Mrs. Hastings' health, and more yet for the credit you attribute to her influence on mine, and for the many handsome things you say of her, to all which I am ready to subscribe, while my hand is in, before the registrar of Oxford, who has already just administered that sanction to the first process of a chancery suit in the Supreme Court of the Km. of Wurtemberg, in which I have chosen to be an adventurer. I return to Mrs. Hastings to say that she is very well, and will (I know) before I have closed this, charge me with her affectionate regards to you, and dear Mrs. Halhed. In these as in all her affections mine go pari passu. We are in the midst of our mowing and haymaking, in which there is every prospect of our going on swimmingly, with the option of being thankful for the preservation of our turnips, (which I prefer) or murmuring at the injury sustained by our hay. On this, and many other similar occasions my mind sustains itself by the maxim of a great philosopher and moralist,* "Its poise life's balance to vibration owes." If you have never met with it before, copy it, and put it by among your good things. Mr. Anderson, and his most amiable wife and daughter are our present guests, and contribute much to our present happiness, which is not diminished by the reflection frequently recurring, that when we part, we shall never probably meet again.

"Adieu, my dear Halhed.

Your truly affectionate friend,
WARREN HASTINGS."

* A quotation from one of Mr. Halhed's sonnets.

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"I am not sure, that I am yet pleased with your account of poor Elijah;—I am half inclined to recommend to him my own regimen, of taking nothing."

It is with no small reluctance that we are compelled to omit whole pages that would be deemed amusing to those who are *au courant* with the Parliamentary debates of the period. Halhed's abstracts of each Session were often written in the manner of prose letters to save space and postage, but the sing-song soon betrays the covert rhyme. Here is a specimen in a letter to Mr. Hastings, dated 17th June, 1809. "The Session clos'd, we now once more its efforts weigh as heretofore, in retrospective view: See legislation at a stand, while discontents distract the land for change to something new. What vigorous measures well pursued, what ardour for the public good the Commons' votes declare? What then has occupied their toil? What topic drain'd the midnight oil in guise of Council deep? What wondrous motion-making itch has furnish'd a pretext for speech —and interrupted sleep? Some friend emerging from a *bordel*, hatch'd in the brain of Colonel Wardle a sudden wish for fame—by circumstances harsh and sour to crush York's military power and blast his royal name &c. Then shortly followed "a new song" to the tune of "a bumper Squire Jones." It may be familiar to some of our older readers (for it was published) who perhaps might not be aware who their author was—

"Mrs. Clarke, Mrs. Clark,
Tho' conscience forbids me to praise or defend
What you do in the dark;
Your sense and your merit,
Your freedom of spirit,
Have made me your friend.
You scorn to be cheated
Humbug'd or ill-treated
By any vain, bantering, impudent spark:
But constant and steady
Look close to the ready,
A conduct most sage in these times, Mrs. Clarke."

Mr. Halhed's fortunes having come to about their worst—were now about to mend. In a letter of the 14th July, 1809, he recalls to the recollection of Mr. Hastings the circumstance of an increased number of hands in the office of the Examiner at the India House, having been found necessary, leave had been given at the last general court for the creation of a new *Military* Secretary for India, and two additional *Civil* Secretaries—the latter with salaries of £600—each. Mr. Halhed then proceeds—"By William's advice and co-operation of the most feeling and friendly

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kind I was tempted to offer myself a candidate for one of these last mentioned offices, and was most strenuously, affectionately and efficiently assisted in the application by my old and very dear friend Sir William Bensley—under whose suggestion I wrote a joint letter to the Chairman and Deputy in the beginning of April. No notice whatever was taken of my address till yesterday morning, when I waited on Mr. Grant by appointment—who in the most kind and liberal manner then informed me, that my services were accepted on the terms I had proposed, and that I might consider myself as effectually admitted to the post, although the nomination could not pass the Court till next Wednesday. I lose therefore not a moment in communicating this account, which I know will be received by you with the most sympathetic feelings of satisfaction—as it lifts me from a state of the most groveling inactivity and indigence to regular exertion and *comparative* independence." Nothing can well be more cordial than Mr. Hasting's reply on hearing of his friend's good news:—

"*Daylesford House*, 16*th July*, 1809.

"MY DEAR HALHED,—I thank God, fervently, for the happy tidings which you have imparted to me. You did justice to my dear Mrs. Hastings, and she desires me to tell you so, in the persuasion which you felt, that her joy would be equal to mine for this accession of good fortune to your long-tried patience, and miserable state of depression. I always loved Sir William Bensley. I love him now more than ever for the proof which he has given you of the genuine goodness of his heart. At the same time I candidly confess, that I have a little sensation of envy mingling itself with my better thoughts, from the contrast of what his friendship has accomplished with that which mine has only meditated and professed. Yet, let me inform you, my dear friend, that mine has not been idle, though its efforts have been unsuccessful. I have not much inclination to turn to other subjects: but I must thank you for your former unacknowledged letter, and for the mirth and good spirits which it impressed me with, both while I read it, and since. You shall have an answer to it, however, in the words of Walter Scott, who certainly did not know that he was an advocate for the D. of York, when he wrote his Marmion.

"When F..... was betray'd,
And on his board forg'd letters laid,
She was, alas! the sinful *maid*,
By whom the deed was done.
O! shame and horror to be said:—
She was a perjur'd *nun*. (*none*, it should be,)
No Clark in all the land, like her
Trac'd quaint and varying character."

"I am sorry to tell you, that I am bid by a solicitor to go to town

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next Thursday, as a preliminary to a subpœna, which is to follow his Summons. It will give, me however, the pleasure to see you, and with that I must console myself. Our best and united love attend you and dear Mrs. Halhed,

Your affectionate
WARREN HASTINGS."

It appears that Halhed had shewn Mr. Hastings a review which he had written of Lord Valentia's travels, and which perhaps he had some intention to print. There is a transcript of this review among his papers, but it is evidently the first rough sketch of it—and not the one he had shewn to Mr. Hastings. It is capable of being decyphered, but with an amount of labour and time that we have not to bestow on its further consideration. Suffice it, that in it, he was severe upon the Marquess of Wellesley's over stateliness; and deemed the spread of Missionaries dangerous to the safety of India—a delusion that was a fashionable bug-bear of the day with men of the governing class. Mr. Hastings, in his next letter (bearing date 27th July, 1809,) warns him as to the inexpedience, or rather the imprudence of ventilating such subjects—in regard to the position in which he then was:

"*Daylesford House, 27th July*, 1809.

"MY DEAR HALHED,—From the period of our parting, to this hour, my mind has been perpetually recurring to the critique, of which you read to me a considerable part, on Lord Valentia's travels, till it has become a growing weight on my conscience. There are two subjects of it, which, though admirably treated, and though I listened to them, one at least, with a criminal complacency, I wish to be able to persuade you to erase totally. The first is your argument against Indian Missionism. (Excuse the barbarism of the word: I cannot hastily devise a better.) It will mortally offend the Chairman and Deputy Chairman; whom it is your honest interest to conciliate, and whom no duty calls you to make your enemy. A writer to the public is as much bound to write the truth, and nothing but the truth, as a witness on his oath before a Court of Justice: but he is under no obligation to be a champion in a cause that shall exact from him the necessity of writing *all the truth:* and on this the opinions of all mankind, except a few righteous overmuch, are already brought into agreement. Neither does your professed disquisition require this digressive interposition. Do not think my advice hastily given. I myself, animated with the same indiscreet zeal, drew up a bold philipic against the doctrine of Indian conversion, and put it into the hands of friend Toone, to produce it on the first occasion in which the subject should be introduced in the Court of Directors. This he was on the point of doing; but choosing to make Sir Francis Baring a party to the plot, Sir Francis peremptorily forbad it, convinced him in three words that it would be the height of folly, and Toone con-

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vinced me. In you the folly would be much greater, (forgive me for this plain speaking,) for mine was more common, every day reasoning: your's eloquent, elegant, unanswerable, and therefore unpardonable.

"The other passage is your stricture on Lord Wellesley's pomp and vanity. It is not a necessary part of your undertaking. It will create you enemies in another quarter; and as he has not provoked the attack by any act of his own, I do not think it quite fair to punish him for having been placed in a ridiculous light by his silly compeer and panegyrist. In this judgment too, I evince, if not my own, at least my disinterestedness; for with the exclusion of Lord W. you must exclude all that your too partial friendship has introduced upon another person. I shall be sorry to part with it; for the same thing will never be said, certainly not so well said by any other person.

"While I am executing the office of a commentator you must forgive me for suggesting a slight objection to your birth day verses. It was not originally mine; but first hesitated by my friend Anderson, and afterwards decidedly pronounced by all the ladies of our family. The objection regards only the words, "dear Miss," in the first line, which is judged not to agree with the gravity, and the solemnity of the rest of the poem. To me the second line seems to partake of the same incongruity; and I cannot help thinking, that you began it in a vein of pleasantry; but that you felt an interest in the subject in the next step as you advanced, your own affections were engaged or increased by those of the surrounding party, and animated to the highest strain of poetry: for I verily think that it is, with the exception which I have stated, most complete and original, beyond any composition of the kind that I have ever seen. But I beg the favor of Mrs. Halhed not to punish my cavils by witholding from me the occasions of them. I thank her gratefully for the copy of this: but she owes me that of the address to Mrs. Aldersy, in which also I ventured to propose a correction—and I am an unforgiving creditor. With my best love, and Mrs. Hastings's to her, and to you, my friend,

I am ever yours,
WARREN HASTINGS."

"*Pall Mall*, 31*st July*, 1809.

"MY DEAR SIR,—If any thing had been wanting to rivet my conviction (and my unalterable gratitude founded upon it) of the very warm and sympathising interest you take in all that concerns me, your last favour of the 27th instant would be more than sufficient for the purpose. I know not indeed how to reconcile the perpetual reiterations of your kindness under all manner of circumstances and in so many different modes of affection with the very slender pretensions I really have to your favour, and with the pitiful efforts I appear ever to make in return. I am indeed in a sort of habit, a constitutional system of self reproach for the seeming indifference of my general behaviour toward you, and for the tameness of my exertions to merit

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your esteem; and when I would tranquillize a little the perturbation of conscience on this article, I have no other resource than the meagre reflection, that at least I purchase no part of your friendly condescension by fawning adulation: and that in spite of the peculiar distinctions by which you are continually honouring me, I am sure you know me and all my faults: and so in short I wrap myself up in that most gratifying of all self-delusions that you have an incurable prejudice for me, and I go on loving you without any consideration of the propriety of evincing the fact by suitable demonstrations of language and conduct—as if you were my second self. Now in this last actual instance of your anxious regard for me and my well-doing I see a thousand traits of good-will, and a care fully amounting to paternal, like Micio's for Œschinus in the Adelphi, lest I should incur damage where there happens to be no danger. The two subjects of your present solicitude have undoubtedly those objectionable peculiarities which you so eloquently describe: but it luckily happens that I was not sufficiently enthusiastic on the topic while employed on it, to acquire the smallest partiality for my composition—in truth I thought very slightly of it; so that I am admirably well prepared for suppressing not only the two passages in question, but the whole piece. While I continued a bare candidate for office, with little hope and less appearance of success, my friend Wilkins intimated to me one day, that if I wished to insinuate myself into the Chairman's good graces, I could not do better than review Lord Valentia's book with a lash in my hand, and *he* would supply me with the work: whether my whip-cord was or was not rightly aimed, it may not become me to say—but at least it is whip-cord. I know the danger of a *cut* at the missionaries— and was at no loss to discern the cause of Mr. Grant's strong dislike, when I came to the article that condemns the system in toto; I therefore, as you know, rather leaned to that side in opposition to episcopacy which my Lord recommended. The philippic against the pomp of the Governor General was a mere ebullition of my feelings. But you are aware that I have produced no more than an outline—and that for hardly a third part of the work—I detest the office of reviewing—and go to it with a reluctance precisely commensurate with my want of qualifications for its due discharge: I mean (not to seem more modest than I am) collateral reading—for which I certainly have had no means or opportunity these many years. But in fact it is the very scavengership of literature; and I always recollect a lucky hit of my fellow madman, Elphinstone, who translated Martial, and whom the Reviews abused for his translation; in rebutting their remark he says—"Nemo repente fuit turpissimus"—"No man can be a Reviewer *at once*." Now as I have never served my apprenticeship to the business—I can be no better than a bungler. But while I was floundering on through the mud of criticism, comes a message from the chairman—and subsequently my appointment—then why retain the *net* when the fish is caught? My *view* in reviewing is anticipated by the event—and I am now up to the ears in Leadenhall street lucubrations—which employ all the time I can possibly dedicate to the desk.

"What you say of my epistle to my little niece demands a very

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different notice: and I am really astonished at the more than *Bentleian* acumen of your remark on the reason for the apparent difference of style between the two first lines and the remainder, now you have suggested it to me, I perceive the fact certainly was so: but of myself I should never have suspected it, like the honest citizen who had written from his whole life without knowing it. All I knew was, that I determined to write her a letter—and send it by post—directed to herself. So my mind being prepossessed with the idea of the address "to Miss Beauchamp" &c. The letter itself naturally took the same turn in the commencement. I feel the force of your objection—and still more to the second line than the *first:* for it is difficult to find any other suitable term than *Miss* to designate at once that the infant is female. I will not lose sight however of the subject—altho' I do not engage to produce anything more to my mind—and however inexorable you may be as a creditor, if I do not tender you demand in *sterling*, you will not reject any passable *paper* in the present hard times. The lines to Mrs. Aldersey, you shall have—with an alteration—but not much of a correction.

"And now, my dear Sir, give me leave to address our united best and most sincere regards toward our Mrs. Hastings, whom we presume to be in good health from your saying nothing to the contrary, and from our most earnest desire that she should be so—and to request you to believe me—

Your much obliged,
And very affectionate friend,
N. B. HALHED."

"Welcome, sweet babe, to our terrestrial sphere!
No pains were spar'd for your reception here."

At the time of the Jubilee Mr. Halhed wrote a long song on the occasion, which having found its way into print, became very popular. A copy had, of course, been forwarded in the first instance to Mr. Hastings in a letter from Mr. Halhed. The sage of Daylesford (under date 5th November 1809) says of this loyal effusion:—

"I cannot tell you how delighted I was with your pot-pourri; I was prepared for another treat of it in a visit to my nephew Woodman in Northamptonshire, where I met with your ballad in a loyal newspaper, said to have been sung at one of the late civic feasts. It was copied with perfect correctness, but ushered in by the Editor, with one of the most insipid of all compositions that call themselves poetry, an ode of a Mr. Fitzgerald. I do not believe that the profanation, wicked as it was, could have been felt so indignantly by you as at was by me."

Even Warren Hastings seems to have had a foretaste of Byron's indignation—for he could scarcely in his snuggery at Daylesford have seen the pungent outburst of him, who was then "juvenile and curly:"—

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"Still must I hear—shall hoarse Fitzgerald bawl
His creaking couplets in a tavern hall,
And I not sing, lest haply, Scotch reviews
Should dub me scribbler, and dename my muse?"

Early in March, 1810, Mr. Hastings again mounts Pegasus, the result being certain stanzas on the rise and progress of John Company, as following:—

"From the days of Job Charnock, scarce known on record,
To the triumphs of Plassey's redoubtable Lord,
The Company traffick'd unheeded:
She sent her ships forth, the wide ocean to roam,
With rich cargoes well freighted, and brought richer home;
And in all she adventur'd succeeded.

By oppression provok'd, she to arms had recourse,
And soon made her oppressors submit to her force;
From defensive proceeded offender:
And her courage attemper'd with wisdom conspir'd
To aggrandize her pow'r, till at length she acquir'd
Of an empire entire the surrender.

Now the sages in schools of diplomacy bred,
Civil doctors, divines, and state-moralists said—
(And the senate confirm'd their opinion;)
That for her, a mere trader, (for what was she more?)
Or her factors and clerks, from her counting-house door,
To pretend to the rights of dominion;

That to give up the pen in exchange for the gun;
To hold rule over nations—no matter how won;—
To make treaties; assume legislature;
Nay worse, of finance to distribute the drains,
To elicit their currents, and pocket the gains;
Was to gospel repugnant and nature.

So they stripp'd off her robe; but the loss to atone,
His Majesty gave her a cloak of his own;
Lent her armies and fleets for protectors;
To diminish her cares, and to lighten their weight,
For her guardians appointed the Lords of the State,
And a Board to direct her Directors.

Thus equipp'd, and embrac'd by the beams of the throne,
As once Semele, wrapp'd in Jove's attributes, shone,
Now as meek and resign'd as a martyr,
With the guilt of imputed offences defil'd,
By rapacity pilfer'd by malice revil'd,
She gave up the ghost, and her charter.

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Though ignoble her birth, yet in death she may boast,
That her orb in the colors of glory was lost,
Like the sun, when he sets in Orion ;
This reflection of comfort at least to produce—
That her greatness arose from the quill of a goose,
And was crush'd by the paw of a lion."

"MY DEAR HALHED,—I avail myself of the frank of a basket to Mrs. Motte to send you the above. It was composed of shreds and patches between Portman square and Daylesford, and put together since my return. I attribute to this employment that I escaped an accession to my cold. I am sorry to say, that Mrs. Hastings has not yet recovered the effects of her fall. Give our kind regards to Mrs. Halhed, and receive them yourself from

Your affectionate—
WARREN HASTINGS."

Mr. Halhed in his reply allows the excellence of the lines, and goes on :—

"By the way you have answered a question which from long antiquity has been propounded as insoluble "Sed quis custodiet ipsos custodes"? But you have shewn us who direct the Directors. I am, however, particularly gratified with the closing lines—not being so fastidious as Elijah about an epigramatic turn, which in truth I always chuckle at, and the quill of the goose in contrast with the paw of the lion, would in my opinion furnish an admirable basis for a caricature, or a hieroglyphic, which seem to me to be very much akin. But after all the labours of your life in John's service, and the matchless volumes of prose you have expended as caudle and cordials to prop up a little his vacillating constitution—it falls, I find, to your lot to give him the finishing stroke in verse, and write his elegy !"

Mr. Hastings in reply confessed shame at feeling more of the pleasure of vanity in his friend's approbation of his ditty than an intimate consciousness of minor merit should have admitted.

"But I have the subject of it ever at heart, and ludicrous as I may treat it, to get rid of reflections of a very different nature, I brood over it walking and sleeping, and cannot repress my astonishment that the rest of the world, those especially whom it most concerns, only sleep upon it. I am so much pleased with your emblem, that I have executed it, like the avatar of Krishna, coming out of a fish, with four arms and a sword, a book and a ship in three hands, the fourth marked with the wheel of sovereignty, the head crowned with a turret and a spire, the body armed, and the breast just emerging from the rib of the pen—but execrably performed—so I do not exhibit it to you. I should like to strike off 26 medals with the two devices, after the manner of Wilkins's remunerating medal, and to present them to the Directors, with two a piece to the chairs or (as that would cost money) to apply some ready made ballad tune to the elegy, and

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get some good voice to sing it by surprise at one of their official dinners at the London tavern. I think it would sing well: but as neither song normedal would avail to avert the impending catastrophe, I believe it would be best to confine its circulation to the little world of half a dozen inhabitants, who are in the patient habit of listening to such nonsense. If I should not be in at the death, bear witness that I foreboded it."

In a poetical description of a storm in the 9th Nov. 1810, which was universal in its ruinous consequences throughout England, Mr. Hastings bewails the destruction of his fine grove of beeches. The storm-fiend is described as commanding the demons of the north to rush forth and destroy:—

"Nor paus'd they but with loud and lengthen'd blow
Wrench'd the tall beech, and dash'd their glories low;
(Oh! were that all!) their guardian maids assail'd
(Nor beauty, sex, nor innocence avail'd)
With unresisted might, and malice scurvy,
Laid the chaste dryads (—O shame!) topsy turvy,—and there they lie."

Mr. Hastings then asks his friend in prove, whether the beech tree in its native growth, has a *tap root*,—his having none. Mr. Halhed in reply confesses that he knows little more of beeches than as far as Tityrus might have instructed him. And then he goes on;—

"But I remember formerly (for I *once* possessed and exercised a little of the locomotive faculty) to have been delighted with the beech groves of Buckinghamshire in taking the lower road to Oxford; but for many years I have only taken a second hand peep at them in Bath. Judge then with what sympathy I enjoy their lying round me in all the majesty of ruin. * * * * But, ah! my dear Sir, why disfigure so charming a composition with a line of doggrel? Why suffer the intention of a couplet in mock-heroic to stand like a posture master among an assemblage of General officers? You must know the scurvy'd distich to which I allude. To go one step farther in animadversion, I take the liberty to hint that I do not perfectly comprehend the period of time described in the poem. The suppressions are undoubtedly of the highest classical authority and the turn exactly after the antique models: but how to adapt it to my homely calender is the question. Your storm is a *matter of fact* on the 9th of November, and you have fixed it as a storm forever on description. But *when* does it occur! I take it for granted you place Libra to September, and Scorpio to October, and this I shall let pass as current poetical astronomy. But what is meant by "eight times and eight?" It puzzles me much, and yet perhaps the obscurity is all in my own noddle. * * * * How should I know what a *tap-root* is? There is generally a small door in an alehouse on which is written "the tap:" and where I have hitherto supposed the beer was drawn;

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so if beeches be liable to the process of bleeding, or tapping, as firs certainly are, and I believe *birches* also—the tap-root is then the point of attack, below ground, as the beer is usually tapped in the cellar. I will not deny that I have heard of a tap-root, but am very imperfectly acquainted with its meaning, nor do I believe there is one in all Leadenhall street, unless it belong to a turnip, which I have sometimes seen with a little pendant tail like a pig's. Your trees, now they are lopped and cleared, must look like so many May poles laid prostrate, as if Satan had been playing nine pins. If they have lived 96 or 97 years, they cannot complain of their destiny, nor even of that of their bitchyad's (for how can I say out of metre dryad to a *beechen* beauty) since you know even the life of Brahma himself and of the *——and in that the whole mass of living creatures, gods and all, is limited to a hundred; and the only difference is in the length of the munit's. Here are the lines, after the benefit of Halhed's criticisms:—

"Through the black Scorpion's range the circling sun,
Eight times and eight his daily course had run;
And now to sleep, and all the motley kind,
That fancy generates, his pow'r resign'd.
Struck by his parting ray, my mental sight,
Pierc'd through the gloomy vapors of the night,
Saw forms on forms advance: and at their head,
The Prince of air his horrid mandates sped.
Black was his visage, hoarse his voice, his eyes,
Flash'd livid light'nings through the murky skies.
'Come forth,' he cried, 'ye demons of the north!
'Come forth!'——The demons of the north came forth.
'On Daylesford hill your stormy warfare deal:
'Let its proud grove my licens'd vengeance feel.
'But spare its mansion: there, her favor'd home,
'Fair Virtue dwells, and guards the sacred dome;
'Or wait, till unprotected on his hill,
'Its owner stray; and crush him, if you will.'
Here ceas'd the fiend. I saw th' aërial crowd,
Obsequious rush, each from his buoyant cloud.
I saw their press'd and lab'ring sides enlarge,
And their swollen cheeks the gather'd blasts discharge.
Nor paus'd they; but with loud and lengthen'd blow,
Wrench'd the tall beech, and dash'd their glories low;
And groans, and sobs, and shrieks proclaim'd around
The sense of many a lacerated wound:
Whether within the wood, its native cell,
Congenial sprites, or nymphs, or dryads dwell,
Drink the light sap, the flexile branches ply,
Live while it lives, and if it perish die;
Whether perceptive life the plants inform,
Impart its feeling, and with passions warm;

* Illegible.

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Be left, if doubtful, to discussion free,
While I lament, that 'twas my doom to see
(To me sufficient proof, and, ah! too dear)
The prostrate victims, and their woes to hear."

"*Dayleeford House, 27th November*, 1810.

"MY DEAR HALHED.—I am gratified by your praises, and convinced by your censures. I thank you for both. I feel indeed a reluctance to part with my dear dryads. As to the incongruity of the two reprobated lines, in which they are named, with the rest of the composition, I can only say, that, tragical as the catastrophe was, had you yourself had suddenly presented to you so many butts for laughter, vous en auriez fait autant. I thought, the dryads were the tutelary deities of the woods and groves, not of the oak tree alone. The ancients seem to have allowed a great latitude to the properties of all the nymphs, and I remember a line of Virgil in which he expresses something like surprise at not finding the Naiads on the top of mount Dindus. I am not sure that I can justify the license which I have taken with my astronomical date of the event which I have attempted to place upon record. All I can say for myself is, that if the astronomers, in defiance of the procession of the equinoxes, still suppose the signs of the zodiac to occupy the same places in the heavens, in the same correspondent seasons, as they did, I do not know how many hundred, or thousand years ago, I have a good authority from their example to do the same, and a better right (tho' no poet) to avail myself of a fiction than they have. I have some notion that Thompson adjusts his Seasons by the modern calendar. To give a greater dignity to my verse, I preferred the 16th day of the sun's residence in Scorpio to the 9th of November, its correspondent date; and as 16 is an unpoetical number, and the Prince of Air was entitled to as much solemnity as Macbeth's witches, I tried to imitate their arithmetic by dividing that number into equal parts, i.e. 8×8=16, as 2×1=3 in the following line in Macbeth:

'Twice and once the hedge pig whined.'

"As I have said that I acknowledge the justice of your first criticism, and I only demur to the rest, I think it proper to shew you in what manner I have availed myself of it. I shall therefore subjoin to this letter a new, but I fear not an amended, edition of my elegy. I had projected a continuation of it; but worldly calls have interrupted me, and I am not pleased with what I have done; nor will even your approbation this time satisfy me. I sometimes suspect that by indulging myself in these fancies I am guilty of a waste, if not of time, of thought. Yet it amuses, and every pleasure added to the stock of life, if it interferes with no positive duty, is a rational acquisition. I please one whom it is my first wish to please, and by communicating what I write to you, I get something substantially good in return. But for all this ingenious reasoning, you would not have had the destination of it, nor of this letter, if you were to have paid eight pence for it: for when I had written the ten first lines of this page,

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and had prepared a cover with an internal direction for the letter, the postman informed me that my franking neighbour was gone to town; and I laid the letter by, without any thought of resuming it, when I fortunately learned from Mrs. Hastings, that she was going to send a parcel to Mrs. Halhed, and would give my letter a carriage in it.

"We wait with great anxiety for an account of the information of the Privy Council on the state of his Majesty's health, and its probable influence on the deliberations of the two Houses of Parliament. Give our kind compliments to dear Mrs. Halhed, and accept our hearty wishes for her better health.

"It has hailed, rained, snowed and frozen in the night, and the morning lowers with every symptom of as bad weather to ensue in some period of the day. At this instant I see from my window six men wheeling and beating clay at the bottom of my pond; who, I dare say, envy my condition which exempts me from their labor and exposure, and are equally the objects of my envy, for being able to do, and to bear, what would kill me. I shall not put my nose out of doors to-day. Mrs. Hastings, more delicate, but more active and daring, will; and will come home with better looks and health for the excursion. For a definition of the tap-root see Virgil's Georgics, book, ii. 291st and 292nd line. Adieu, my friend,

Yours affectionate

WARREN HASTINGS."

"P. S.—I do not know why I have given you the meaning of a tap-root, unless I add its application to the subject which first introduced it. This provision made by nature for the duration of all forest trees the nurserymen destroy for the easier means of transplanting them, by cutting it off. This operation they twice perform. The consequence is, that wanting this hold of the earth at first, the trees never after acquire it, but subsist by lateral shoots, which crawl along the ground, and rarely penetrate to any depth beneath its surface: and when a heavy and long continued rain has melted the soil which had held them by its adhesion, it will not require a very strong wind to make a pole of a hundred feet height, and a bushy head the lever of its own destruction. This was the case with my beech trees; and I rather wonder at their having stood so long, than that they fell when they did. I am more astonished at their survivors. I am afraid my elegy is in a state not unlike them. It wants a tap-root; but as it is not very long, and (I hope) not top heavy, it may stand,—not ninety odd years indeed—but as long as you live to remember it, in kindness to its author."

Mr. Hastings had mentioned a work on Alphabets and Hieroglyphics to Mr. Halhed, which the latter having looked over, reports on very unfavourably. "When, (he writes), I find gross and palpable mistakes in the things that I know, I am reduced to pause and reject the things of which I am ignorant, for want of all possible means of discrimination between the erro-

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neous and the authentic." He then enters into particulars which we cannot give at present. Mr. Hastings in his reply (28th February, 1811,) says: "I have not yet read Hammer's book, and probably never shall; but I have read your critique upon it with great concern, as if I was under the actual infliction of the loss of three guineas, the price which, I think, I paid for it; and if you know any one who will purchase it of me with one, it shall be heartily at his service, and there is an end of it, as Pamela says." Referring to one of Halhed's versified abstracts of Parliamentary proceedings he writes: "I pray you my friend to love the Prince, for I do; and whatsoever the demons behind Mount Kaf may say, if they shall ever come forward, I give him credit for wisdom, or virtue, or both, (for it is not easy to separate them,) in all his past proceedings. I wait but for one act to decide the consummation of his character, namely, his coming in state; and for the first time, to announce the complete restoration of his father to health and understanding." He then asks if his friend had read Mitford's history of Greece.

"I am in his 4th volume, and much pleased with it, though he has adopted or rather conceived, a new style of his own, and that neither graceful nor seemingly meant to be so. It is only not diffuse. As a history, I think it superiour to all that I have read and remember, of the short period, but turbulant scenes, to which it is confined. In a part of Xenophon's Anabasis he says that the Greeks were greatly annoyed by the Pesian arrows, while theirs at the same distance fell short of their adversaries, till some one taught them a better way of drawing them. Was not this by applying the thumb, held firm by the forefinger to the string, and by the elevation of the elbow, instead of holding the string loosely with three fingers and drawing it to their breasts, as our modern English archers do? You know that the former is the actual practice both in India and Persia at this day, and that Droopad in the Mahabharut, (I think that was his name,) who was the precepter in that science to the Pandoos, that is their arch-archer, lost his thumb, and his office in consequence of it. There is a passage in the Anabasis which indicates, that the inhabitants of the northern regions of Asia Minor did practice the English method of drawing their bows, and that their bows were in the form of a simple curve, or long bows. The Parthians who belonged to that geography, were proverbially notorious for lying, as Horace testifies;—'invenior Parthis mendacior': and I dare say the Medes were no better. Now we learn from Xenophon that it was a prime part of the Persian education, to shoot with the bow, and to tell truth; and their bows were the circumflex, or *short* one. As the short bow and truth were thus coupled in their characteristic discrimination of the Persians, is it too forced a construction to infer that the moral and practical qualities of their Parthian rivals would be contrasted by their addiction to lying, and their use of the long bow, as of a necessary relation; and that

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hence we may derive the origin of the expression, of drawing *a long bow*, as synonymous with *telling a falsehood?*"

Mr. Halhed expresses himself in his reply to the above, greatly edified and entertained by the account of the origin of the 'drawing the long bow.' Mitford he had not read, having a general aversion to what is called antient history written by moderns, who never draw the distinction properly between the literal and the mythological; but he adds—

"If I could make such good use of it as you have done, and add to my stock of knowledge in the origin of old proverbs and phrases, the sources of all that denotes idiom of meaning, I would gladly reverse my resolution. The *short* bow was certainly used in India, and drawn as you observe by the thumb and fore-finger, but I have not been able to find that the shooting master of the Pandovas—whose name was Drovadanya, lost his thumb by any accident, at least according to the Mahabharat. He died in the service of their cousin, Durjadhun, fighting against them, and lost his life, and thumb I imagine to boot, early in the contest. But there are two modes of tir-andáze, or arrow shooting, one in general use, and one exclusively belonging to the Brahmanical order mentioned in the Mahabharat—whether distinguished by the difference of the bow, or otherwise, I cannot find, but it would not be very wide of the mark to say, that few persons have been suspected of drawing a longer bow than the Brahmans. There are also jungle robbers who use a very long bow, which they lie on their backs to draw, setting their feet against the centre of the bow and drawing the string with both hands; and these employ a very long arrow, and shoot to a great distance."

He expresses regret at putting his friend so much out of conceit with Hammer's translation of the book of Alphabets, but confesses having studied himself into something very similar to contempt for it, and that for reasons that had doubled upon frequent recurrence to the work, he proceeds—

"You know that there is a great stone here in the library, covered with characters, and brought from Bagdad, supposed to have belonged to antient Babylon. It is engraven with perfect accuracy, and you probably have the plates, as well as those from the inscriptions on some large square bricks, or rather paving tiles brought from the same place and imprinted with the same characters. Not a vestige of resemblance to any of these figures can be found in all the numerous alphabets exhibited by Hammer—yet this stone should have been the touch-stone of their authenticity and utility. The author professes to have seen at Bagdad thirty-three ancient inscriptions in letters of which he pretends to give the complete forms and series. Yet no trace of similarity to any of these truly Babylonian writings is it possible to discover. Now a French Abbé named Coperan, an emigré, who was in England at the time this literary curiosity was exhibited, sat down to study the character and gave a plausible account of their contents. He began

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by assuring himself, not unreasonably, that the language must be Chaldean, such as we know to have been used in that city, and in which some of the chapters of Daniel are written. He then compared the forms of the letters with these of the *Hebrew* (generally understood to be the real character of Chaldea, adopted by the Jews during their seventy years captivity, and retained by Esdras, who made up the Canon of Hebrew Scripture on the restoration of the people to Jerusalem) of the Samaritan, supposed to be the character in which Moses wrote his books, and of several other very ancient alphabets, yet preserved—from whence he formed an alphabet for this stone—and by the use of it explained the first sixteen lines of the first column on the left hand, into the Chaldean dialect, and gave the interpretation of them in French, by which it appeared to appeared to contain a reference to the Hebrew prophets, with severe denunciations of God's wrath upon Babylon, and indeed as if it had been inscribed at the time of some signal calamity upon the city, to which it apparently alludes. This I believe was done about the year 1804, and Mr. Wilkins was so good as to give me at that time the engraved plates, and to communicate to me the Abbé's original manuscript, and I made some preparations for ascertaining how far the interpreter's exposition of the characters and language might be warranted by reference to the rest of the inscription. But other occupations drew off my attention and I thought no more of it, until now that a perusal of Hammer's work brought it to my recollection, and I took occasion to ask Wilkins whether the Abbé had completed his translation, or in what state of forwardness it might now be? He answered, soon after he had lent me those papers the man had suddenly disappeared, whether by death, or by returning to France, he could not tell; but that he had never once heard of him since. This circumstance adds to the value of the conjectures he has left, which, though in a most incomplete state, and even a letter or two wanting to his alphabet, are yet, I believe, the only attempt that has been hitherto attended with the slightest plausibility, for reading this sort of character. As I had made myself in some degree master of his method when I first obtained the loan of his papers, and have never looked at them till now. I was quite surprised to find how much light they threw on this system of writing usually called Persepolitan, from the great number of inscriptions still extant at Chehelminar or Persepolis, of the same nature though by no means of the same alphabet. I have never yet seen any mode of decyphering such characters at all approaching to this—and though I do not myself understand Chaldean, and cannot of course extend the Abbé's labours beyond his limit—yet it had always been my determination to follow him through the whole of his disquisition—and make myself acquainted with the fundamental principles of his method whenever it should be completed. My disappointment at his disappearance, and the full stop thus put to my investigation is proportionably severe."

To those versed in the grand heroic poem—of the Mahabharat the following estimate of that ancient work by a man of Halhed's

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genius and extensive archeological attainments cannot fail to be interesting. It will be seen that in regard to spiritual philosophy —so to say—he ranks it even above the works of Homer—no less than in its reach of genuine pathos.

Charles Street, 29th May, 1800.

"My dear Sir,—The monotony of a life consisting in a walk of four miles every day in the same direction, then four or five hours of official apathy and solitude, and the return of four miles again to dinner produces a fund and bank of tamogunism that obstructs and absorbs all the powers of attention: and superinduces an intellectual torper bordering upon the dull serenity of a monk. Very seldom indeed do any of the passing events of the day break through this *palpable obscure*, and only when the latent interests of connexion are roused by some stroke of destiny do they even manifest any signs of existence. Such occurred at the beginning of last week by the death of lady Day, whose brother, H. Ramers, married Mrs. Halhed's cousin, and with whose family we have always maintained an intercourse that occasionally amounted to intimacy. Mrs. Halhed, who observant of all the precepts of the gospel has a peculiar bias for the duty of visiting the sick was, most attentive to the calls of sensibility during our near neighbour's illness. (He lived in Mortimer street,) and after her decease to the sorrow of the surviving relations in the house—I could do nothing to assist her—my turn of mind perhaps, or my deafness, unfit me for the soft offices of consolation; and so to contribute my mite to the general concern I wrote her a short epitaph:

Here lies the shell of an unspotted mind,
In life contented and in death resign'd.
Not snatch'd in youth's exhilarating bloom,
Nor spar'd for years to linger o'er the tomb:
But ere the soul, unconscious of decay,
Loath'd the worn fabric of its wasting clay
While all her virtues age's touch defied,
Just ere she could regret to live, she died—

20th May, 1800. She was in her 58th year.

"People are in such a habit of dying, that it becomes almost impossible to write anything new upon the subject, and I therefore never look to aught beyond simplicity—which indeed seems more becoming and suitable to the occasion than splendid imagery, or pomp of phrase; but till you have pronounced upon it, I suspend all opinion of my own.

"Nothing else have I done since your departure, but pore over the Mahabharat, which being infinite is of course interminable. It is certainly the most extraordinary poem that ever was composed, and it grieves me that I never could learn Sanscrit enough to read it in the original. Of the Persian translation, as you know, I have not been sparing: and your significant question 'cui bono?' when you

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saw the collections I had made from it, still vibrates on my ear. As the poem is of the Asiatic form and model, it will not bear to be examined by the rules of Aristotle, but it is nevertheless a treasure of morality as well as poetry, and for surprising incidents is perfectly unmatchable. To give you one instance: In one of the concluding works, the narrator relates to Janamejaya how Vyas proposes to the mothers and widows of all those slain in the eighteen days' battle, who are lamenting and weeping over the dead, to give them any specimen of his spiritual powers that they may require. They of course wish for nothing so much as a sight of those dear relations whose death they are now bemoaning, and immediately the whole of the slain, in all the pomp and circumstance of war, chariots, horses, elephants, streamers, &c. arise out of the Ganges, all in the bloom of life, and far handsomer than when alive—and come and join their partners on the shore. Their intercourse is kept up during the whole night with mutual joy and even Dhritarastra, who you know was born blind, receives his sight, and beholds his hundred sons for the first time. On the approach of morning the whole disappeared again in the stream, and Vyas tells the widows, &c. that all who desire it may rejoin and be united forever with those they have now seen, so all the women drown themselves. This is in narrative. Janamejaya, the Raja to whom it is told, observes to Vyas, who is present in the assembly, that he thought it hard no such favour had ever been shewn to him, —when instantly his father Parikshita, who had died by the bite of a serpent, and all his Court, and even the brahman whose curse had been the remote cause of his death, marched into the Court. This scene closes the famous, 'page of Janamejaya,' and even in the translation I could hardly read it without a tear.

"Now if you only consider what a light such a recital throws upon the immortality of the soul—how far superior this apparition is to anything ever produced by the classical poets we admire—how much more impressive than the visits of Ulysses or Æneas as to the shades below, and how wonderfully it is calculated to make a lasting impression upon those who implicitly believe in the poets pretensions to inspiration—I think you will not imagine all that could be produced on such subjects confined to Homer and Virgil. There is afterwards a visit to Elysium, and with this the poem closes. The prominent actors in the history are all seen and described in paradise, and shewn from what devetas &c. they were sent upon earth as avatas; a conclusion which leaves nothing for the mind to regret—nothing abrupt, like the termination of the Iliad, and is, at least to me, much more satisfactory. I have not mentioned that the ground plot of the poem is still an allegory—which is so perfectly well concealed as by no means to diminish its historical interest; a contrivance totally unknown to all the moderns—for nothing can be more insipid than the feeling excited by Spencer's allegories, which yet I think are the best we have. Now the concern we take in subjects professedly historical, makes an impression hardly ever to be worn out. The topics of mere invention—like Southey's Kehama, very soon pall upon the mind. But those which unite an allegorical enigma to

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a historical, or assumed historical basis, can never fade—they bear the charter of their own immortality about them—which indeed lies in the allegory, and is by us termed the machinery. Your stationer, Dutton, not caring a button new cover to put on the volume you wot on, has never made his appearence, and so the book lies in statu quo. I hope you have not ruined my character with Mrs. Barton, by forgetting to send her the list of India Directors I procured for her. It is from this *machinery* of the ancient poets that I conceive their productions derive so vast a superiority over the moderns. Yet that machinery was by no means of their own invention it was anterior to their own times, like the Indian triad and other Devatas to the composition of the Mahabharat. There can also be no doubt that the poets to whom I allude fully believed themselves to be inspired and appealed to the muse upon all occasions, and solicited her assistance, because they actually held her to be the spirit of truth, and to *know all things*—not a mere phantom and the shadow of a name as all subsequent poetasters have done. It is the want of a real muse, of a genuine heaven-born instinct to point out both the subject and the detail, that makes me so averse to every idea of a long composition—for thus there is a wide difference between supposing one's self to be inspired, and the presence of substantial inspiration, yet the very thought itself elevates and purifies the mind, and may fit it for magnificent conceptions. I would not peremptorily assert that Milton was inspired, but I think almost all the sublimity of his composition is derived from the sincerity of his conviction on that head. I have had a letter from Elijah lately on the subject of Walter Scott's and Southey's poems—but I do not subscribe to a word he says about their excellence, which I hold to be none other than expressing with occasional felicity, the most arrant common place notions, and which I am perfectly sure are made of the most perishable materials, without any very superior texture. My better half unites with me in requesting to present our sincerest regards to Mrs. Hastings, and in ardent wishes for the health and happiness of you both.

I remain ever,
My dear Sir,
Your most affectionate and obliged friend,
NATHANIEL BRASSEY HALHED.

When we commenced this article, we were in hopes that more of our materials might be included in it, than we have been able to find space for. They are, however, so voluminous, that with reference to the claims of other contributors, they must for the present lie over. They in fact comprise matter sufficient for several review articles. It is possible that some may grudge the amount of space our subject has already occupied, to what they may be disposed to view as belonging rather to the meridian of London than of Calcutta. To this we have simply to observe, that we are of a different opinion, and that considering the political and literary celebrity of Mr. Hastings and his

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friend, the subject of these pages possesses a high Indian interest for Bengal as well as for home readers.

After taking possession of his appointment at the India House, Mr. Halhed pursued the even tenor of his way, in comparative ease and comfort. He took a house in Church Street, where Mr. Hastings on his visits to town continued frequently to be his guest, till within a very short time of his death. The duties of the desk kept him much more in London than was agreeable to his Daylesford friends, who yearned to see more of him in the country. In regard to the remittances sent to him (wholly unsolicited) in the day of his distress—Mr. Halhed never considered them but in the light of a friendly loan, of which the document of repayment (to the extent of between eight and nine hundred pounds) is in our possession. It has been already noticed that he latterly became very deaf. In allusion to this infirmity there is something very touching in a sonnet of his addressed to Mr. Hastings in September, 1816, marked—"in apology."

"*Dear as I am*, what praise can *I* bestow
On lov'd Balkeisa's merits of discourse.
Albeit persuasion with rentless force
Furnish her lips, till mute attention grow,
Enraptur'd, to their motions? What but woe
To me, that straining her soft voice to hoarse,
She waste in futile efforts all resource
To make my palsied organs with its flow?
Her graceful hand's dumb eloquence I see
With frequent wavings wait upon her words;
Th' appropriate gesture with each phrase accords.
Pouring conviction into all but me,
At length my very listening I forbear
And worn with useless toil, seek refuge in despair!"

Of Mr. Halhed's last moments we at present possess no record. He died early in 1830, and his mortal remains were buried in the family vault at Petersham. His amiable wife survived him about a year and a half. Of Mr. Halhed's works the treaties on Gentoo law and the Grammar are most known to Indian readers. He published a close English version of Martial, but the work never came to a second edition. In 1807, he published from original manuscripts, translated from the Persian, a work illustrative of the Researches of the Asiatic Society—a copy of which is in our possession. He had a curious facility of translating from or into Latin. His version of Martial illustrated the former, and his transposition of the burlesque of *Midas* the latter. Many of his effusions lie scattered in the "Morning Chronicle," and other newspapers of the day, which there would

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be no insuperable difficulty in tracing by one conversant with his style and turn of thought. He had very peculiar views in regard to the fall of man, and certain changes dependant or consequential thereon, and the state of mankind after the dispersion at Babel. He loved to trace the history of nations and races with respect to Scriptural data, and the light thrown on the past by what we know of ancient astronomy. If we have not mistaken him, it would appear that he leaned also to a notion which we believe to be current with the orientals that the sun formerly rose in the west. He throws out the idea that important cormic changes took place during the sleep of Adam and the formation of Eve. The *Brahmanda* appears to have been a subject of very favorite speculation with him and he has left drawings and schemes made with his own hand to illustrate it, in connection with Revelation. He has left a series of Sonnets on the ten incarnations of Vishnu—and we subjoin one of these, as it is a specimen of the mode in which he associated our sacred writings with those of the Hindoos.

VAMAN.

"O'er the three worlds when Vali's empire spread,
Vaman, a holy dwarf, before him bow'd—
'Take what thou wilt'—exclaimed the monarch proud.
'Space his three steps to cover,' were, he said,
Enough'—The sovereign's priest opposed, in dread—
Of latent mischief: but the king allow'd.
Vaman strode twice and spann'd (a god avow'd,)
The universe.—The *third* took Vali's head.
So Christ, a dwarf in reason's lofty eyes,
Two steps has trod, where Satan's glories swell,
The first, his cross, o'erstriding death and hell;
The next his resurrection clear'd the skys.
For his *last step*, his second advent know
To bruise the serpent's head, and chain him down below."

In Mr. Gleig's third volume, he states that the last two years of Mr. Hastings' life, if described in detail, would affect the reader with melancholy only. This remark is generally less or more applicable to all persons of highly advanced age, for if by reason of strength they have attained such age "yet is their strength labor and sorrow." Mr. Hastings was no exception to the rule. In Mr. Gleig's opinion these two last years furnish little else than the gradual decay of the powers of a great mind, and the breaking up of the frame in which for four score and six years, it had lodged. The biographer refers to materials in his possession which have never been published. Of these, of course, we cannot speak, but had we no further

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evidence than Mr. Gleig's of the state of the case, we might feel disposed to take a darker view of those two years, than the letters now in our own possession warrant. By the light of these, we see no trace of dotage. There is, if we may so call it, latterly a sort of stammer in the style, as if words eluded the feeble memory, but ideas are there, and the capacity of giving them utterance in choice language. Indeed, Mr. Hastings, appears to us to have always been happy in the neatness and good taste of his style. The correspondence between the two friends was kept up as regularly as age, and its infirmities, would admit. Here are the two *last* letters in our possession that close the correspondence on Mr. Hasting's side, and with reference to Mr. Gleig's remarks, we leave them to the judgment of our readers.

"*Daylesford House*, 18*th May*, 1818.

"My dear Friend,—I acquit you of intentionally sinning against me, but you have certainly provoked me to sin against myself, and most grievously, if indiscretion be a sin; for at your recommendation I have bought Mr. Marsden's translation of Marco Polo's travels, a book which reminds me almost painfully of the following line of Crabbe:

'And ladies read the book they cannot lift.'

You may however gather the kind of interest which I have already taken in it, when I have told you, as I do, that I have read besides the introduction, (a work of no small intricacy, to a mind so worn out it cannot be sure of spelling a word of four syllables without losing one of them by the way), seventy pages of the body of it, in only a part of two days in which it has been in my possession. But this is not the purpose for which I began my letter, but the following: In the 53d page of the book it is related that in a certain lake not far from the Caspian sea, fish never make their appearance until the first day of Lent, and from that time to Easter-eve they are found in vast abundance; but on Easter-day they are no longer to be seen, nor during the remainder of the year.' Now it may appear a strange coincidence that should bring the Caspian, or one of its subsidiary bodies of water, and the pond of Daylesford into a mutual comparison; but it is a fact which I vouch on the credit of my own veracity, that about the time that I was beginning to collect a store of carp and tench for my pond at Daylesford, it chanced that somebody sent me a present of some jack, which I ordered to be put into one of the stews till I should want them. I had sent for a famous breeder of fish from Banbury for his advice, who as soon as he came, accosted me with a look of alarm, and said—'I see, Sir, that you have got four or five brace of jack in a stew there. I advise you to part with them as soon as you can. Your surest way will be to send them at once to the kitchen for if you leave them where they are *till Shrove Tuesday*, you may depend upon it they will spawn, and then your pond will be all stocked with jack and pike, and you will never get any other fish to

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breed in it; nor will you get rid of these.' By this anecdote it appears that the popular superstition is equally prompt to ascribe the same influence to the recurrence of the feasts and festivals of religious appointment at Banbury, as on the coasts of the Caspian sea or the lake of Aral; for you will observe that the fish of both countries are mentioned as deriving their nativity from the times of their common relation to the ecclesiastical, not astronomical calendar. But this agreement, though in a palpable falsehood, is a proof of the veracity of the traveller. I hope my reasoning upon this subject is fair; for I shall never get through another so much to my own satisfaction: besides, I feel an interest in its favor, extending both to the writer and his translator and annotator, which indeed is a plausible reason to make me mistrust my opinion upon them, and their work altogether.

"I am much gratified by your approval of my decision to let Mrs. Hastings depart and leave me behind. I have the conscious satisfaction of having throughout allowed a bias in favor of every wish and opinion in preference to my own; and after the age of four-score, I believe, it is the wisest resolution, as well as the most virtuous that a man can come to. I almost regret her absence too, as it deprives her of the new beauties of the spring, which is bursting upon us with all the arrears of delight which we have been so long expecting. Are we to lay this privation to the account of the approach of the icy mountains! And what is your opinion of the Arctic exploration?

"You are not a greater admirer than I am of the Princess of Saxe Homburg; and you have added an incitement to my admiration. Certainly our gracious Queen deserves infinite merit from the virtues and accomplishments of all her amiable daughters. I will take a little time to consider whether I can quite praise two rhymes of an assortment not quite familiar to me, but not for that reason not the best. But my words escape my own conception; a warning to break off, which I do with confirmed assurances of affection in which you and your dear Lady are ever joined in my remembrance.

WARREN HASTINGS."

"*Daylesford House, 9th June*, 1818.

"MY DEAR FRIEND,—I am pleased that you were pleased with my commentary on a passage in Marco Polo. I have since met with another similar accordance in the same book, with a fact of which I was an eye witness, and which I have no doubt that the fastidious readers of those days passed to the account of the many incredibles which were laid to his charge. It was the traveller's assertion of his having seen a man walk—not swim, nor what is popularly called treading water, but literally—*walk*, at more than the height of his waist above the bottom of a river. My own evidence of a similar feat occurred, when I was at Lucknow, in the month of May, 1784, much about the time that you joined me there. One morning I went to visit the Prince Jehandar Shah, whose quarters then occupied a terraced house close adjoining to the bank of the river. I had scarce made my obeisance, when the Prince said: 'I have a very extraordinary man in my

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service, who possesses the art of walking beyond his depth in the water. You shall see him, if he is here.' Advancing then to the brink of the terrace, and calling to the people below, he asked, if such a one, mentioning his name, was there. The man instantly made his appearance, being just then occupied in cooking his dinner, with no other garment upon him but his loonghee. The Prince commanded him to let me see him walk in the water. The man, without other bidding or preparation, advanced, passed leisurely into the channel of the river where his movements at this time, after a lapse of thirty-six years, scarce retain the indistinct but certain traces on my remembrance of his having walked, and moved about in the surrounding stream, with a buoyancy apparently independent of the physical effects of gravitation. I do not recollect whether any one accompanied me in this visit. If there did, Jonathan Scott is most likely to have been the person, and I should be much inclined to put his memory to this test, if it did not require the prior knowledge of his direction, a knowledge of no difficult attainment, except by one to whom every thing presents a difficulty. In the mean time I have a present difficulty to overcome. I have lost the page of Marsden's book in which this document is to be found, nor after repeated search have been able to recover it. If it should not have escaped your notice, and you can turn to it again, I shall be obliged to you for the information of page in which I may find it.

You will rejoice to hear that my dear wife after all that she had encountered of tumult, parade, and festivity, and some sickness, in London, with added inflammation, dust and jaded horses in her departure from it, returned to her own comfortable abode in perfect health and gaiety of spirits, and found me as glad without going so far for it. We both unite in kind regards to yourself and your dear lady, and I ever am, my dear friend,

Yours most affectionately,
WARREN HASTINGS."

Extract of a previous letter, dated 18th January, 1818.

"At your recommedation I have bought Mr. Marsden's translation of Marco Polo's travels. Your may gather the kind of interest which I have already taken in it, when I have told you, as I do, that I have read, besides the introduction, (a work of no small intricacy to a mind so worn, that it cannot be sure of spelling a word of four syllables without losing one of them by the way) seventy pages of the body of it in only a part of two days in which it has been in my possession:—but this is not the purpose for which I began my letter."

Dated in May, 1818, we have two or three memoranda taken from Mr. Hastings' diary. They refer to "confused sounds, as of distant multitudes." "I date their first perception from the 20th, at times resembling slow music—but its effect!!" We do not care to question Mr. Gleig's opinion regarding this "communion of unearthly voices hovering, as it were, on the brink of

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the great gulph." May it not, however, admit of a physiological explanation, as there are states of the aural organs where all kinds of sounds impress themselves upon the sensorium. If beautiful, it shews the beneficence of Nature in some of her compensations. To a classical scholar like Mr. Hastings, that beautiful passage in the Odyssey where Ulysses visits the regions of the dead could not but be familiar. *Where* did Homer get that cultus? The description altogether is very affecting where the spirits of the married and single—of tender virgins and of the slain in battle—appear and greet the living.

We leave it to the critical to determine whether this was a shout or a mournful wail. Be that as it may, it is painful to think that the last request of the dying statesman, in regard to some provision which he begged the East Indian Directors to make for his wife, was not attended to.

The gifted author* of the only one of the (so called) "Bridgewater Treatises," that received no pecuniary prize, however much it merited one, in a very curious passage, argues (we write from memory, not having the work to refer to,) that sound and motion cease not their being, though their vibrations be no longer apparent in our sphere, but have passed on continuing their impress upon the elements of infinite space. It may be said of writing too that it ceaseth not its movement. The immortal principle that gives it impetus, clings to it. Characters which the hand (may be carelessly) traced, may become luminous when the will that urged and the fingers that wielded the pen have alike vanished from the things that are true, and not without its solemnity is the saying, litera scripta manet. A thousand peril, environ the tablet on which it may be traced, be it stone, brass, or papyrus; but like bread cast upon the waters, it yet somehow casts up after many days. It is not for any age to determine him many secrets may be flashed back, when least expected, from the night of time. Links of a chain supposed to be lost in the ocean of oblivion, have ever and anon, been fished up by the surest of drags, the litera scripta. What does not the world owe to it! We allude not altogether to what was done with formal intent and deliberation, but also to what may have proceeded from spontaneous flowing of thoughts, or passing impulse. Sometimes even a brief missive that was traced by the light pen of confidential *abandon* has turned up after many years, stamping a more vivid impress upon our conceptions of character, and merits, than studied treatises. It is much to have the men of rank whom the world would not willingly let die, admitting us as it were, to their fire-sides. Significant indeed is the saying—*litera scripta manet.*

* Said to be the author of the Calculating Machine.

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ART. IV.—*Unpublished Documents.*

FOR an Englishman it is more dangerous to be before than behind the world. In the former case he has at least the advantage of sympathy. He is backed by one-half his fellowmen, and that half the highest in position, in character, and in that indefinable something which Englishmen call respectability. He has with him all the old, all the timid, a moiety of the wealthy, and a majority of the official world. His opponent stands alone. He is resisted not only by that vis inertia, against which it is well that every projector should have to strive, but by some of the strongest peculiarities in the English character. His idea is apt to stand by itself, apparently unsupported by facts, and in ideas Englishmen profess to have but limited faith. He is usually deficient in practical details, for until the time for action has arrived, such details are simply burdensome, and the practical Englishman despises the deficiency. Above all, he is usually obscure. His own conviction is complete, and he forgets that he addresses men who are quoad his idea as ignorant as children. He makes up for his failure of expression by vehemence of language, and is fortunate if he is set down as a fanatic instead of a visionary.

This indisposition to enthusiasm has doubtless its advantages. It kills off fallacies. No scheme is ever accepted simply because it is new. It must also be practicable, and hundreds of crude ideas and pretty bubbles, die out without any injury beyond the transfer of a little cash from the pockets of dupes to the hands of sharpers. Nothing not really based upon a fact can stand that tempest of ridicule, and hostile investigation. From politics to spirit rapping, the new movement is invariably stripped bare of its vesture of charlatanerie. The form beneath may be beautiful, and if so its beauty is acknowledged, but it is permitted no aid from dress or ornament. Or, to change the figure, we may say that every new project is flung into the crucible. The gold may be lost in the process of elimination, but at all events the dross is kicked into the dust heap. But the temperament has also its disadvantages, and they are neither few nor unimportant. Everything waits too long. The process of inquiry is protracted till the time for action has passed, till the most efficient agency has disappeared from the scene. In politics we are at this very moment witnesses of such a blunder. The English public *has* a new idea as to the true result to be achieved by its great struggle. But the idea is so overloaded with oppressed nationalities, speechifying, Red Republicans, Kossuth, the Poles, Popery, Lord Dudley Stuart, Mr. Urquhart and charlataneries without end,

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that it is inclined to reject it altogether. At all events, according to its wont, before acceptance it must strip it of the false. Meanwhile the time for acting on the time is escaping altogether.

It is, however, rather in the region of physical improvement than of politics that this singular idiosyncrasy is most completely developed. Every such scheme is compelled to pass through three several processes, each testing its reality, but all consumptive alike of time and energy. The great project is first the thought of a single man, dimly expressed in conversation, briefly sketched in a still-born pamphlet, casually alluded to in a periodical. It is regarded by his friends as a harmless infatuation, or even watched with interest as evidence of the strange nooks and corners in an otherwise "well regulated" mind. Soon opportunity favouring, or conviction becoming fanaticism, the thinker makes his thought apparent, urges it on the authorities, submits it to the Press, hurls it in the face of a half indignant public. The thought is clothed, and the process of stripping instantly begins. Every ornament is first removed. All that is imaginative, all that has its origin in plilanthropy is ruthlessly torn away. When the project at last stands bare, the attack on its existence is commenced. History and science are ransacked to prove that its execution is impossible. If the scheme is one for crossing the Atlantic, a great luminary of science proves that the coal must be expended, that the machinery must get red hot, that the distance is too great for any reasonable hope of safety. A great Peer pledges himself in Parliament to swallow the boiler of the first steamer which performs the feat. If it is a locomotive which is to run a little quicker than a horse it is proved to a demonstration that the train must be smashed, that the wheels will go on whirring without motion to all enternity that the passengers will be strangled by the atmosphere. A great Review laughs at the absurdity of the man who believes that men can be shot off rocket fashion in safety. If it is a Railway in India, the natives are too impassive to be moved, the white ants will eat the sleepers, the sun will kill all the engine drivers. Sometimes the project contains in itself so small a residuum of truth or practicability that it is abandoned. This has been the case for the present with balloon travelling. The hundred projectors have not yet got the length of even a Joint Stock Association. Sometimes, too, the English mind feels as by an instinct that the time is not yet ripe. The project comes too soon. The world is not ready. It was thus with the grand scheme of William Paterson, the one man of the sevententh century who foresaw the commercial future of the world. His

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plan tried three times over, backed by a nation, and favoured by an aristocracy, was still crushed down under the remorseless ignorance of the British public. In all cases the pause at this stage is long, wearing out the souls of the thinkers, cruelly diminishing their chance of witnessing their creations live and move. Presently, however, the plan if it has fact beneath escapes from this stage. Men habituate their minds to its vastness till the difficulties seem to disappear. They hear that it has been accepted by a powerful journal, praised by a political leader, considered by a sober official person. The objections raked up have less and less of plausibility. The vehement language is transferred from the now confident and therefore quiet speculator to his angry because beaten adversaries. The goal is nearly won. The officials have long since given way. The public at last stands convinced. By a last brilliant stroke, the project is proved to be not only great but profitable. Capitalists step forward, and the new scheme, changed from a thought into a Joint Stock Association, enters its final stage, which terminates only with its final success.

We have deemed these comments no unfitting introduction to the project, the history of which we purpose to narrate. It is the most perfect, as it will be the most splendid instance of the peculiar difficulties we have endeavoured to describe. Devised by a single brain, it has run the gauntlet of ridicule, and steadily progressed towards the realization, we firmly believe to be immediately in prospect. Before, however, we attempt to give a reason for our faith, we must analyse the materials upon which it is based. The scheme has been actively advancing for many years. It has, however, but seldom emerged into public notice. The author, immersed in other cares and believing the time not yet ripe, has contented himself with convincing half the statesmen of Europe. The war, however, has opened a new prospect. The officials have the path clear before them, and the time has at last arrived for bringing the project before the world in all its magnitude. That part of course it is not for us to play. We only desire to recount its history, and to prove to our own readers that the wild scheme is a practical effort, soon to become a realized undertaking. For this purpose we have employed without hesitation all the means placed at our disposal. They consist chiefly of a private diary, containing transcripts of a correspondence, extending over some years with some of the most illustrious statesmen in Europe. For the same reason we are compelled to give some papers almost entire, united only by so much of disquisition as may serve to make their meaning clear to ordinary readers. This course is obvi-

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ously unavoidable where the opinions to be quoted are weighty, not in themselves, but from the position of those who utter them. It has, too, another advantage. It enables our readers not only to comprehend, but to dissect the scheme. It reveals to them all that secret machinery by which plans so vast must always be achieved, and shews more clearly than any narrative could do, the energy required to obtain that support in limine, which is the primary want of the speculator, and the only necessity of the true discoverer.

The author of the scheme is the Managing Director of the East Indian Railway Company, Mr. R. Macdonald Stephenson. This gentleman, whose biography will one day give to the world a new instance of what may be achieved by energy and purpose, had watched from 1835 the progress of international communication with the East. He had seen the long continued and strenuous effort of the commercial world to accelerate the communication. He had comprehended from the first the magnitude of the trade which must one day be carried by the speediest route. In 1840, the success of the Peninsular and Oriental Company convinced him that the time was ripe for a yet more extended project. His idea was briefly this. He conceived it possible to girdle the world with an iron chain, to connect Europe and Asia from their furthest extremities by one colossal Railway. A portion of this scheme is still too far in the future for us to do more than indicate its vastness. The remainder, all that falls within our scope, was to connect so much of the two continents as should enable a locomotive to travel from Calcutta to London with but two breaks, one at the Straits, and one at the Dardanelles. Even this, however, is sufficiently gigantic. The distance is one on which a locomotive might grow weary. The road lies through separate kingdoms each jealous of yielding the slightest advantage to each other. It crosses pathless deserts, passes regions inhabited only by tribes whose hand has been against every man since Ishmael became a warrior. Even if the physical difficulties are overcome, the political obstacles seem almost insuperable. We admit all this, and admitting, hope to shew that the physical difficulties are overrated, and the political have been smoothed away by Mr. Stephenson himself. The following short table indicates at once the route, the distances, the expenditure, and the net income necessary to insure an interest on the capital expended.

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Country traversed,	Miles open or in course of construction.	Miles required to complete connection.	Average Cost estimated at £10,000 per mile.	Annual Interest on cost at 5 per cent.	Estimated total Distance and Cost to each Country.		
					Miles.	Cost.	Annual Interest.
			£	£		£	£
Belgium, ...	150	0			150	1,500,000	75,000
Prussia, ...	55	25	250,000	12,500	80	800,000	40,000
Germany, ...	10	30	300,000	15,000	40	400,000	20,000
Bavaria, to Nuremburg, ...	60	60	600,000	30,000	120	1,200,000	60,000
Bavaria beyond Nuremburg, ...	0	120	1,200,000	60,000	120	1,200,000	60,000
Austria, ...	130	270	2,700,000	135,000	400	4,000,000	200,000
Turkey in Europe, ...	0	500	5,000,000	250,000	500	5,000,000	250,000
Turkey in Asia, ...	0	1,300	13,000,000	650,000	1,300	13,000,000	650,000
Persia, ...	0	550	5,500,000	275,000	550	5,500,000	275,000
Beloochistan, ...	0	550	5,500,000	275,000	550	5,500,000	275,000
	405	3,405	34,050,000	1,702,500	3,810	38,100,000	1,905,000

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Before we can even begin to comprehend the true point at which the difficulties commence, we must cleanse our minds of some preconceived ideas. We are taught from our earliest childhood to regard the Asiatic regions traversed by this route as the very home of romance and mystery. It was on these plains that the earliest of the great monarchies of earth were founded. It was through them that Alexander marched to the conquest of the Asiatic world. They are, too, the scene of no insignificant portion of Biblical history. One-half of us when we hear of the Euphrates, think of the garden of Eden, of the flaming sword, of the four rivers which enclosed the dwelling place of our first parents. The idea of a Railway through all this, of locomotives crossing the Euphrates, of embankments on the plains of Mesopotamia, of a station by the gates of Bagdad, of a Telegraph in the streets where good Haroun Alraschid wandered late, seems to most of us ludicrously incongruous. The imagination, excited by recollections which our classical education has graved into our minds, refuses to entertain the practical aspect of the question. Let us divest ourselves of all this, look upon the route to be traversed as if it existed in Canada, and then see how much of the impossibility remains. The world is but a little place after all, when viewed with the eyes of engineers instead of those of historians. Athens and Sparta may be mighty names. The valour of the latter, the intellect of the former may still exercise an influence, the strength of which we can scarcely even comprehend. But Athens is a county no bigger than Norfolk. A Railway from Athens to Sparta would not reach from Calcutta to Raneegunge. The area of all that Greece which is to us a land of so many nations and cities would scarcely cover the area of Portugal. Olympus may be majestic to the imagination. Stephenson would not consider a tunnel through Olympus a wonderful undertaking. Peto would hand over the petty contract to some second class foreman. The portion of the route in Europe is already almost complete. From Calais or Ostend to Pesth the line of Railway is unbroken. It is possible for a traveller leaving London by the South Western, and really in haste, to reach the capital of Hungary by Paris, Strasburg, and Vienna, in eight and forty hours. Between Pesth and Belgrade a line is already in process of construction. Already the Sultan has sanctioned tenders for a line from Belgrade to Constantinople. A formal proposal has been put forward for the construction of the line. As in the instance of the Indian Railways, this first offer proved insufficient to tempt capitalists, and remained unanswered. The difficulty is merely one of detail. Let adequate terms be of-

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fered; and the work will be completed like a Railway in England or the United States. The materials procurable only from home, can be landed at Constantinople as easily as Alexandria. Europeans can work in the open air all along this road. Any number of navvies may therefore be imported to oversee the works. For ordinary labour the serfs are fully competent, and oppressed as they are would be readily tempted by English gold. Provisions are cheap and plentiful. The "roving Englishman," has given us a schedule of prices for pigs, sheep and poultry which would make a Lothian farmer gasp again. The war with its vast demands, and its reckless expenditure, has increased these prices till they afford no criterion for the present, but with the war the demand will cease. The low ranges which appear to present obstacles are pierced by a hundred passes, and are all less difficult than the Western Ghauts, which Railways are now beginning to ascend. The Balkan, the most formidable obstacle in the road, may be either crossed or evaded. It is impossible of course to quote the result of actual survey. We may however give the opinion of one well known politician, Prince Callimaki. This gentleman, the ablest Greek who has of late years entered the service of the Porte, has been a candidate for the Hospodariate of Wallachia. He is profoundly acquainted with the country, and thus expressed himself at Paris to Mr. Stephenson: "From the nature and extent of the existing trade between Constantinople and Adrianople, and between Scutari and Isnikmid I feel assured that a Railway there would be from the beginning remunerative. I have inspected the iron mines worked by my own Government about Nessa Sophia and Philippoli, and believe coal exists in abundance all along the coasts of the Black Sea.* I do not consider the Balkan an insuperable engineering difficulty, but I conceive it would be perhaps easier to avoid it by following the course of the Danube, and then skirting the Black Sea to Constantinople." There are political dangers which may interfere with this suggestion, but it is certain at all events that this route is passable, and may be tried.

It is not at this point, however, that the difficulties will be believed to commence. It is admitted that a Railway from Belgrade to Constantinople may be constructed if required. It is from thence that the difficulties will be assumed by the public to begin. Yet what is it in reality that is required? A line across a flat neck of land, considerably less than half the length of the Great Pacific Railway, through a territory not more difficult to engineers, and with the advantage that great scheme does not possess, of labour along its whole route.

* Since proved.

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From Constantinople to the head of the Gulf of Persia is but thirteen hundred miles. To trace or define the precise route is almost as impossible as to prepare an estimate of the cubical feet of brickwork the culverts to be constructed may require. We admit at once the deficiency of our existing knowledge. There have been no levels taken, no surveys made, no precise information collected of any description. To assume exact figures or a mathematical accuracy would therefore be practically to deceive. But while ignorant of these details, we are at least assured of certain salient points. There is a practicable road. There is a means of commencing the line at many points, instead of beginning at both ends only. There is labour in abundance. The route walked over, though not surveyed, would be from Scutari to Is Nikmid or Izmid, a place with a population of 4,000, and known as the great resort for residents of Constantinople, wealthy enough to afford the luxury of a change of air. Thence the line would probably strike southward by the Valley of the Sakariah River, to Eskishehr keeping to the South of Sevrihissar and Balahissar, by Chunder to the South of Lake Touz by Iskil and Akserai, Soanli, and Kala Hissar to Malatich. Then emerging from the mountain pass of Eez Oglou it would strike the head of the Euphrates. From thence to Mesko, the country is one uninterrupted level plain. Thence, passing to the west of the Singar hills, or to the west of Lekrit, Aslaik and Bagdad, it would cross the canals which connect the Tigris and Euphrates, and finally passing Kornah at the confluence of those giant streams would terminate at the Persian Gulf. For one-half of the road it is evident we have a route which, however little known, has been traversed, crossed, and noted by civilized men. For the remainder we have the valley of the Euphrates. Wherever, as a rule, a river can run, a Railway can be made, and through more than half the route it will run by the banks of important rivers. Then as to the points at which the work may be commenced. At one point, Bir, the Euphrates, still navigable, is not a hundred miles from Scanderoon, one of the best and deepest ports in the Mediterranean. A short branch Railway would render the Euphrates almost as accessible as the Nile. Long before the Railway could be completed, a direct communication might be established between Scanderoon and Bombay. By this road, also, men and materials, navvies and iron, labourers and engines might be shot out upon the centre of the line. It might therefore be commenced as it were at four ends at once, and the process of construction be thus accelerated by at least one-half. This section, too, opening as it does a new road between Bombay and the Mediterranean, may create a most important subsidiary traffic. It would

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of course be the grand route for the merchants of the Italian States, and even perhaps for French exports to India. The only remaining difficulty, the supply of labour, is simply a question of expense. We will imagine that the country itself can add nothing in this respect; that Arabs will not work for us as they did for Mr. Layard; that the men who keep up the system of canals will laugh at Feringhee gold. Even then, if every labourer must be imported, the problem is easy of solution. There are three entrances to the line. At Constantinople we all know there is labour. Even a Turk will work if he is well paid, and called an overseer. The rayahs will work at cuttings as readily as canals, at embankments as readily as roads. They will not be the less numerous because regularly paid, or the less industrious because exempt from what Curzon calls "stick ad libitum." For the work to which they are incompetent, we can employ the stronger races of the shore of the Black Sea, the men who now do the drudgery of the French encampment. For the centre points we shall have all the labour available by sea. The work is not like that on the barrage of the Nile. The climate is thoroughly invigorating, and with the slightest care even Europeans can be employed for seven months in the year in the open air. At all times they can do the work they perform in India, the task of superintendence. For actual labour, we have all the races on the shores of the great inland sea. Fellahs may be hired. Black labour may be purchased from the African coast, and in a few months, two hundred thousand labourers could be collected on the Euphrates. For the Southern terminus, we have the men who are now working on the western lines of India, the labourers of Bombay and Cutch, Kattywar, Guzerat and Broach. The hordes of Chinese, moreover, who annually swarm off to California and Australia, to Siam and Singapore, can be as easily attracted to the Persian Gulf, and there are no better labourers in the world. In short, the whole affair resolves itself on this as on every other line into a mere question of expense.

It is at the head of the Persian Gulf that the first section of the line may be said to end. The direct communication with England may then be said to be established. The old route, the route which created Genoa and enabled the merchants of Venice to support a State, is re-opened in the manner suited to the necessities of the nineteenth century. We have no longer to navigate half the world, and reach an island not five thousand miles off by a voyage of sixteen thousand miles. We have not even to traverse two sides of a triangle in order, by the Red Sea, to escape the still more devious course. But we have still an immense break in the great chain of communication. We have still a sea voyage of

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1600 miles to the head of the Persian Gulf, still to tranship goods and passengers, still to lose almost the entire advantage of great speed. Such a break does not enter into Mr. Stephenson's scheme, and it is his determined persistence in the possibility of completing the line, which has brought on him the dangerous imputation of enthusiasm. It must pass to all appearance through Fars, Laristan, and Beloochistan, the most mountainous and rugged of Asiatic provinces. To cross such a country, the line must be one vast tunnel, a work which all the powers of all Asia combined could never complete or pay for. The objections may be granted, yet Beloochistan like most other maritime countries possesses a *coast line*, comparatively free from these difficulties. This line at least we can use and hold. We can reach every portion of it from the sea. We can lay down materials and men, guns and soldiers if necessary, as readily as in Bombay. We can keep the Railway as it were within the sound of our own cannon, and this accomplished the construction is a mere question of time and money. We have for this statement the authority of an able Envoy, and one of the first Geographers in the world. Many of their speculations may be rendered valueless by determination to keep within Turkish territory, but the remainder are of the highest interest.

Residency Persian Gulf, Bushire, 3rd September, 1850.

"I have just received under a flying seal, the enclosed letter to your address from His Excellency Colonel Sheil, H. B. M's Minister at the Court of Teheran, upon the subject of your projected plan of a Railway from Vienna to the Indus. This communication was accompanied by a request from His Excellency, that I would add my own opinions to his remarks.

"The early transmission of Col. Sheil's letter by a Steamer on the point of starting for Aden, would of itself preclude the possibility of giving the vast and important plan contemplated by you, the careful and minute consideration it calls for; but were it otherwise, I fear that an uninterrupted residence of nearly thirty-one years in the East by necessarily depriving me of all acquaintance with the subject of Railways, must render any observations I may make upon such an undertaking, of little if any value.

"As my knowledge of Persia is almost entirely confined to the sea coast of Fars and Laristan, I am unable to offer any opinion, derived from personal observation, upon the line proposed in your sketch, commencing from Bussorah, and passing through Khuzistan, Fars, Kerman and Beloochistan. My limited acquaintance however with this route leads me to concur entirely with the remarks made upon it by Colonel Sheil. I would however add,

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that in respect to Beloochistan, even were the mountainous ranges in that country practicable for Railways, I fear that the absence of any established form of Government, combined with the hostile and lawless character of the different tribes occupying it, would alone form insuperable obstacles to the formation of a line to the Indus by that route.

"As it is quite out of my power to add any thing to the very able and just observations made by an officer of the great experience of Colonel Sheil, upon the application of Railways to the internal communications of Persia, I will make no further reference to that part of the contemplated plan beyond remarking, that in a line from Shiraz to the port of Bunderabass by Jahram, through Laristan, I believe only one pass offering any material difficulty, would present itself.

"Looking simply to the establishment of a continuous line of Railway from the Euphrates to the Indus, there can be no question as to the superior facilities for its construction offered by the route suggested by Colonel Sheil, along the belt of low land running by the sea coast of Fars, Laristan, and Mekran.

"The obstacles to be overcome on this route, are those offered by the mountains approaching so close to the sea, as to leave no level for the formation of a Railway. Between Bussorah and Ras Mundanee on the Mekran coast, only in one place, I believe, does a serious obstacle of this nature exist, namely from Nabend to Nershan a distance of about twenty miles on the coast of Fars. I do not however imagine this would offer any insuperable difficulties to the engineering skill and science now available. In many parts of this tract the population is very scanty, but the roving character of its inhabitants, and the ease with which any number of labourers could be transported from place to place by sea, would I think render this objection of no material consequence.

"The erection of viaducts of some length would be necessary over the rivers running into the sea at Indian, Roodhillah, and Khor Zearut, on the coast of Fars, and that of Menow near Bunderabass. Numerous small channels, which although dry in the summer, become rapid and impestuous streams during the cold and rainy seasons, would require to be bridged.

"From cape Mundanee on the Mekran coast, the level belt of land contiguous to the Indian ocean, becomes more frequently interrupted by mountains approaching the sea-shore. These spots are noted below,* but whether they could be turned, crossed over, or cut through, I am unable to say.

* Ras Mundanee, Ras Breefs, Rass Fursah, Ras Garnaw, Ras Koppah, Ras Pusoo, Ras Kutcheree.

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"Aided by the support and influence of the Persian Government, and the Imam of Muscat, I do not consider that, with the exception of the geographical obstacles above referred to, any very serious difficulties would be experienced in the construction of a Railway from Bussorah to Cape Jask. In the vicinity of the Euphrates, and from Lingah to Minow on the Persian coast, the climate, at certain seasons, is decidedly insalubrious, but I do not think the intervening tracts would be found unhealthy. The summer heats of the low country, as far as Churbar on the Mekran coast, are very great; but this objection would I think, apply almost equally to the lower parts of Khuzistan, Kirman, Yezd and Beloochistan. The coast between Churbar and the Indus lying within the influence of the S. W. Monsoon, is comparatively cool.

"I fear, however, that from Cape Jask to Pusseena along the sea-board of Mekran, great difficulties in the construction of a Railway would be found to arise from the turbulent character and lawless habits of the Mekranees. The small towns and forts which lie between the places above referred to, mostly acknowledge the rule of the Imam of Muscat, and are occupied by his garrisons. But beyond the walls of the forts, his Highness does not possess theslightest authority; all the power being in the hands of different petty and independent chiefs. How far these might be influenced by presents and the prospect of gain from a large outlay of capital, to aid instead of opposing the establishment of a Railway through their respective districts, is a question on which, with my present information, I could not venture to offer an opinion, but from the numerous points d'appui afforded by the Imam's forts, I consider this difficulty to be of infinitely less weight, than it would be in an attempt to penetrate to India through the interior of Beloochistan. Of the four obstacles indicated by Colonel Sheil in his letter to you, the first and fourth are those which would appear to apply more particularly to the line from Bussorah now under consideration. Not a fraction of the money required for the construction of the proposed Railway, can be looked for, from the countries thro' which it runs. Neither would the commerce, nor traffic within those limits, pay the working expences of the line, much less leave a margin for profit. On the other hand labor is cheap; meat about the same price as mentioned by Colonel Sheil; fuel, generally speaking, is abundant, and in certain localities its price is extremely low; bread is about twice as dear as it is in the interior.

"The influence of the British Government along the line of coast from the embouchere of the Euphrates to Bunderabass is great, while the facilities of transport for all descriptions of materiel by

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sea, offers a most important advantage over a more inland route. The protection also which might be afforded by our navy on the various points where the line would touch the coast, is a consideration also worthy of remembrance in estimating the relative advantages of the different routes proposed.

"These crude remarks, thus hastily thrown together, will not of course be taken by you beyond their worth. Were I to be guided by my own imperfect light on the subject of Railways, I should be inclined to pronounce the gigantic proposition of running a line of Railway through European Turkey, Asia Minor and Persia, as altogether impracticable; but when I hear of the wonderful results produced by the judicious application of money, science, and energy in the present day, I feel it would be presumption in me to assert the impossibility of bringing the projected plan to a successful issue.

I have the honor to be, Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
(Signed) L. HENNELL.

Camp near Teheran, July 26th, 1850.

"SIR,—Various circumstances, among others a desire to make enquiry, have prevented an earlier reply to your letter relative to the establishment of a Railway through Persia.

"My life in this country has been passed in the northern part of Persia, and I therefore am incompetent to offer an opinion, derived from personal observation, of the advantages of the contemplated line in your sketch.

"The proposed line beginning at Bussorah, appears to run through Khuzistan, Fars, Kerman to Beloochistan, passing probably through the towns of Ramhoormuz, Behbahan, Sheeraz, and Kerman.

"As far as Ramhoormuz or even Behbahan there do not seem to be any insurmountable geographical difficulties; the country is flat but there is scarcely any population.

"From thence to Kerman and even to the borders of Beloochistan, there is a succession of mountains, impracticable, if the absence of any scientific knowledge on the subject permits me to offer a conjecture, for Railway purposes. The province of Kerman is most scantily supplied with inhabitants.

"Setting aside the consideration of the difficulty imposed by mountainous tracts, there are the other impediments offered by the expense and toil of the transport of materials to these unfrequented spots. The whole line, however, is more or less accessible from the ports of Mohemmera, Bushire and Bunderabass.

"I propose for your consideration a different line.

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"From Mohemmera (near Bussorah) to the Indus there is a low level belt of land of varying width, which runs along the sea, separating the latter from the highlands of Laristan, Fars, Kerman, and Beloochistan.

"The word level has probably exceptions, but if mountains do in any part extend to the sea, which is not unlikely in Laristan, they are at all events of infinitely less account than those before mentioned; and assuming that there are places impracticable for Railway operations, the sea is at all events at hand for transport by steamer to the spot where the line has been resumed.

"Any speculations are unnecessary of the immense advantage of the vicinity of the sea for all purposes connected with the construction, maintainance, and preservation of the line.

"The chief objections which occur to me with regard to this line compared with any more northern line, are the great heats of the climate during certain months, its insalubrity at the same period, and its distance from the commerce of the northern and centrals part of Persia.

"Bagdad and Bussorah are not great marts of Persian commerce. The great line, especially for the commodities of Europe, is through Tabreez and Tehran, and thence to Ispahan and central Persia, or to Meshed and Toorkistan and Affghanistan.

"There may be reasons independent of commerce for conducting the line of the Railway to Bagdad and Bussorah; perhaps the level of the country between those places and Constantinople, may be the chief inducement, and a very important inducement it is, for making the selection, but commerce both internal and foreign, and consequently intercourse among the people, would seem to claim a preference for the selection of more northern parts of Persia for the course of the Railway.

"From Erzeroom in Turkish Armenia to Meshed, and from thence to Herat, and Candahar, the road is a continued line of valleys of varying breadth. In general language it may be called level, but there are numerous interruptions of mountains; whether these obstructions can be avoided by a circuit, whether they could be perforated by tunnels, or whether it would be necessary to effect their passage by ordinary wheeled carriages, I am not prepared to say.

"I will give you a slight outline, *from memory* and personal observation, of the road from Erzeroom to Shahrood Bestam, 240 miles east of Tehran.

"Soon after leaving Erzeroom there is a rather high but not rugged pass to be crossed; it is accomplished on horseback in about two hours. From thence to Dar (45 miles) the valley is

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undulating. Dar is a pass not unlike the one already described, and requires two hours to cross. Thence to Bayazeed the country is the same as before, but near Razlee Gool the frontier of Persia, there is a pass, long but not rugged, to be crossed; it takes about two hours; then to Khow the country, part of the way, undulates considerably, being almost entitled to be called hilly; there is then a bad rugged pass to be crossed, but of which I believe the ruggedness can be evaded by a circuit, the road from thence to Tabreez is level. Tabreez is nearly four hundred miles from Erzeroom.

"Twenty miles from Tabreez, there is a steep but not bad pass, which requires an hour and a half on horseback to cross, thence to Kaplan Koh, eighty miles, is an undulating rather hilly country. Kaplan Koh is a high pass, not steep or rugged, which on horseback is crossed in two and a half hours. A few miles before reaching the pass of Kaplan Koh there is a town called Miana, near which is the broad bed of a river which in spring is overflowed. A viaduct would, I conjecture, be required here. From Kaplan Koh, for forty miles to Zenjan, the country indulates. From Zenjan to Tehran the ground is nearly level. The distance between Tabreez and Tehran is nearly four hundred miles.

"From Tehran to Shahrood Bestram, a distance of two hundred and fifty miles, there is one long pass, which is not high and more resembles a defile. The rest of the road is good. From Shahrood Bestam to Meshed, and from thence to Herat, the road is described to me to be of the same character in general as that of which I have attempted to give an account.

"If the passage of the line through Affghanistan is not considered feasible, there would be no special object in bringing it to Tehran; after leaving Zenjan it might be continued to Cashan or Ispahan, and from either of these places, through a comparatively level country, to Yezd and Kerman.

"No doubt, however, before coming to a determination what road should be adopted, an engineer of experience would ascertain the feasibility of any line before making a selection.

"Any expectation of pecuniary aid from the Government or people of this country would I consider, be futile. The Government is too poor, and the people have neither the foresight nor energy to contribute to an undertaking of which the advantages are prospective and uncertain. A Persian thinks only of the present hour.

"There is probably a mistake in your estimate of the distance between Bussorah and the confines of Beloochistan; Eight hundred miles would be a nearer approximation than five hundred miles.

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"The Government of Persia, would I consider, contribute by every other means than pecuniary aid to the success of the project. The people in general too would rejoice in the establishment of a powerful instrument of which they have heard so much, and such wonders, particularly when they found themselves partaking in the advantages attending a large outlay of capital. The only class likely to be opposed to it is that of the carriers, muleteers, and camel-men, before the discovery of the fact that their business and profits would be augmented by the introduction of Railroads into this country.

"The chief obstacles to be overcome, seem to be,—1st, the large sum of money required; 2nd, the physical obstacles opposed by mountains; 3rd, the scanty population throughout nearly the whole of the line, and the entire absence of inhabitants in many parts of the line: the latter inconvenience prevails to not a small extent; 4th, the difficulty of preserving the works and rails among barbarous and lawless tribes.

"1st. The want of money cannot be remedied by Persia herself. I may remark that labour and food are exceedingly cheap in money; 6lbs. of bread are to be had commonly for two pence, the same quantity of mutton for ten pence—the daily hire of a labourer is about seven pence. Fuel is scarce and dear. There are coal beds near Tehran; and in other parts of Persia it is likely research would be attended with success.

"2nd. I do not possess the science necessary for indicating the extent of the difficulties offered by mountains. If, however, you can carry a Railway "through the Nepalese range of the Himalaya," there is nothing in Persia which you cannot surmount.

"3rd. I can suggest no method of vanquishing this obstacle; it would however be less felt if a northern line were selected.

"4th. This danger is one of those which are more formidable at a distance than close at hand. The danger, however, does exist, and to a considerable extent. There is comparatively little highway robbery in Persia.

"If I were to offer a general opinion of the feasibility of this project, I would say, that it is an undertaking of immense difficulty, but that neverthless these difficulties would yield to money, patience, science, and energy. Scanty and remote profit forms of course no small portion of the difficulty of overcoming the want of funds; moreover, any expectation of profit, unless a large share of the transit trade of India and Europe were turned into this channel, would be a chimera. The productions, trade and internal intercourse of Persia alone are not of such a nature and extent as to authorize the least hope of profit derived from such sources alone.

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"I recommend you to address yourself to Sir John McNeil, Granton House, Edinburgh, formerly Minister in this country, from whom you will receive the ablest opinion in this subject.

"I have left this letter open for the perusal of Colonel Hennell, Resident in the Persian Gulf, whom I have also requested to put himself in communication with you. The opinion of that officer will be of value to you in forming an estimate of the feasibility of the line along the shore of the Persian Gulf, the knowledge of Colonel Hennell of the entire of that coast being most extensive."

(Signed) JUSTIN SHEIL.

The case then stands thus. To establish the direct communication between India and England, requires only the completion of a line of 500 miles from Belgrade to Constantinople, and of another of thirteen hundred miles from Constantinople to Korna. The former runs through a civilized country with a great and half developed trade, and a passenger traffic limited only by the existing means of conveyance. The latter runs half through rich countries, half through the poor but fertile valley of a mighty river, with the ocean at each end, and an easy communication with the Mediterranean in the middle, with labour procurable at all four termini, and carrying its own men, materials and iron. Is this impossible? The line from Calcutta to Bombay via Agra is longer? The line of the Great Pacific will pass through a more difficult and less inhabited country. The lines of Western America are almost as far from the supply of labour, and the lines of Germany are far less accessible from the ocean.

Turn we to the political obstacles to success. It is these which will weigh most heavily with the public, because it is these which are the most shadowy and ill defined. Vague ideas of French hostility and Russian resistance, of Turkish inertia and Persian obstinacy will float through the English mind. The route, it is true, traverses but four independent sovereignties, but the world it is alleged will be interested in its completion. It will, too, benefit England, and that is sufficient to arouse the sleepless jealousies of the Continent. Will Austria and France unite for the advantage of England? Will Russia endure to see India placed finally beyond her grasp? Will Turkey bear to have her dominions traversed at will by the heretic and the Frank? If so, the Millenium is indeed approaching, and we may lay aside Railway projects in the hope of the dawn of a yet brighter day. We admit the apparent force of many of these objections, but we believe that like the physical difficulties, they will, on examination, be found to be un-

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real. But one power has any interests permanently hostile to the Railway. One more is doubtful, but the objections may in this instance be overcome, and the remaining two have a strong and direct interest in its completion.

The desire of the French Government alone is doubtful. The route via Marseilles is held to be of great importance to the welfare of the empire. We do not speak only of the revenue obtained from the heavy postage upon Indian letters, or of the advantages derived from the reckless expenditure of a few Anglo-Indians en route. Both would be resigned in a moment if such were the will of the present Emperor of the French. But the alteration of the route might affect the importance of Marseilles. The intense desire of successive French Governments to create ports has repeatedly affected the policy of the country. In their efforts to this end they carry out the French idea that organization can change even the operation of natural laws. Trade is to be fostered, protected, aided by bounties, exemptions, differential duties. Commerce is to be attracted by special treaties, by legislation, by privileges, by anything in short except non-interference. They will not readily surrender a traffic important to the greatness of Marseilles. But it is by no means ascertained that Marseilles will lose. She will gain a direct route to Bagdad, Constantinople, and the Persian Gulf, a trade worth tenfold what the present carrying trade can be. Or, even if this anticipation prove incorrect, if the new accessibility of all Turkey prove to be of no value, France cannot lose. Boulogne and Calais will become what Marseilles essays to be. The transit traffic will pass through France even more completely than at present. Instead of a section of the passengers, French Railways will convey them all. Instead of a portion of our letters, the French Post may impose its charges upon the whole of the vast correspondence of the East. Instead of the packages, small and few, which now proceed by the Marseilles route, all the light and valuable goods will pass through French territory. Indirectly also she will gain. Her trade along the great line must be largely increased. She is nearer to the Euphrates than England, and for many reasons more apt perhaps to succeed in an Oriental trade. She strengthens her hold upon Turkey, her chances of sharing the great spoil which may one day fall to the lot of the Great Powers. What little jealousy may still remain will, we believe, be extinguished by the supreme political advantage of the line, an advantage to which we have not as yet alluded.

To the empire of Austria, the Railway can bring only profit. It secures the carrying traffic of which it has for centuries been desirous. Trieste is within three days' steam of Scanderoon, and

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when the line is complete within ten days' journey of Bombay. Such a communication would almost compensate for the absence of harbours and fleets which the House of Hapsburg has striven so long in vain to overcome. The offscourings of the trade of the East and the Levant make Trieste a port. What will the city become when that trade is poured in full stream into her lap, when Trieste is what Venice was, a medium of intercourse between Asia and the continent. Austria, too, like France enjoys to the full the advantage of which we are about to speak.

Two powers remain, the one absolutely hostile to the project, the other absolutely desirous to press it to completion. The Russian Government, it cannot be disguised, will indefatigably oppose the plan. And it will oppose it for the very reason which renders it so valuable to Turkey, and acceptable to the remainder of the world. It secures at once and for ever the independence of the Sultan. No power will endure to see the charge of the Highway of the world pass into the hands of any but a second-rate potentate. The Railway, once constructed, must be the channel of communication between Europe and Asia, the great artery through which the pulses of Asiatic trade must throb for evermore. To permit any one power to monopolize that line, is to place the commercial life of the world every instant at its mercy. The stoppage of the road would suspend trade and injure credit from London to Canton, would do more to injure the prosperity of Europe than a century of warfare.

While the independence of Turkey thus becomes even more vitally important than at present, the means of securing that independence are multiplied indefinitely. Whatever may be the part taken by Austria in the present war, one fact remains undoubted. She would arm rather than permit Russia to possess Constantinople. She may be paralyzed for the moment by the slumbering discontents of her half-cemented provinces. She may trim and turn, and change her external policy in obedience to internal impulses upon which Englishmen are scarcely competent to entertain even an opinion. She may be well inclined, not unnaturally, to see other powers bear the burden and the heat, the toil and the expenditure of the battle of the world. But it is only while they remain battling that she can remain quiescent. The conquest of Constantinople is the death warrant of the House of Hapsburg. Environed by an Empire which at one and the same moment could attack her in Gallicia and the Adriatic, could pour armies along the road to Vienna, and rouse the Lombards to rebellion, she would retain an existence as independent as that of the Nizam. Her only resource would be one of those convulsive despairing efforts which Austria

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is perhaps of all countries the one least competent to make. This great truth was fully appreciated in the beginning of the war, and sentences like those above penned were popularly attributed to Prince Metternich. Austria could never be otherwise than willing to protect Constantinople, and from the completion of this Railway the power of protection would rest in her own hands. The Railway complete, and Austria favourable, Constantinople is absolutely impregnable. From London, from Paris, from Vienna armies might be poured into her walls. The foundries of Austria, France, and England would be as available as the cannon of the Seraglio. The artillery of three countries might in three days be concentrated on that single spot. Nor is this all. From the other end of the line, the boundless resources of the Indian Empire would be as readily available. Cannon and munitions of war, Light Cavalry and Mussalman Regiments, officers trained to eastern warfare, and engineers acclimatized under an eastern sun, might be transported in seven days to the Dardanelles. The material resources of the empire itself, which it is now so difficult to concentrate, would have a mode of access to the capital. All the strength of Russia, were it revived by twenty years of peace, and concentrated upon this one object, could never conquer a city thus defended. The problem, the solution of which now taxes the energies of the world, would then be solved, and the Sultan, really freed from the awe of his gigantic neighbour, might stride steadily and rapidly forward on the opening path of improvement. The armed strength of the civilized world would be available at this spot, and the nations, secure that the keys of Europe were in their own hands, betake themselves once more to the prosecution of the arts of peace. Compared with the material guarantee to be thus obtained the Four Points are shadowy defences. Even the disarmament of Russia in the Euxine could never afford the same perfect ground of confidence and reliance. That Russia will resist we cannot hesitate to believe. The wit of her statesmen is too keen, not to perceive at once the fatal obstacle such a Railway will present to her ambitious schemes. It is therefore doubly necessary to seize a time when her resistance will avail nothing, will be rather a sound and valid reason for proceeding rapidly with the undertaking. It is therefore *now*, at once, that it should be commenced. We all know that however much Russia may be humiliated, however much her power may be restrained during the war, peace will find her almost as powerful as ever. Her counsels will still be listened to, her influence at the seraglio still be almost irresistible. That she will spare no efforts, and no money to interrupt the grand result we all know. That she will even at the eleventh hour be successful, we have all but too much reason to believe. We must therefore forestall her revival, hurry

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forward the work, and rest satisfied that once complete, it will not be in mortal power again to destroy the connection between two great continents. When the first locomotive from Calcutta reaches Calais, the freedom of Europe from the Cossacks will have been secured.

That these ideas have been accepted by the leading statesmen of Europe, we will now begin to prove. We quote from a private diary sufficient to prove the efforts which have been made to ascertain their sentiments, and the success with which those efforts have been attended.

Paris, 23rd Feb. Wednesday.

"I deferred sending this until I could report the result of todays visits. Half an hour with the King at his own request elicited the most cordial assurance of support in any way in his power, and the enclosed is a copy of the suggestion he is to refer to the Minister of Public Works, to report upon. He gave letters for the Belgian Charge d'affaires at Constantinople, and expressed himself in terms which shew his earnestness and sincerity.

"I saw to-day the Turkish Ambassador here, who entirely concurs in and appreciates the measure, gave much sound counsel respecting the Turkish arrangements, having resided there some years. He is a Belgian, and has just come down to me with the letters he promised for the Minister for foreign affairs, and the Grand Vizier at Constantinople. He has a very thorough appreciation of the entire bearings, and deems it a measure which both Turkey and Austria will use great exertions to accomplish; advises caution in respect of Russia at first, I saw Lord Howard de Walden again; he wishes to hear the result from Constantinople, and begged me to see Prince Metternich, who was very anxious to know something more on the subject than he had told him; advised first step in Turkey to be a special interview with the Sultan, as he possessed decision and energy; valued the English alliance, and would very probably act promptly in the matter; in any case his views would regulate the steps of his Ministers."

"Called on Prince Metternich; long interview; at once understood full benefits to be obtained; promised his aid in all ways as a measure invaluable to Austria and Turkey; he would write to Prince Schwartzenberg at Vienna where I should find my wishes anticipated, and if, as he expected, Schwartzenberg understood and entered into the plan, he (Metternich,) would at once write to all his friends, and put himself out of the way to aid so important a work; saw no reason for apprehension of Russia; will endeavour to advance the matter in Turkey; begged me to write to him as I proceed, and not to hesitate if I thought he could in any way help me.

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"Thus much for the first foreign Government appealed to; the sanction and concurrence of the British Government is now supported by the Belgian, and before reaching Constantinople, if the other intermediate States acquiesce, it should have its weight in the consideration."

With best wishes and regards believe me ever,

Yours most sincerely,

(Signed) ROWLAND MACDONALD STEPHENSON.

"I leave Paris to night for Strasbourg, Munich and Francfort, and now send you a short note of the French progress.

"From Lord Normanby I obtained letters to the Minister of Public Works which secured an interview this morning, and also another with Prince Callimaki the Turkish Ambassador in Paris.

"The Minister was frank, declared the interest felt in the retention of the route by Marseilles; admitted the object to be one of great importance, and that to England, Germany, Austria, and Turkey there could be no question of the value of such a work but France was least interested. He was satisfied the line would be through France as preferable to Belgium eventually. The French Government can not give money or guarantees, but when the time shall come for considering the details of a treaty and tariff, they will be fully prepared to regard it in a fair and liberal spirit, but they ought not, and are not in a position, to take any steps at present in the matter. He is to consider the subject and took the memorandum with that view, which had reference to a commission being appointed to entertain the subject.

"My object is quite attained here. I never looked for active interference from this Government, in consequence of the Marseilles interest, but my communication, and the opinion of the result to France instead of Belgium which the Minister entertains, is enough; it prevents any future idea of France having been overlooked or disregarded.

"Prince Callimaki on the other hand entered cordially into the subject, has a thorough knowledge of Turkey, considers that Russian interference will not be allowed to embarrass such a work as this, and gave me letters to the Grand Vizier and Minister for Foreign Affairs at Constantinople as he says they are the most able men in the empire; gave some valuable suggestions as to the route by the Balkan, and thought that if a commencement could be made between Constantinople and Adrianople, and between Scutari and Isnikmid, (on both there is a large trade) it would settle the question, the value to Turkey cannot be overrated, begged me to write to him periodically, and of progress, and if he could ever otherwise advance the work.

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"This is the substance of the French progress and is all I expected or required.

"You shall hear again from Francfort, from

Yours most sincerely,

(Signed) ROWLAND MACDONALD STEPHENSON.

Brussels, 20th February.

"DEAR SIR,—The Ambassador here, is Lord Howard de Walden, who has taken very great interest in the subject. He had written letters of introduction for me to the Minister of Public Works, and communicated with the King, who has sent to say he wishes to see me, and has fixed tomorrow for the interview. He is deeply interested in the matter, will render all the aid in his power, and will probably give additional credentials to the Belgian representatives, at the other Courts to promote the object in every way. Prince Metternich is here,—heard of it,—and approved of it strongly, as a most important measure. Lord Howard expressed a wish to hear from me the progress made from time to time, and sent one of the Secretaries of the Legation with me to the Turkish Chargé here, who is an enlightened Belgian, and whom I see to morrow.

"I enclose a copy of a memorandum as to the course to be adopted, of which Lord Howard approves, and considers that the reference would be made to Mr. Rollin the Minister of Public Works, who would do it justice. It appears that Ostend is a source of expence, to the State, and that it is a favourite town with the King, who both for the results to Ostend, and to the entire state of Germany as well as Belgium, is really strongly interested in the prospect held out.

"Let me hear from you, whether the suggestion for the Belgian Government is sufficient, or whether I shall add to it, and if there is time let me hear, addressed to the care of Messrs. Galagnani a Paris, if you can write by return of post, as to any especial suggestions for Paris. If you write afterwards send to care of Baron Rothschild Vienna, and on Turkish matters, I shall be most thankful for a few lines from you: Murray and Colburn the publishers, have both works on Turkey in the press. Should you see them they may deserve cursory perusal. There appears to be some decided and energetic movement just now required on the part of the Sultan, and this will afford the opportunity. If Sir Straford Canning takes up the matter as energetically and cordially as the English Ambassador has done here, it will be a subject of congratulation, and there is reason to expect it."

The next step was Munich:

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Munich, March 5th.

"My dear Sir,—I wrote you from Paris in haste when I was leaving for Strasbourg. I only cursorily referred to the communication with Prince Callimaki, which was satisfactory, as he interested himself much in it—and is considered to be an able man. He gave me strong letters to Constantinople, advised crossing by a boat bridge, and not thinking of a fixture. Knew the nature and extent of the existing trade between Constantinople and Adrianople, and between Scutari and Isnikmid,—fully assured that it would render a line there as a beginning, remunerative; had seen the iron mines worked by Government—about Nessa Sophia, and Philippoli, which yielded good metal—and believed coal was in abundance, extending all along the coast of the Black Sea, from the Danube mouths to the Straits, and projecting far into the Black Sea; considered the Balkan an engineering difficulty by no means insuperable, and the country between Akserai and Sovera in Asiatic Turkey, hilly and uneven—the rest all level, and easily adapted to Railway purposes; it had been intended to re-open an old Roman canal which united the Danube with the Black Sea, and saved a detour, but it had not been begun yet. He considered that Turkey was a rich country which only required such a work as this to shew what it contained, and that it had never yet had the opportunity of shewing of what it was capable. He took a great deal of trouble, and appeared very confident that if steadily followed up, there can be no doubt of Turkey's cordial concurrence. He thought that perhaps the Balkan might be avoided, by following the course of the Danube, along the canal line, and then skirting the Black Sea to Constantinople. These are however questions of detail for the future. He thinks also that it would be necessary for the work to be done by public companies with Government support, and not by the Government itself, in an undertaking of this nature.

"The interval has been occupied in visiting Francfort, Stuttgardt, and Munich. At the former, Baron Rothschild, who admitted the importance of the work, and promised his aid in any way required. He thought nothing could just now be determined for Germany—there being no Diet, and only the temporary commission appointed by Austria and Russia, which acts until 1st May—when a general settlement is hoped for; will be glad to hear as soon as he can be in any way useful in promoting so valuable a work, of the worth of which every year, as the constituent links are completed, will bear fuller testimony; introduced me to Mr. Beil and Mr. Tenes, the latter one of the chief engineers on the Continent, who gave several suggestions

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as to the particular course of the route, which would be most advantageously pursued in Germany.

"Saw Lord Cowley, who felt the full value of the work, which he considered deserving of all possible support. Germany just now too distracted to take active steps in it; named intention of Austria, by a meeting at Francfort to secure consolidation of commercial interests of all Germany and Austria; would introduce me to Baron Kubek, the Austrian Commissioner, or as my time pressed, would communicate with him on the subject, and would do all I requested.

"Lord Cowley had been in Turkey, and considered the time most opportune for the suggestion. Austria wants a new outlet, —which by the Danube is controlled by the Russians—and Turkey would well understand the value of such a line through the country. Plans had been formerly proposed for a line from Constantinople to Belgrade—and Sir S. Canning had interested himself, on account of the benefit to accrue to Turkey; regarded the work generally as by no means difficult, save the Balkan, which was an engineering question of probably some cost; it is a magnificent work; its results cannot be overrated—and he will be glad to hear from and aid me in any way to promote it. As regards the funds for such works, the only scruple Turkey will have is to be found in the innate indisposition to raising a loan, because it involves the necessity for sequestrating territorial security—but the advantages to be derived in this instance must have weight with them.

"At Stuttgardt, called Sir Alex. Malet, who on learning that I was pressed for time, at once accompanied me to Count William of Wurtemburg, an engineer officer of great intelligence, and a very able man; the subject had been already fully discussed, and its advantages recognized. He gave me reports, plans, maps and suggestions, in regard to the adoption of the lower road by Munich and Staltzburg in lieu of by Nuremburg, which are of value. He promised at once to give in a resumé, all the points which occurred to him as of possible usefulness, and that a report should be prepared as requested.

"The Wurtemburg Government had not found their lines pay so well as had been expected, and any probable increase of traffic would materially affect their interests. He mentioned the influence of Austria and Prussia in the decision as omnipotent, but considered that it might serve the object, that the views of the lesser States should be given; he had urged the construction of Railways there in and since 1837, and felt that their advantage could scarcely be overrated; considered his services at my disposal in any way I could point out by which he could promote the object.

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"Sir A. Malet expressed himself as strongly in regard to his readiness to follow up the measure when and how required.

"March 5th reached Munich, saw Mr. Milbanke, who will obtain the required report upon the enquiry contained in my paper, regretted my short stay as he would have introduced me to the Minister.

"Mr. Milbanke has just called, while I am writing, to say he has seen the Minister, that not only can there be no objection to what is asked, but they will readily name a commission for the purpose, and Mr. Milbanke promised to press it on, as Government matters here move so slowly, but he considered the view of Austria would be conclusive, and that what I did at Vienna would very much influence all the minor States.

"Mr. Milbanke at first thought it a work which could not be executed, but altered his views; he had spoken to one of the Government architects who had built most of the town, and he considered the work could be done, and at a much less sum than was usually supposed.

"I am obliged to leave Berlin out altogether, and as it is I find that starting again to-night late, I shall be fifty hours getting to Vienna, and I have great fears of the steamers sailing at times both to and from Constantinople, which will enable me to be in Egypt in time. I am, therefore, losing no time, and the more especially as I know how much depends upon a strong effort being made at Vienna and Constantinople. You may be assured, it shall not be wanting.

"I shall therefore write to Lord Westmoreland at Berlin, but I regret much to be prevented going, though Prussia has less to do with it than others, and, Austria concurring, I expect Prussia will not hold out, even if so disposed.

Believe me,
With best regards to be, ever,
My dear Sir,
Yours very faithfully,
(Signed) ROWLAND MACDONALD STEPHENSON.

Tuesday evening,
March 5, 1850.

Vienna, March 11th, 1850.

"MY DEAR SIR,—I reached this on the 8th and leave early tomorrow morning for Trieste, reaching that port on the night of the 13th and sailing on the 14th for Constantinople.

"The result of my visit here has been entirely in accordance with what I have uniformly experienced. Nothing could exceed the friendly spirit in which the measure has been considered. Lord Ponsonby has taken much trouble about it, and M. de Brück,

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the Minister of Commerce and Public Works promised me not only that the commission should be appointed, but that an early and earnest report shall be made on the subject; that the Austrian Government would do all in their power to aid and promote so important a work, and that I might fully depend that they would not be behind-hand on their part, that the line between Vienna and Munich would be made probably very soon; that the line from Pesth was also determined on to the frontier, and only differed from that laid down by me, in extending a little further to the eastward, to embrace Azegedon, Tameschwar and Orsowa, entering Turkish territory at about 22° 30′ of longitude instead of near Belgrade.

"Rothschilds here, as at Paris and Francfort, will be ready to render any aid in such a cause, but think that Turkey will contract no loans, nor do they need it; there is no want of funds, and when required, the local houses furnish them, and arrange afterwards with other Continental houses; considered the work magnificent but almost inconceivable of realization, but knew English energy too well to apprehend that it would not be carried out.

"Lord Ponsonby asked if he should speak frankly, both respecting Austria and Turkey, where he had been for some years; suggested all the possible obstacles of the state of Hungary, the want of present means, the absorbing interest of constitution framing, and in Turkey, the apprehension of that large party representing the ancient regimé who considered every step in advance as opposed to the Koran, and as sapping the foundations of the empire, and the general indisposition to great and rapid changes; but he admitted that the objections were all answered by the fact that nothing was demanded but to consider and report upon the plan; that it was not a measure of to-day or to-morrow, but of the earliest opportune period that should offer; and that as the best interests of both countries would be materially promoted by it, there would probably be a disposition to co-operate in high quarters, and promised to invite the Turkish Ambassador, whom he had known for many years as an able man, to meet me at dinner. Had known the parties engaged in the Euphrates expedition, and understood from them that so far from opposing, they would render any aid in obtaining improved means of transit for their trade.

"Mr. Musurus, the Turkish Ambassador, will lend his aid to the utmost in a matter for which, if the funds can be found in Turkey it would undoubtedly accomplish a great moral revolution as beneficial as the best friends of Turkey could desire, and sends introductions to the Prince of Samos, whose influence is considered to be admitted by the Sultan.

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"Mr. Samuel, an attaché to the Embassy had travelled through Asia Minor in most directions, and believed that by coasting the Black Sea to Livas and turning south by Diarbekir and the Tigris, the hilly country would be entirely avoided from Scutari to Bussorah, though it would add to distance, confirmed the account of excellent coal mines existing, but farther south of the Black Sea than described by Prince Callimaki—still bordering it—and that copper mines are worked, but very carelessly, though the ores are rich and the metal abundant.

"Mr. Mayern, officer in charge of Railways and Public Works, confirmed intention of Austria to complete Munich line and Pesth continuation to Turkish frontier, and saw no difficulty in regard to European States; could not expect that the common description of goods would go by Rail, but finer kinds, and a large passenger communication would be opened.

"Mr. B. Weckersheim, the banker who had originally enabled the proprietors of Austrian Lloyds to establish it, was sure not only of Austrian good will as far as concerned Austrian work, but also of a readiness, if required, to aid Turkey in advancing; but what would alone enable the concurrence of Turkey to be obtained would be that the English Government—if they desired to see it done—should either themselves or by sanctioning others to do so under their protection, let the whole work be done for the Turkish Government, and handed over to them complete, that they would pay readily for it, but would indefinitely defer the construction of a work themselves which entailed great exertion. He believed that there was no lack of funds, if the disposition exists. I have not called on Prince Schwartzenburg, as I hear he is occupied incessantly, and as Lord Ponsonby had not heard from him to say whether he wished to see me; the Ministers have already settled the view which will be taken by Austria, and I have just seen M. de Bach, the Minister for Foreign Affairs, who could not receive me earlier than ten of to-night. He concurs fully with M. Brück, and entered very fully into the various bearings of the question; regretted that England was not so well disposed to Austria as she had been believed. Austrian Turkish and English interests were identified, and promised that I should have the report, and any aid that Austrian Government could give to such a work, as would benefit every nation in Europe. I called on Mr. Bird, received from him such suggestions and advice as he could offer, and learn from him that the two Ministers, Brück and Bach, are highly esteemed as men of very superior qualifications, and carrying great and deserved weight.

"It is now past twelve, and as I am to be up at half past four to-morrow, I shall make no apology for concluding.

"I ought not to forget the polite intimation of one of those with

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whom I have been in communication, that it is in England alone that men could be found with the mind to conceive, the daring to attempt, and the energy and perseverence to accomplish such a work as that under consideration. If that does not satisfy us, assuming it to be the real opinion of the speaker, why, it ought."

Ever, my dear Sir,

Your most faithfully,

(Signed) ROWLAND MACDONALD STEPHENSON.

Monday night, 12 o'clock, March 11th, 1850.

Trieste, 23rd March, 1850.

DEAR SIR,—I enclose one of the continental maps shewing the constructed lines, on which I have marked in red the cross line which at Francfort I learned from Mr. Tenis, the engineer, was contemplated through Luxembourg. The Hailbroom line is also shewn and the Grisling Ulm and Augsburg, both of which are only retarded by present unsettled state of affairs, the works are proceeding at Grisling. The Munich, Saltzburg, Lentz and Vienna is decided on by the Austrian Government, as well as that by Pesth, Ketskemt, Szedegon, Temeschwar, and Orsova to Widin, which is preferred to the more direct route. The line between Presburg and Wartzen is in progress, as is also the French line from Chalons to Strasburg.

The map may be useful for reference—though small.

"I am vexed to date hence, (Trieste) but found no alternative on my arrival. The steamer takes nine days to Constantinople, and I should have left the day I reached this, but Major Thornton, the Austrian Lloyds agent, assured me that I must give up either Constantinople, or the Indian Steamer, that if I even remained but one hour, I had not a possible chance of reaching Alexandria in time, as the steamers in winter are few and at long intervals. I asked, if the Turkish Government had any vessels in which if disposed they could have given me a passage, but he said it was impracticable except by going to India by the following steamer. I am more annoyed than I can express—as I feel that my personal exertions are more needed in Constantinople than at any other place—but as I found it unavailing, I have sent the plans and large drawings on to Sir S. Canning to whom I have written fully—explaining the plans and course of proceeding proposed, and begging him for me to deliver the credentials to the Vizier and Ministers, and explain the subject.

"I have written also to Mr. Brück, the Minister of Commerce at Vienna, to beg him to send to the Chargé at Constantinople, to give the Turkish Government the opinions and wishes of Austria.

"I have written fully to Lord Westmoreland and to Mr.

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Filmore at Berlin, and also to Lord Cowley, and the others at Brussels, Stuttgardt, &c. to beg the reports may be urged forward without delay, and transmitted to me in Calcutta, and upon them you shall have a resumé with the documents themselves, and such engineering notes as I have had the opportunity to make.

"Had I but myself to think of, I should have gone to Constantinople, and taken a fishing boat, or in some other way have got to Alexandria even at the risk of missing the boat, but I feel myself interdicted from incurring more than ordinary risk as I have very many dependent on me. In one of Lord Bacon's Essays he says:—"He that hath wife and children hath given hostages to fortune, for they are impediments to great enterprises, either of virtue or mischief." Now as my hostages are much heavier and by no means limited to these, I fear that my wings are clipped effectually for good or ill. There is, however, yet a little hope at the bottom of the box—and with your good aid, and steady support, and the valuable advice of the one or two friends who are kind enough to extend it, I much mistake if I will not do much to shew that there is an exception to Lord Bacon's axiom, assuming the undertaking to come under his category of great enterprises."

"I leave this on the 27th and hope to reach Calcutta on the 4th or 5th May. As soon as I receive the reports you shall hear—and as it may take some time yet, should the occasion offer of referring at all to the subject I hope you will endeavour to obtain for it a right direction, as you may take my word, confirmed by what I have seen, it is not alone a question of time, but of a much less distant period than to many may appear probable.

With best wishes and regards,

Believe me,
Ever, my dear Sir,
Your most faithfully,
(Signed) ROWLAND MACDONALD STEPHENSON."

In the following letter Mr. Stephenson reported progress to the Minister, Lord Palmerston, who had so thoroughly appreciated him:—

9th July, 1850.

"MY LORD,—I have the honor to report to your Lordship the result of my continental enquiry, in reference to the future intercommunication by land, between Great Britain and British India.

"The letters of introduction with which your Lordship favored me, to her Majesty's representatives at the several European

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Courts, obtained upon all occasions prompt attention, and enabled me to prosecute the object with despatch and effect.

"In Belgium, his Majesty personally expressed deep interest in a work which, as conducing to such momentous results, claimed and should assuredly receive the most cordial support which could be in any way afforded by the Belgian Government and with a view to this end, desired that the Belgian representative in Constantinople should be apprised of his Majesty's views and wishes, and that he should render all the assistance in his power to promote the object.

"In France, (alternative lines traversing both Belgium and France), the apprehension of interference with the existing Marseilles route was admitted by M. Bineau, the Minister of Public Works, who eventually intimated that although France could take no part in initiating such a measure, the French Government, whenever the time arrived for discussing the terms of an international highway treaty, would be prepared to entertain it in a liberal and catholic spirit.

"In Wurtemburg, the importance of the measure was appreciated, and many valuable suggestions submitted, with the assurance of earnest support in any way that can be indicated as tending to its promotion, provided the Austrian Government are not opposed to it.

"In Bavaria, and the Germanic confederation, the unsettled state of the country both politically and in reference to the proposed Zollverein modification, prevented any more definite assurance of support, than that as it was palpably the interest of those States to concur, and co-operate, they would doubtless do so, when the disturbed state of affairs permitted its deliberate consideration.

"From Prussia the views of the Government have not been yet ascertained, the comparatively slight interest, which in a commercial point of view Prussia will have in the line, and the more important subjects which have of late engrossed the attention of that Government have probably prevented its early and full consideration.

"In Austria, the full value of the work was at once understood and admitted, and though in some respects interfering with the present Trieste route, the Government intimated through the Ministers, M. Bach and M. de Brück, that it should have their most strenuous support, and that the Government had already decided upon extending their existing lines of Railway in both the directions desired, from Vienna, by Sattyburg and Lintz to Manech, and also to the confines of Turkey.

"From the Ottoman Porte, the views of the Government have not yet been signified. The necessity for reaching Calcutta by a

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specified date, prevented my proceeding as I had intended, to Constantinople, to submit personally the plans, which I therefore communicated by writing.

"The enclosed document will apprise your Lordship of the form in which on the present occasion I have requested the co-operation of foreign states, and upon receipt of the reports referred to, I shall have the honor to again address your Lordship.

"To Lord Howard de Walden, H. E. the Marquis of Normandy, J. R. Milbanke, Esq., Sir Alex. Malet, the Lord Cowley, and H. E. Viscount Ponsonby, I am indebted for sound and judicious counsel, by which I have been invariably guided.

"To Prince Mutternich, Viscount Kerekhove, to Count William of Wurtemburg, Prince Callimaki, M. de Mussurus, Baron Rothschild, and to the Austrian Ministers M. M. Bach, and de Brück, I am bound to acknowledge my obligations for their zealous exertions to promote a great national work, with the full value and effects of which, they appeared sensibly impressed.

I have the honor to be,
My Lord,
Your Lordship's obedient and faithful servant,
(Signed) ROWLAND MACDONALD STEPHENSON.

In another letter to Lord Palmerston Mr. Stephenson, twelve-months since, thus summed up the results of his efforts:—

March 31*st*, 1855.

MY LORD,—"I have the honor to request your Lordship's consideration of a subject which has been permitted to remain in temporary abeyance, awaiting the precise period at which it could be most opportunely and effectually acted upon.

"2. The establishment of the National Highway via Constantinople, connecting Europe and Asia, under the combined protection of the principal European powers, was proposed in 1850 under your Lordship's favorable auspices, to the Governments of France, Austria, Belgium, Bavaria, Wurtemburg and to the Authorities in Constantinople, whose cordial concurrence and co-operation were promised whenever the time arrived to proceed with the undertaking.

"3. I am most reluctant to trespass upon your Lordship's valuable time, and shall therefore briefly state that the progress of the Railways in India is so far satisfactory that the first section of 121 miles is in full operation, and that the line between Calcutta and Delhi (about 1000 miles) will be completed in 1857.

"4. The connection between the east and west coasts of India, by which Calcutta will join Hyderabad in Scinde, will be carried out at an early period, and the European lines will be soon extended as far as the Danube.

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"5. The intermediate links depend entirely upon the Sultan. The present occasion appears especially favorable for settling the terms of a concession which shall enable a private association under the protection of the European powers, to open the communication by Constantinople between the West and the East.

"6. Your Lordship I hope will concur in the views most respectfully submitted, that the construction of a Railway through European and Asiatic Turkey, Persia and Beloochistan, to Hyderabad in Scinde (which will soon be connected by rail with Calcutta, Bombay, Madras, Delhi and Lahore) would contribute materially to the interests of the countries traversed—that unless the present occasion be availed of, such another opportunity may not again be afforded for so favorable terms being obtained for Great Britain to secure that which is of so much real importance as a direct communication with her Indian possessions—and that a measure which shall secure the means of proceeding from London to and from all parts of India within a period of one week, and at a cost of less than half what is now paid for a six weeks' or four months' passage, are points deserving the serious consideration of your Lordship.

"7. I feel personally most anxious that this great enterprise should be determined upon and carried out, under the administration, as it was commenced under the auspices, of your Lordship; and I have only to state that should your Lordship deem it advantageous for the general interests that I should personally communicate with your Lordship upon the subject, I have no doubt but that the permission of the Government of India and of the Board of Directors would be granted to my temporary absence under the circumstances; when the complete arrangements which I shall propose and which with their concurrence previously obtained shall be prepared to carry out, shall be submitted to your Lordship, and if approved of, I will undertake to connect London and Calcutta by Railway and reduce the travelling distance to a few days and the telegraphic distance to as many hours, before the end of the year 1865.

"8. I shall require no pecuniary assistance from the Government. The moral influence and support of Great Britain, and the other European powers interested, and the assurance of security and the protection of life and property, with the concession, by the Sultan, of land, and defined local privileges will alone be required.

"I await the favor of your Lordship's views before proceeding further in the matter, and I have the honor to subscribe myself,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's faithful servant,

(Signed) ROWLAND MACDONALD STEPHENSON.

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And last though far from least, comes Lord Dalhousie. The great proconsul whose reign has been illustrated by so many vast undertakings has deeply considered the plan. His approval is thus cautiously but unmistakeably bestowed:—

"Sir,—I have received and laid before the Most Noble the Governor General in Council your letter dated the 11th instant submitting a plan which you have projected for uniting Europe with India by a line of Railway communication continued through Asiatic Turkey.

"2nd. The project consists of a proposal for continuing the European Railways, already completed, (His Lordship in Council is informed,) as far as Belgrade, and about to be constructed from Belgrade to Constantinople, by a line of rail from Constantinople through Asiatic Turkey to Bussorah. The project contemplates hereafter a prolongation of this line from Bussorah through Persia and Beloochistan, but at present the scheme would complete the communication with India by steamers from the mouth of the Euphrates down the Persian Gulf.

"3rd. You desire to elicit from the Government of India, an expression of its approval of your project, and of its readiness to render assistance in the way of surveys and otherwise.

"4th. This great project is, of course, in the merest outline at present. But such an undertaking once completed, and reducing the distance between England and her dominions in India to little more than ten days journey, would prove of vast national importance, and would be a great step in the progress of the world.

"5th. The Government of India has no hesitation, therefore, in expressing, to that extent, its approval of your project; and its readiness at the proper time to give such assistance in respect of surveys and otherwise, as its authority and the means at its command may enable it to contribute.

I have the honor to be, Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
G. F. Edmonstone,
Secretary to the Government of India."

Fort William, the 30th January, 1856.

The commercial prospects remain alone to be discussed. We have paid less attention to this than to the other portions of the plan. We do not write Essays to prove that the sun shines; and that fact is scarcely more self-evident than that the line whose route we have indicated must be a paying speculation. The total length of the line from Belgrade to Bussorah, including the branch line from Bir to Scanderoon, is about nineteen hundred miles. The experience of the Continent and of the United

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States, and the experience now being acquired in India all points to the same truth. Railways stripped of their English adjuncts, land and litigation, cost about ten thousand pounds a mile. At that rate the amount required for the line would be about nineteen millions sterling. The receipts of the P. and O. Company alone were in 1855, one million six hundred thousand pounds. That is, if the Railway obtained no more traffic than that Company, it would—expenses being in the usual proportion—still be enabled to pay a dividend of something like three and a half per cent. That the amount will be ten times as great it might not be very difficult to prove, but we have little inclination to undertake the task. We might quote authorities from Heeren to Chesney, and rummage the Custom houses of the world, and after all, all the facts we could collect would not equal the evidence we can bring forward in a line. All the passenger traffic and all the lighter goods traffic of two continents will pass over one cheap line. The trade which built the cities of the Mediterranean, the trade which half supports England, the trade to obtain a share of which America discusses plans almost too gigantic for the imagination, must be carried through this one artery. That the artery will be full is perceptible without more words of ours.

We have said nothing of the social and philanthropic aspect of the scheme. Our object has been rather to pull it down out off the clouds, to make it appreciable by business men, to shew that it is a project and not a visionary idea. But we are not insensible to those higher results so magnificent an enterprize must secure. The National Highway will not only strengthen the Military position of Europe, render the hold of England on India more permanent and secure, and quadruple the existing Asiatic trade. It will also serve finally to bind together the East and the West. The knowledge and the arts, the enlightenment and the material civilization now confined to a corner of the world will be extended over its fairer but less favoured lands. The process may be long, but civilization is like water,—it strives always to find its level; and every new means of communication breaks down a dam which retards its flow and the fertilization of the world.

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ART. V.—1. *Synopsis of Evidence taken before the Select Committee of the House of Commons*, 1834.
2. *First and Second Reports on Indian Territories*, 1852.
3. *British Conquests in India*. By HORACE ST. JOHN. London, 1852.
4. *The Anglo Indian Army*. By CAPT. RAFTER. London, 1855.

RECENT discussions and events have proved, to the dullest understanding, the necessity of military reform throughout the British Army. The evidence before the East India Committee, the Report of the Promotion Commissioners, and finally Roebuck's Crimea Report, have laid bare deficiences, and shewn that, with the best physical and moral materials in the world, with the bravest and the strongest men, the most chivalrous officers, and the largest resources of any nation, ancient or modern, Great Britain is wanting in almost all the requisites of an efficient Army. Our meaning is well expressed by a friendly critic, Baron Bazancourt, in his "Five months in the Camp before Sebastopol."

"The English, those soldiers whom it is impossible to disturb in the midst of the battle, those human walls which may be pierced by the heavy fire of the enemy, but never beaten down, experienced a great misfortune at the commencement of the expedition. A defective internal administration decimated their forces more effectually than war. There was amongst them an amount of demoralisation of which I cannot give the terrible account. The soldiers lay down before their huts looking sad, sullen, and exhausted. The horses died by hundreds. Inkerman had decapitated the head of the army. The vice of an improvident organisation devoured the rest. It is the war in Africa which has preserved us. We owe our safety to our habits of encamping, and to our expeditions into the interior of countries. The necessity thus incurred of making provision for the smallest details, has been of the greatest utility to us in the Crimea."

India is England's Africa, if she knew how to avail herself of its opportunities. But such is not the case. Here we have our camp life, and our expeditions; how many benefit thereby? Hundreds of officers, especially of the Royal Army in India, with every opportunity, go through their career, live and die, in the most child-like helplessness. They have no object, or at least the very smallest, to a worldly mind, for exertion. They are accustomed to have everything done for them. To be fed, clothed, barracked, encamped, all without a thought on their part; when, therefore, a necessity for using their senses arises, they are like babes. All goes wrong. European soldiers are exposed in long useless marches, in the hottest months, are paraded and sometimes even made to march during those months

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in full dress cloth clothes. Sepoys, in their line, are equally ill dealt with. Much hardship, and even many deaths are the result. A good deal has been done to remedy the most glaring evils. Reform is afoot: but, after a hundred years' experience of Indian warfare, we are still nearer the A B C than the Z of a sound, practical, military administration. We neither clothe nor arm our troops according to common sense. They are not even rationally fed. The sepoy is perhaps the best paid soldier in the world, and, the large majority of them, the worst fed. The European is at times too highly fed. Eating and drinking, rather than heat or cold, send him to his grave. In the matter of finance, thousands are spent uselessly to-day; lives are sacrificed to-morrow to save a few rupees. We might interminably run on and offer scores of examples; mortality-bills, and bills of expenditure. At present we can only glance at the bare facts. There notorieties need no examples for Indian Readers.

The startling disclosures of the "*Times*" Reporter, and of the Crimea Commission, for a time turned attention to India; and the press, usually little prone to do justice to the Indian Army, all at once found a panacea for all Crimean and home shortcomings in Indian officers and Indian arrangements. East India Company's servants at once rose to as undue a premium as they had shortly before been, and are already again, at an unfair discount. A Bengal civilian was offered the post of Commissioner in the Crimea Commissariat enquiry, and the same able and energetic gentleman might have been the Superintendent of the Smyrna Hospital. Indian contingents were called for. Certain leaders of public opinion would have sent elderly soobedars, and sepoys, to the Caucasus, or the Crimea; and some would have done still worse, and have transferred bodily many of our European Battalions from India to the seat of war. Even our hitherto very worst department, the commissariat, was suddenly, and for the nonce, trumpeted into fame, and it required Sir Charles Trevelyan's personal knowledge and matter of fact evidence to convince the British public, that they would not gain by superseding Mr. Filder, by one of Jotee Pershad's protegés. The names of some excellent soldiers were introduced into the discussions. Cheape, Steel, Stalker, Edwardes, Mayne and Chamberlain obtained due praise; some others more than due. But the hot fit passed. India is again forgotten. Another Cabul, or another Sebastopol is required to remind England of India's existence. In the interim out of the 6215 officers of the Indian Army, two or three dozen, some good and many bad, have been permitted to take part in the great European struggle, although there are scores, nay hundreds, of the best who would gladly join, and who might, under proper arrangements, be tem-

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porarily spared. We fear that the chief permanent result will be a considerable increase to our present stock of self conceit. We forget that on a small scale, we have had our own Balaklava and our own Scutari a dozen times over, and that from the days of Hyder Ally, down to those of Akbar Khan, Providence only has saved our armies from destruction by hunger and thirst as well as by the sword. The exposures by the Press of incompetency, neglect, and cruelty in the Crimea, have done good. The eyes of England being on the hospitals, the harbours, the tents and the bivouacs of the army. It will hardly again be exposed to the scenes of 1854 and 1855, that struck so much horror into every British heart. To have got rid of the fine gentlemen who do not like real soldiering is itself a gain. To have obtained a commander possessed of physical strength is a greater.

We are by no means so certain of the good effect of English discussions on Indian affairs. The gross ignorance with which everything Indian is discussed in England, is well exemplified in the mention, during these discussions, of Brigadier Mayne. Few Indian officers have been more before the public, during the last fifteen years, than Mayne. Yet the Press, while lauding his military qualities, must needs dilate on his experience with wild tribes, and in raising irregular levies; the fact being, that he never raised a single troop, or company, and that all his experience has been with as civilized soldiers as any in India.

But to our task of the Indian Army. Both the writers, the titles of whose books we have placed at the head of this article, go over the same ground, the British conquests of India, from the earliest days, down to the settlement of the Punjab. Mr. St. John, chiefly sketches political, while Capt. Rafter restricts himself to military events. Both praise the army, and in the main, the Government of India; but while Capt. Rafter (a nom de guerre we presume) would knock away the "twenty four stools," that have worked out the present glorious consummation, Mr. St. John, more logically, advocates the maintenance of a system which, in his opinion, has worked so well.

Captain Rafter professes to have been in India, but it would be difficult to elicit the fact from his book. Both writers have evidently crammed, with the purpose of cramming their readers. Country gentlemen and members of Parliament, will accordingly be as often misled as instructed when they seek for information, on controverted subjects, from their pages. The old jog-trot is followed. There is no original information, and little of any sort in either book, but what is superficial. Capt. Rafter's book, though dedicated to Lord Gough, omits the battles of Ramnugger and Sadoolapore, and makes Agnew and Anderson retire to "a small fort outside the town" after the treacherous attack on

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them at Mooltan. Neither writer has gone much further for his facts than Mills, Wilson, Thornton, Malcolm and Orme. Capt. Rafter seems never to have heard of Williams, Broome, Buckle, or Begbie; nor is Mr. St. John acquainted with Prinsep, White, or other well known writers on Politico-military events. But the great short-coming of both is their unacquaintance with the Calcutta Review. This is an unpardonable error.

The synopsis of 1834, at the head of our page, is a mine of information, and, the man who understandingly studies it, and the first and second Reports of 1852, will rise from them with more knowledge of Indian affairs than he could obtain from all the published abstract histories, Gleig and Macfarlane included. We say *understandingly*, for the subject of India, in any department, is not to be taken up as mere holiday amusement. The figures in the Blue Books would frighten Babbage. They have given us a dozen headaches. But the less abstruse matters discussed, require previous knowledge to enable the reader to separate the chaff from the grain; to appreciate the sound sense of a Colonel Alexander or Grant, and the nonsense of a Sir W. Cotton or a Sir E. Perry.

For instance; Sir E. Perry is an able English Judge, and an enlightened reformer; but, he made holiday trips into the interior, and therefore presents himself as *personally* acquainted with the wants of India. Himself unversed in any Indian language, he would introduce English into Courts where the Judge alone understands it; where the mass *never* can do so; where the smattering that may be attained, by a few attorneys or others, would give them an unfair influence, were such a proposal carried into effect. Sir Erskine's proposed re-distribution of the Army and transfer of it to the crown, was however an interference of a different sort, involving a more immediate danger. He would have better evinced his wisdom by shewing more modesty in the discussion of a question so foreign from all his previous pursuits. With respect to Sir W. Cotton, one anecdote will express our views regarding his Parliamentary evidence. Being asked on Committee by Lord Gough, whether men of the Concan "are not so peculiar with regard to their castes?" he replied—"No they are not; but now we get Bengal men of a caste that we prefer very much, called the 'Purdesee' caste; if they had any caste before they came to us, we never heard of its interfering in discipline." We much doubt whether either the gallant interrogator or respondent knows what is the caste of the Concan men, or even whether they are Hindoos or Mahommedans. They certainly do *not* know that "Purdesee" means foreigner, and that the Bombay "Purdesee" is simply the Brahmin and Rajpoot of the Bengal Army. Indeed they are

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entered as such to the number of 6928, in Mr. P. Melvill's Table at page 11, of his second examination.

Our pages have, at different times, contained much information on all branches of the Indian Army. We profess now to offer few new facts; but, with the aid of the mass of evidence before us, to correct some errors and to sketch the present and past condition of the Army; and also to point out many points in which its efficiency may be improved without increasing its expense. Costing now eleven millions a year, or little short of half the revenue of the country, the Army cannot be increased without risk of bankruptcy. Reform and adaptation, not numerical increase, then, are required. Reform in the French rather than in the English fashion; not in pipe clay details; but in arms, accoutrements and drill; above all in tone and *morale*. In putting not only the right sort of soldier of *all ranks* and *creeds* in the right place, and giving him an object and a motive for simple duty, but offering him inducements to zeal and exertion. In short, to substitute to a certain extent, rewards *for merit* in lieu of for *old age*. Our remarks must necessarily be desultory, and will touch the prejudices, and even the interests of many. They will therefore not be popular; but we trust they may be useful.

We have vainly sought for exact detailed states, at different periods, of the Indian Army, in Blue Books, in Histories, in Army Lists, as also from private sources. Captain Rafter quite misleads his reader. He gives two European regiments, instead of *three*, at each Presidency, though a third was raised a twelvemonth before his book was published. He calls all the Engineers "Royal Corps." What he means by "twelve Regiments of Irregular Infantry" and "sixteen of Local Militia" in Bengal, we are at a loss to imagine. The expression—"Militia"—smacks of his book being a "get up" in Paternoster Row. Unfortunately we have no Militia in India. All are mercenaries; the most faithful in the world, but still mercenaries. The men who fought against us under Mahratta and Sikh banners are now our trusty soldiers. They are ours to the death, so long as we keep covenant with them. Their salt is their country and their banner. We cannot expect and do not deserve more: we have done little to induce *personal* attachment in sepoys or in any other class. The time, we hope, is coming, when both will have greater reason than at present, to fight for love of our supremacy.

The evidence before Parliament has scarcely assisted us more than Captain Rafter has done; we have puzzled ourselves for very many hours, over the Blue Book figures and tables, but have not succeeded in reconciling the statements of the different authorities or even the evidence of the same individual at different times. We have therefore concocted a table for ourselves.

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Tabular Statement of the Army of India in January 1856, *including tinjents and Irregular Corps officered from the Line;*

Presidency.	East India Company's Commissioned Officers.	Regiments of Her Majesty's Cavalry.	Her Majesty's Infantry.	European Troops Horse Artillery.	Native Troops Horse Artillery.	European Battalions Foot Artillery.	Native Battalions Foot Artillery.	Irregular Artillery Men.	Gun Lascars and Gun Drivers.	Engineers and Sappers.
Bengal, ...	2,907	1	14	9	4	6	3			1,200
Madras, ...	2,019	"	4	6	"	4	2			1,369
Bombay, ...	1,289	1	4	4	"	2	2			
Total Corps, &c. &c.	"	2	22	19	4	12	7			
At an average of		700	1,100	140	110	337	640			
Tl. strength,	6,215	1400	24,200	2660	440	4,044	4,480	1,530	7,490	2,569
Grand Total,	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...

Of the 6215 officers, 782 are medical. Invalid officers are not included, Horse are not included, but only Corps included in Army lists. The one weak as a total of three average Corps. In the same way two and three Corps or De- European officers and soldiers, and 275,304 Natives, 516 Field Guns, as also a Mortars might be brought into the field within a month.

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all Her Majesty's and the Hon'ble Company's Troops; all the Con- also the Field Regular and Irregular Guns attached.

East India Company's Regiments European Infantry.	Regular Regiments Native Infantry.	Irregular Regts. Infantry.	Regular Cavalry.	Irregular Horse.	Veterans.		Ordnance and Commissariat, &c., Warrant and Non-Commissioned Officers.	Subordinate Medical.		Guns.	
					European.	Native.		European.	Native.	Regular.	Irregular.
3	74	41	10	31	368	"	Europeans.	"	320	198	78
3	52	6	8	4	304	2,941		"	17	138	24
3	29	8	3	6	28	483		"	235	78	0
9	155	55	21	41						516	
1,000	1,100	930	450	580							
9,000	1,70,000	51,150	9,450	23,780	700	3,424	300	339	652	"	"
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	3,23,823	

but simply those on the strength of Regiments. Police Battalions and Police Corps of Cutch Horse is counted with the two *strong* Regiments of Scinde Horse tachments are occasionally clubbed. The grand total 323,823 includes 48,519 small Mountain Train, are attached. Three hundred Battering Guns and as many

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We submit this account to our readers with much confidence, as containing a nearer approximation to the total strength of the Army, and even of its details, than any other published document.

In preparing the above table we have derived assistance from Mr. Philip Melvill's evidence, but have not always been able to ascertain his meaning, nor are we satisfied that his figures are always correct. Most of ours are taken from the Army Lists. Mr. Melvill gives no details of the Contingents, but clubs them at 32,000 men, which is above their strength.* We have entered them in our table, with other Irregulars, under their several heads, Artillery, Cavalry, and Infantry. It will be observed that we estimate the army at 323,823, which though differing in detail, closely agrees with Mr. P. Melvill's total of 2,89,529, added to 32,000 Contingents. Our total strength includes 1400 Dragoons, 24,200 Royal Infantry, 2660 Horse Artillery, 4044 Foot Artillery, 6215 Officers of the Company's Army, 9000 Company's Infantry, 700 Veterans and 300 Ordnance, Warrant, and N. C. Staff, making a total of 48,519 European officers and soldiers. The 275,304 natives include 2569 Sappers; 4480 Foot and 440 Horse Artillery; 9450 Regular and 23780 Irregular Cavalry; also 170,000 Regular and 51,150, quasi local or Irregular Infantry,† and 516 Guns are attached, 138 being Horse Artillery.

This vast Army occupies about 1,350,000 square miles of country and protects and overawes about 150 millions of people. There is therefore about one soldier to 465 of the population, but so unequally divided, that in the Punjab the proportion is one to 200, whereas in Bengal it is one to 3000. Intermediately and in the south, it varies according to the circumstances of the country, a single Regiment being here and there stationed at long intervals, but more frequently a Brigade with Cavalry and guns being located together.

The Army as above detailed, does not include the Punjab Police Battalions, the Scinde and other organised Police, altogether numbering at least 16,000 drilled, and well armed, soldiers; most of them quite equal to average Irregulars.‡ To these may be added about one hundred thousand *ordinary* Police and Revenue

* Since writing the above we have observed that Mr. Melvill reckons the Guicowar and Mysore Contingents as part of his 32,000, and as being on the same footing with the Gwalior and Hyderabad Contingents; but such is not the case. The two latter are disciplined bodies, officered by English gentlemen; the others, especially the Guicowar's, are neither officered nor disciplined.

† They are more Regular than the Regular Battalions of Clive's time, and indeed differ little from the Regulars except in having only three officers instead of twenty-four. Few of them can correctly be called local.

‡ We have taken no account of the projected Oude Contingent and Bengal Police Battalion.

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peons, the "Idlers" of Sir Charles Napier. He estimated the number in the Bengal and Agra Presidencies at 158,000; but the correct number is 59,000, and in the Punjab 11,000. In somewhat similar proportion 30,000 will be the number for Bombay and Madras. If to this hundred thousand, we add the village police throughout the country, an array of numbers equal to the whole strength of the Army might be made. And if we count, as our predecessors the Moguls would have done, or as any European Government but our own would do, the armies of native states situated *within* our limits, we may nearly complete the full million, and rival Xerxes of old, or the Czar of to-day. That we allow the village police of Bengal to be breakers, instead of conservators of the peace, is surely our own fault. If they commit dacoitees and overawe landholders and planters, and act energetically *against* the law, *for a motive*, they *can* also for a motive, fight dacoits to maintain the law. Whole districts in the N. W. Provinces filled with the brethren of the fighting classes of Oude have never, during the last seventy years, seen a British sepoy. Sir George Clerk, no mean conservator of the peace, in his evidence before Parliament considered it quite feasible to make use of the 30, to 40,000, hereditary village police of Bombay, now set aside, though still enjoying service lands.

In regard to native armies, when we were comparatively weak, they fought on our side. The Nizam helped cordially at Seringapatam. Less cordially different Mahratta chiefs have at times done so. The Rajpoots were more true to us than we were to ourselves, during Monson's retreat. Sikh Contingents served at Bhurtpore and in the Nepal hills. The Sikh army, in its worst days, helped us to force the Khyber, and a portion even accompanied us to Cabul. The Goorkhas periodically offer their services, and Golab Singh's regiments have, on two occasions, fought valiantly by our side in Hazara. Above all, the Bhauwalpore Nawab fought our battle, when the weather was thought too hot for us to fight it ourselves. Bearing these facts in mind, we would steer a mean course between those who would have made over Delhi and Agra to the Rajpoots during the Sikh war, and Sir Charles Napier's alarm of the Goorkhas, of Hydrabad, Golab Singh and the Burmese. Indeed, we are of opinion, that all but the last might without difficulty be induced to aid in the conservation of the public peace.

The expense of the Army, including the dead-weight, is eleven millions a year, or nearly one-half the revenue of India. To increase it, as many suggest, would be to risk bankruptcy. It already exceeds by 158,000, the strength when Lahore and Gwalior had large hostile armies at our very doors; and is 30,000

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in excess, of the highest numbers during the Burmah and Sikh wars. Allowing then the police in all its branches to do ordinary police work, as in good hands it is amply able to do, we have the Army to support it and to watch a sea-girt frontier, whence nothing can touch us, the Nepal and N. W. borders where we are scarcely less safe, and to overawe the rabble portions of the Hydrabad army, and deal with Sonthal and other half armed savages, and even less formidable discontented chiefs.

For these purposes our means are most ample, if we are true to ourselves. In the words of the first Punjab Report,—

"It is not open war that is to be guarded against (at Lahore,) but secret intrigue, and outbursts of small bands of desperate men: against the first, the best remedy is a mixture of the different arms, with a large sprinkling of Europeans; for the other, Irregular horse, and such Infantry as unencumbered with baggage, can be under arms and in movement at an hour's notice."

"One thousand (1,000) men (half Cavalry, half Infantry,) and two guns, put in motion within two hours of the news of a disturbance reaching any of our stations, and able to traverse the country at the rate of twenty or thirty miles a day, will do more to secure the peace of the Punjab than the tardy assemblage of armies. Indeed, we do not hesitate to state, that our anxiety is rather on account of the number of troops, and the system on which we understand they are to be located, than of any deficiency of force."

The above passages entirely express our opinion. There is nothing in the length or breadth of the plains of India that could for an hour stand against such a force. Had such a one been put in motion at the outset of the Sonthal insurrection, the whole affair would not have lasted as many weeks, as it has months. Had the ten thousand men that had been told off, on the N. W. Frontier to meet disturbance, promptly marched on Mooltan, in 1848, there would probably have been no siege; or at least the affair would have been as insignificant as it proved momentous. Decisive and energetic measures have never yet failed, though contrary courses have often brought us very near destruction. Arcot, Plassey, Buxar, Assaye, and Laswaree, tell their own tales, as do Baillie, Monson and Elphinstone theirs. With less means than Monson, Goddard successfully performed twice his task. By a bold front, Goddard marched across the continent of India, and carried every thing before him. Monson by distrusting his troops, by retreating, when he ought to have advanced, drew Holkar after him and lost his army. A few hours' stand, or a single march in the right direction, would have saved Baillie. A three mile movement would have preserved Elphinstone, even after months of insane delusion. The very first day he taught the Affghans their game. Instead of attacking the rabble, who

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had murdered Burnes in the city, he called in his detachments and kept close within his intrenchments, letting nothing but hunger move him. A single Regiment would have dispersed the mob on the first day. For three days the very men who afterwards destroyed our army, supported Mackenzie and Trena in the city, and eventually aided their retreat. Thus it will always be. Providence helps those who help themselves. Those who don't, need not look for friends any where, especially in the East. Lords Hardinge and Gough won Feroshuhur by holding their ground during the night. Lord Gough lost the fruits of Chilianwalla, by *not* following the same course.

Rome conquered the world by never yielding a foot, by never confessing herself beaten, by rising with renewed courage from every defeat. We require such fortitude more than Rome did. As yet our tents are only pitched in the land. We have a numerous and a noble Army, but six-sevenths of it are of the soil. We have *one* fortress in all India. We offer no inducement to extraordinary fidelity, even while we place our magazines, our treasuries, and our very throats, at the mercy of any desperado. While we English are thus reckless, we both at home and in India, are more easily panic-stricken than perhaps any brave people in the world. Not only does a Cabul, or a Chilianwalla, strike terror from one end of the country to the other, but a simple murder, a Sonthal or a Moplah outbreak, has scarcely less effect. With few exceptions *there is no preparation to meet sudden danger. There is the most helpless alarm when it does occur.*

Russia did not wait until she was attacked to fortify Sebastopol, Bomarsund, and a hundred other points. She *will now* lose character if, at the *present* juncture, she fortify St. Petersburgh and Moscow. Let us profit by experience. Let us put our house in order. We know not how soon a coalition may press Britain, as Russia is now pressed. While the war lasts, there will be no undue economy; but should peace occur to-morrow, we run the risk of reverting to the old apathy, that left the whole coast of England undefended, and only thirty guns in the Isles available for Field service at the very time we were expecting war with France.

Let us not be misunderstood; we are no alarmists. We only testify to what we have witnessed during the last twenty years. Our disgust was often great at what we did so witness. History testifies to the preceding eight years. We have vividly before our eyes the terror of Madras, when Hyder Ally's horsemen swept its suburbs. The alarms caused by the failures of the first Nepal campaign; also those by supposed Mahratta combinations, and by Pindaree incursions, by Murray's and by Monson's retreats, by the occupation of Furruckabad, and the beleaguerment of Delhi, and, lastly by our four failures at Bhurtpore. Even greater, though

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utterly without reason, was the panic at Calcutta at the outset of the first Burmah war. Chittagong was reported in flames. Bankers asked to be allowed to send their cash to Fort William, and Burmah war boats were reported on the salt-water-lake; and all this because the Calcutta militia ran away at Ramoo! These are historical facts. Nor were the whisperings of alarm less loud on the occasions of the murders in 1848, or when, in the ensuing year, six Malay-like Sikhs sold their lives in an onslaught on a whole European Regiment at Lahore. Or, on each Moplah affair, through the number of fanatics concerned was scarcely more numerous than in that of Lahore. Finally, our readers will remember how the murders of Mackeson and Connolly and the attack on Mackenzie were received. The first was supposed to be connected with a simultaneous rise at Peshawur and invasion from the Khyber; the others as the forerunners of the assassination of all Europeans.

It must be pleasant to our enemies, and amusing to others who watch our arrogance and insolence, in ordinary times, to observe the dastard fear with which many of our numbers receive such events. The loud talk, even in mess-rooms, of general insurrection, the loading of pistols and the doubling of sentinels. Such acts are all wrong. They tend to produce the very danger that is feared. It is right *always* to bear in mind that we are but encamped in the land. We are dwelling "in the tents of Shem." We have yet to prove the permanence of the encampment, whether it is to be rudely broken up in blood; whether to be a Mogul "Oordoo" a Mahratta or a Sikh "Lushkur," or "Chaonee," or whether, after a fertilizing and blessed rule of centuries, we are voluntarily to hand over regenerated India to her own educated and enlightened sons. But whatever be ours and India's destinies, our obvious duty is to avoid all *unnecessary* occasion of danger, at the same time *always* calmly and unostentatiously stand to our arms. The spirit of Wellington's and Cromwell's words should be our motto, and always in our hearts, "Trust in God," "Keep your Treaties"—"and keep your powder dry."

To such of our readers as are disposed to tax us with exaggeration, in the above rough sketch, we recommend a glance at recent newspaper statements regarding Connolly, Mackenzie, and the Sonthal disturbances. Above all, let them read Sir William Napier's pamphlet of 1854, on the Dalhousie and Napier controversy. They may then blush for British officers. It is difficult to know whether William Napier believed those incendiary and dastardly reports. If he did, he was as credulous as his gallant brother when the latter perceived danger from Hyderabad, Burmah and Cashmere. Such records of our shame, how-

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ever, abound in the newspaper correspondence of the Affghan, Scinde and Sikh wars. Wellington and Raglan were equally molested by scare-crows, and according to the accounts from our own ranks Spain should have been lost, and the army before Sebastopol destroyed. The public enunciation of such opinions is by few, the talkings and murmurings are by many. Even brave men—men ready to lead the storming party, or to die at their posts, consider themselves privileged to talk in strains they would never permit in the ranks under them, strains that must weaken their own influence and might even endanger their own lives.

We freely admit that, with the march of civil improvement, much has been done, during the last few years, to improve our military position. But, in the words of Napoleon, moral is to physical force as three to one, and moral strength is not *altogether* at the bidding of Governor Generals, Commander-in-Chiefs, or subordinate leaders. But, to a great extent it is. The Army at Candahar *never* lost heart, because Nott kept his. MacLaren's Brigade, intended for Ghuznee, failed even to reach Khelat-i-Ghilzie, because MacLaren never *expected* to carry out his orders. It did not require a Xenophon to do so. Havelock, Monteith, Richmond, Mayne, MacGregor, Broadfoot, Pottinger, MacKenzie or Backhouse, with many others engaged in Affghanistan, would have saved not only Ghuznee but Cabul. The futile attempt of MacLaren did mischief. It added to the previous discouragement of our own people; it gave courage to the Affghans. The fact is notorious. Mahomed Akbar had failed in an attack on the citadel of Cabul held by Shah Soojah; but the same night, hearing of MacLaren's retreat, he renewed the assault, and succeeded. With Cabul also fell Ghuznee, and Khilat-i-Ghilzie was left to its fate, for Craigie to make a defence not often surpassed. The counsel of a few brave hearts saved Jellalabad after their own Government had abandoned them.

It was the moral depression of Wilde's brigade added to the shameful manner in which it, a body of four sepoy battalions with a hap-hazard Brigadier and Brigade Major, taken from their own ranks, without a single other Staff officer, without carriage, commissariat, guns, or cavalry, was sent to Peshawur, that not only prevented its reaching Jellalabad, but nearly caused its own destruction in the Khyber. The Blue Book records Sir Jasper Nicholl's opinion—"I have yet to learn the use of guns in a pass." On this wondrous conclusion, a General who, four and twenty years earlier had himself done good service in a mountain country, or rather, we suspect, on the preconceived opinion that Jellalabad *must* be lost, acted. It would have been more honest, sensible, and humane, to have boldly refused to permit a man to

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cross the Sutlej. *That* chapter of Indian military history has yet to be written. Kaye's work, admirable as it generally is, has not done justice to those concerned, but has done very much more than justice to the Commander-in-Chief. Few officers have been worse treated than the gallant and unfortunate Wilde. As brave a soul as ever breathed, he was driven, broken hearted, to his grave.

We might adduce scores of such examples, bad and good, from past Indian history, of the effect of prestige and of leading; of good and of bad conduct, by the very same men, all induced by individual example, or by the moral effect of circumstances. No soldier is more open to the influence of all the above causes than the sepoy. He has a wonderful opinion of the "Ikbal" of the Company. He has also a keen perception of the merits or demerits of his officers. He loves the memory of the commander who has led him successfully; and, in extreme old age, will talk of the subaltern who was kind to him and shared his dangers.*

In the track of Monson's retreat, we have repeatedly heard an old Subadar recount the doings of his own corps, going over not only the names of his own officers, but of others with whom he was not immediately connected. Telling how nobly Lucan died in covering the retreat through the Mokundra Pass; how the 12th N. I. was destroyed in covering the passage of the Bunnas River. History corroborates the old man's tale, and tells how the sepoys bade their officers keep heart; "we will take you safe to Agra." Captain Rafter records that "out of twelve thousand men, scarcely one thousand entered Agra, without cannon, baggage or ammunition." The guns dragged by bullocks were, *of course*, lost in a country which in the rains is a quagmire; but our author *has*, unintentionally no doubt, exaggerated the tale of misery and disaster. Never was more devotion shewn by a mercenary army. With Holkar at their heels, slaying them like sheep, or sending them in noseless, and otherwise maimed, to terrify their comrades, and on the other hand, offering them service with the prospect of high command in his own ranks; there were

* Malcolm's anecdote of the old native officers, always taking their sons to salaam to the pictures of Coote and Medowes in the Town Hall of Madras, but of their making a distinction in favor of the former, is an example of the advantage of long intimacy with sepoys. Sir William Medowes was an admirable soldier. On the breaking out of the American war, being transferred from a corps he had long commanded, he called for volunteers to accompany him, and, every man stepped out. Such an officer must everywhere be loved, but probably he could not talk to natives, and therefore lost one important engine of influence. Sir Eyre Coote was perhaps as badly off in regard to the languages, but he had more knowledge of the habits of sepoys. Let us not be told that Hastings and Clive could not converse with natives. They were giants: rules are not for such.

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scarcely more desertions from the sepoys battalions than there have been from the British ranks at Sebastopol.

Monson's affair was one, *entirely*, of trust and of prestige. Affairs were ill-managed, but the sepoys stood by him as by Matthews and Baillie, because they looked to the Company's Star; because in all points they trusted and respected the Government. In those days it was not unusual for the pay of the troops to be six, twelve and even twenty months in arrears. The Army was then numerically not half its present strength; but our character as soldiers was superior to what it is at present. Strange, that after we have conquered all around, we should have lost weight with our own people. Monson was a brave man and somewhat retrieved his own *personal* character at Bhurtpore; but the effect of his retreat nearly negatived all Lord Lake's victories.

Hector Monroe, Coote, Ochterlony, Adams, Malcolm and Monro were men of a different stamp. With them there was confidence on both sides. In full reliance on his troops, Ochterlony, with sepoys alone, succeeded where royal officers and royal troops had failed. Gillespie's prompt gallantry rescued Vellore, though the same General, by impetuosity at Kalunga sacrificed his own life and virtually lost the campaign. It would be a pleasant task to tell of Arcot, Onore, Masulipatam, Korigam and Setabuldee. We point to them simply as illustrations of the happy effects of mutual trustfulness. We might also with advantage glance at other and more recent affairs of opposite complexions. We shall however not, on this occasion, do so.

The moral of our dissertation is to take advantage of the present crisis in Europe, and, while we have no *present* cause of alarm in India, to take warning from the past. Much we repeat has been done. Much rottenness has been swept away. Many departments have been reformed. Some portions of the empire have been put in good state of defence. Less expensive but equally efficient bodies of troops have been raised, thus combining economy with efficiency. Above all, some steps have been taken to give us Commander-in-Chief, having the use of their limbs and with their senses about them. We are not henceforward to have the dregs of the lives of gallant veterans who, during health and strength, were never entrusted with important command; nor are we to have as Generals of division and brigade, men whose only guarantee of efficiency is old age, whose very existence is often a token of their never having earned command, who have kept themselves in clover, during the legitimate years of working life, and thus, while generous souls have sunkin the struggle, survive to win the prizes.

Another and more urgent step is wanted. There must be a bar against the command of regiments being the reward of thir-

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ty and forty years of incompetence. We can even do better with bad Generals, than with bad Regimental officers. Inkerman was won by the individual action of Regiments, not by the strategy or tactics of Generals. Most of our Indian battles have been so won. The appointments of Generals Anson and Grant are auguries of good. There may be abler and more experienced commanders, but both have common sense, the use of their limbs and of all their faculties. Let them see that their subordinates enjoy similar advantages. Neither Wellingtons nor Washingtons are expected, but it is not therefore necessary we should wait till the quantity of sense and strength that officers have been endowed with, has evaporated, before they are employed in command. No such absurdity is perpetuated in ordinary life. No brewer or baker waits till his workman is superannuated before he promotes him to the post of foreman; a pension is the fitting reward for old age. Some officers now in command, to the injury of the service, were good men and true twenty years ago,—others were never fit for a corporal's charge; and only in a seniority service could have escaped from the subaltern ranks. Chief Judges, Residents and Commissioners, are not the oldest men in the service. Metcalfe, Jenkins, Elphinstone, Clerk and Munro performed good service when under thirty years of age. On the bench, if any where, age is wanted, or at least is not an encumbrance. We reverse the order, we have young Judges and old divisional and even regimental commanders. We have boys on magisterial benches, hoary age commanding Light Horse.

We implore the attention of all the authorities at home and in India, to these glaring inconsistencies. Lord Hardinge, Sir Charles Napier, Lord Gough, all testify to the necessity of a change. *No one denies it.* Honor will be to him who, notwithstanding the outcry that will follow, will change the system that has brought Irregular troops into fashion, to the disparagement of Regulars, thus averring that three selected and comparatively young officers are preferable to a dozen or sixteen haphazard ones, commanded by such men as are generally found at the head of Regiments of the line. Some system must be devised, by having the whole Army in one general list; or by having Regiments of two, three or four Battalions, or by striking off inefficients, and by admitting the transfer of officers from one Corps to another, to *secure* the command of Regiments to those, between the ages of thirty and fifty, who have, at least not given *proofs* of incompetency. There are men now commanding Regiments *known* to have greatly injured, if not ruined, more than one Corps, and who are working hard to destroy the credit of their present charges. We have heard the new Commander-in-

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Chief of the Madras Army regret the *necessity* of putting such men in command. We confess never to have been able to perceive the *necessity*. It has been a custom rather than an obligation, and the sooner it is abrogated, the better for the Indian Army.

Let officers rise to rank much as at present by seniority; but drive inefficients to resignation by positively refusing them command. Let there be tests for every grade of authority. Let no Officer obtain the command even of a Company until he has *proved* his qualification. The present tests are altogether insufficient. The examination should be systematic and not dependent on the whims of Commanding Officers or Examiners. Graduated for each rank, it should *oblige* each Officer to evince *moderate* ability and *moderate* application. All men are not intended by nature for soldiers. The sooner incapables find out the mistake of their parents in having put them into the wrong line, the better for themselves and for the service. In no Army are higher qualifications required. Is it good that *one* single individual Officer should be a laughing-stock to his men? They are nearly fifty to one of us. Our staff should be good—the best *procurable*, or it must be more than useless—mischievous, nay dangerous.

On this the most important question concerning the Army, we desire to suggest no specific rules, but simply, though most earnestly, to recommend those of common sense. Let a mixed Committee of Officers from the three Presidencies, be appointed to consult and report on this, and other matters, and let their report be published, and, after discussion, be acted on, as far as possible; but unhappily there is less lack of information than of desire or ability to act on it. Some twenty years ago such a Committee did report on artillery matters and made many excellent suggestions, few of which have to this day been carried out.* General Patrick Grant tells us in his evidence before Parliament, that Cavalry matters were also, though less formally reported on, many years ago, but still the strife goes on between Regulars and Irregulars, as to straight swords, sabres, spears, carbines, pistols, bits and saddles. All this is bad. There is a good and a bad way for every thing, and what is good for one Presidency is good for another. Shafts and poles, Bengal system and royal system are *not all* best. The best ought to be insisted on for all. And so with Cavalry. If an Irregular is, as Sir Charles Napier and others insist, the most efficient soldier, it is foolery to pay double the money for an inferior article.

But, whether by a Committee or any other authority, let the vital questions be settled. Respect as far as possible, present

* The present Emperor of the French, then the exile Louis Napoleon, in his Treatise on Artillery, called attention to the labors of that Committee.

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incumbents, by giving them time to meet examinations, &c.; but, at *any* cost, rid the service of notorious incompetents, and prevent incapables from obtaining command. If the cry be, "vested interests," and "men will not enter the service on insecure terms," we answer that able and energetic men are most likely to enter a service that encourages ability and energy. We don't want the mass that join the Army simply as an easy provision. For England's glory and India's safety, we are better without such. We would not deprive Directors of patronage, but the tests at Home should be much higher, and, as already suggested, should be continued up to the rank of Field Officer, as the rule now obtains in H. M.'s Service.

There must be a Staff Corps, whatever may be its inconveniences, they will be less than those that now obtain. The French "Etat-Major" might, to a certain extent, be our model. The rewards of the staff should not be on such a scale as to prevent good Officers desiring to stay with their corps. When commands are open to them after fifteen or twenty years, instead of after thirty and thirty-five, there would be more content in the Regimental Ranks; without contentment there can hardly be efficiency. In proof of the present prevailing spirit we annex, verbatim, an extract from a recently received letter, from an Officer of ability who has done good service to the State, and who obtained command of his Regiment after about twenty-five years' service.

"As to the service, I have long since ceased to take any interest in it; for however hard I may work, or however much I may know or do, I find myself not one bit better off than the fool who knows and does nothing; therefore, beyond doing exactly as I am told, I do nothing."

"You will I dare say laugh when I tell you I never mount one (a horse) but to go to parade, and this I consider a great bore, and never go out of a walk."

The above, if not a favorable specimen of the spirit of the writer, is at least the honest opinion of an able Officer who has been more than usually fortunate. We could match with it a similar letter received, within the month, from a Captain of a different Presidency, of nearly equal standing, who is yet several years from a command. Ten or fifteen years ago, both these Officers were full of zeal and energy. They were of the Chamberlain and Jacob school rather than of the race of incapables. Chamberlain and Jacob would be as they are, after thirty years of subordinate Regimental duty.

"The Native Officer question is only second to that of the European. With efficient Commanders there would soon be efficient subordinates, but to expedite matters and to prevent tyran-

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ny, perhaps convulsions, extraneous help and Government authority are required. In this, as in other matters, perfectly different systems obtain, not only at different Presidencies, but in different Regiments of the same Presidency. In Bombay and Madras, the merit fostering rule is followed; in Bengal all sorts of rules and systems obtain. There *is* authority, though not very explicit, for promotion by merit, and provision is made, by increase of pay after terms of seven years, for the superseded, but recent orders have directed differently. The consequence is that Commanding Officers do much as they like. One finds reason for promoting all the old, another all the young. One pesters and persecutes the Veterans, another objects to the smart fellows who "can drill the Regiment as well as any officer, and who wear trowsers as neat as the Adjutants." These are the extremes. Discipline suffers, and deserving Native Soldiers of all ranks suffer, and are often driven with disgust from the service.

We confess to a decided preference, notwithstanding all the objections of Lord Hardinge, Sir Charles Napier, and other high authorities, for the Madras and Bombay systems. We allow it to be dangerous to bring forward young energetic Native Soldiers, to the rank of Subadar and there to stop, and that it would be, *on the present system*, safer to have Subadars of sixty rather than of thirty years of age. But it is the danger of the power-loom over the fire-side wheel; the danger of the steam carriage over the poney chair. Where is to be the end of our fears if we shirk efficiency in dread of our own tools turning on us? It is our obvious duty to put the right man in the right place *and to keep him there by self-interest*. We desire no such radical change as to put armies, or even very important posts, or detachments, under Native Officers. We desire not the Carthaginian, or the Mogul, or the latter Roman systems, but to a certain extent, that which influences the autocratic Governments of Russia, France and Austria. Surely we can afford as much license as they can. If Asiatics and Africans can obtain honorable position in the Armies of Russia and France, surely Indians, after tried service of a century under England's banner, are entitled to the same boon—nay justice. We desire no extremes. We would not, as Austria did in the Hungarian war, place our Magazines in the enemy's hands. We would avoid risking them in questionable ones. We would not, as in our own early times, by undue temptation, turn honest soldiers into traitors* but we would not drive them

* Mahommed Issoof's is a case in point. He was more useful than most of the European Officers in the early wars of the Carnatic. Faithful, gallant, and enterprizing, he conducted sieges, defended posts, and earned supplies and reinforcements, at critical times, through the enemy's country. But he was tempt-

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from our service or, worse still, permit them to remain in it in sullen discontent. If among the 6000 European Officers such feelings prevail as we have shewn in the preceding extract, have we any right to expect that among the 275,000 Natives of the Army, they do not exist to a much greater extent?

This subject is too much pooh-poohed or altogether blinked. If the correspondence of Native Soldiers was as patent to us as that of our European comrades, we should better understand their feelings. Those who do associate with them can testify to the disgust of the very best at their present position. The Bengal Baboos of Calcutta, and the Parsees of Bombay are among our best treated and most contented subjects. The latter highly enlightened class is a loyal and useful section of the community; and some of its legal members have recently been appointed to high office; as have also some of the Bengal Baboos. These latter however are not contented. They complain that the highest salary allowed to their class is 1,200 rupees a month, and that very few positions of 1000 rupees 800 rupees and 600 rupees, though many of 250 rupees a month, are open to them. Native Civil officers of the higher grades, are remunerated throughout the Provinces at somewhat the above rates. In every District are to be found half a dozen, whose salaries average 250 rupees, with two or three on 400 or 500 rupees a month. Exceptional cases run up to 800 and 1000. The latter are still too few to command honest devotion. More prizes, and some of them of greater value than any yet conceded, are wanted.

Such, however, as they are, they greatly exceed those of the native army. The largest pay obtainable in an army of 275,000 soldiers of the soil is 300 rupees a month, and we do not know more than three men, enjoying such pay. The Hydrabad pay of a Ressaldar, which is the title, in that Province, of a native Cavalry Commandant, used to be 413 rupees, but it has recently been reduced to 300. Jemadars of Troops, (virtual Ressaldars) have also been lowered from 165 to 150, the rate of Ressaldars throughout the Bengal Irregular Cavalry. The pay of a Subadar in the regular army is 67 rupees a month, with 25 rupees additional, making 92 rupees, to *one* Subadar in every Regiment, as Subadar Major. *This is the highest bonâ-fide pay enjoyable by an Infantry soldier.* When *marching*, he receives fifteen rupees batta, which seldom covers his extra expences. The "*Moniteur*" constantly recounts the rewards of bravery, in all ranks, of the French Army. To one private soldier, "for keeping his place in the ranks when badly wounded." To another

ed beyond his strength. He was put in possession of a Fort, and made a renter of the surrounding district. In such times what Native could have stood such a test? Some Europeans could not.

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"for being the first in the breach;" to a third "for saving his Captain's, at the loss of his own legs, by throwing aside a live shell." To a fourth, "for helping to extinguish the flames around the magazine." Such matters, if not wholly overlooked in the British Army, are not so noticed as to excite emulation or create any hearty desire to do likewise. What rewards have been given to the Subaltern's party which for half an hour, last November, stood on the top of the magazine of the Light Division, covering it with saturated tarpaulins, while all around was on fire, and while shells and rockets were falling thick on every side? But, nearer to ourselves, what reward has been given to the Serjeant of the Pegu magazine who, last year, heroically performed a similar feat? Such men are the real heroes of an Army. Any fellow can charge *with* a crowd, or can stand between his comrades, to be mowed down or ridden over. He seldom can help himself. Many, in such positions, would run away if they could: they cannot, and they come out of the fray, heroes. But the soldier who, with no excitement before him, courts death, in the path of duty, deserves more especial honor, indeed all the honor, and all the reward, that can be bestowed. It is true that in the British Army after every battle, strings of names are submitted for brevet, rank, and honors. There is seldom a response in any man's heart to the accuracy of those lists. Lord Gough got brevet rank for one officer for carrying, "orders through the hottest of the fight," though he was not in the battle at all: for another for "leading a Brigade," though he was in bed. Some of our readers will also remember his Lordship's favorable mention of the gallant Brigadier who he said "manœuvered skilfully in the rear." Sir Charles Napier was the first of our Generals who mentioned a Private Soldier in his despatches. How rarely has the good example been followed, even in the Crimea. Napier's and a very few other cases excepted, we do not remember ever seeing a Native Soldier, *in orders*, though we could narrate scores of instances of individual valour. Of a Naick and six swimming the Buri Gunga in the face of the enemy; Of a single trooper carrying a dispatch through the enemy's lines, at Setabuldee; of two troopers in open day, fathoming the ditch at Bhurtpore; of a Ressaldar leading his single Troop through Shere Singh's Cavalry at Mooltan; of another, on the frontier, carrying his into the midst of twenty times their number, though covered by a bank. None of those men were held up to the admiration of their comrades. Descending to the ridiculous, we recollect a lady telling us that she had parted with her husband, going to Affghanistan, with some comfort "as Ram Singh, the pay Havildar, has promised to cover him in action, and Ram Singh is a big man." The

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Captain came back safe, whether by Ram Sing's "*ikbal*," we cannot say.

The nearest approach to the French system, in the Indian Army, is "the Order of Merit." It is open to all ranks of the native Army for "individual gallantry," in the field or in the attack or defence of a fortress. But, though its numbers are not *positively* limited, there are so many restrictions to its obtainment, that "the decorated" are so few as to be hardly discoverable. The order is divided into three grades. The first is only obtainable by those who have *already* won by *individual gallantry* and, step by step, the second and third grades. The badge of the first grade is a gold star with inscription—"The reward of valour." The decoration of the others is of silver, with a similar motto. All are pendant from a dark blue ribbon with red edges. With a very large acquaintance, with the Native Army, we do not recollect having seen a dozen silver stars. We cannot recollect seeing *a single golden one*. Double pay is attached to the first grade, two-thirds increase to the second, and one third to the third. These are substantial advantages to the clod of a sabreur, to the sentinel whose sinews would never have earned him a front place in the Akhara; (gymnasium); but what reward are they to the adventurer whose sword, under a different regimé, would have carved out for himself a principality? None. They are a mockery, ending as they do, at utmost, in extreme cases, in double pay; that is, to a Ressaldar, in three hundred rupees a month,—or if he have *also* obtained the first class "Order of India" on sixty rupees additional, at fifty or sixty years of age. But *how* the first class "Order of Merit" and, *double pay* is to be obtained we are at a loss to imagine. He is a lucky fellow who has *one* chance "of individual valour" that is accepted, by his surviving comrades, that then satisfies the reporting Committee; that afterwards passes the ordeal of the Military Auditor General, whose duty is, *not* to reward valour, but to watch the public purse, at all hazards; and, finally, that is sanctioned by Government. Three times has this full process of proof to be gone through, before the Subadar Major can obtain 92 rupees a month, added to his original ninety-two, or the Ressaldar 150-150-300.

The Order of Merit, moreover, gives no handle to a man's name. The brave man is still the simple Havildar, Ressaldar or Subadar. In a country where words and looks are even more valued than rupees, though a hero, he is not a Bahadoor. On the other hand the title, though a Military one, is freely conferred on native civilians and traders, of no better blood, and is arrogated by black and white of all ranks.

But there *is* an order that *does* confer rank and title. "The Order of British India." It is divided into two classes, each of a

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hundred members, the first restricted to Subadars and Ressaldars and giving the title Sirdar Bahadoor with two rupees a day increase of pay; the second to Native Officers, generally, with the title of Bahadoor and one rupee a day. The decoration is a gold star, pendant from a blue ribbon. Though awarded only for good service, it is virtually the reward of old age; indeed the wearers are mostly invalids at their homes.

The pay, including batta of a Jemadar of Regular Infantry (Lieutenant) is 24½ rupees a month, Havildar, (Serjeant) fourteen; Naick, (Corporal) twelve, Sepoy, seven. The pay of the Sappers and Native Artillery is the same as Infantry; both should be higher; that of the Regular Cavalry is considerably so.* Sepoys after sixteen years' service, with good conduct, get one rupee extra, and after twenty years two rupees, or nine a month.

Such are the temptations we offer the Military populations of India, and to the northern adventurers who still occasionally find their way, through the passes, and who would do so, in numbers, were there moderate inducement. The mistake is in treating all alike; in attempting to have one dead level and still expecting active zeal and fidelity. The astonishment is that, under the present system, we should have so much of both. Present rules cannot last. They are against nature. Ninety in a hundred sepoys, have every reason to be delighted with the service. Several of the remaining ten are satisfied. One, two or three *are thoroughly, and dangerously, discontented.* The reason is plain. They feel they have that in them which elsewhere would raise them to distinction. Our system presses them down. The throne of Hydrabad is held by the descendant of one such adventurer. That of Oude is, or rather was, by another Hyder Ally, Ameer Khan. The first Holkar and the first Scindiah, were such fellows as are now in our ranks, if indeed the Koorme slipper bearer, and the goat herd would have been received into high caste ranks! Golab Singh, and Runjeet Singh's grand-father were military adventurers. Several of the Generals in the Sikh service, as also some of the most powerful Amils in Oude, were, originally, Sepoys in our ranks. Those outlets FOR RESTLESSNESS AND ABILITY ARE GONE; OTHERS ARE CLOSING. It behoves us, therefore, now more than ever, to give legitimate rewards, and as far as practicable, employment to the energetic few, to that leaven that is in

			Irregular Cavalry.		
* Subadar Major, ...	Rs. 105	Ressaldar, ...	Rs. 150		
Subadar, ...	" 80	Ressaidar, ...	" 80		
Jemadar, ...	" 32	Naibs, ...	" 50		
Havildar, ...	" 20	Jemadars, ...	" 45		
Naick, ...	" 16	Kote Duffadars, ...	" 33		
Trooper, ...	" 9	Duffadar, ...	" 28		
		Sowar, ...	" 20		

Troops have a Ressaldar and a Ressaidar, alternately.

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every lump; the leaven that may secure our empire or may disturb,—nay even destroy it.

In early days, when Europeans *fancied* themselves more dependent on natives than at present, they were not only more courteous, kindly, and considerate to them than they are now; but posts were then open to them that, of late years, have been closed. Mahomed Issoof's case, already mentioned, was an extreme one. In those times, Native Civilians were over-paid, English Civilians were denied honest wages. With few exceptions, all were accordingly dishonest. There was no check, no restraint. The tables were suddenly turned. Europeans were made honest by *honest treatment*; Natives were driven to worse roguery than before, for bread. During the last twenty years, our eyes have been gradually opening in regard to Native Civil establishments. If all have not been made honest, the right measures have been taken to make them so. The service is already greatly reformed. It is because the authorities seem still in the dark, regarding the *necessity* of improving the condition of the higher soldiery, that these remarks are offered. Let the Sepoy Soldier be treated as the Civilian is; that is, let there be openings for the gentleman—for the hero. The ordinary Sepoy *is amply paid*. He has even been pampered and petted. The extra battas and the donatives that he has received, have done him harm, and induced greed. We have been running fast on the shoal of the Sikh Army,—of the Legionaries, the Jannissaries and the Mamelukes. The many are usefully provided for, but honors and rewards present and future are still wanted for the few. In what has been done to raise the condition of Native Civilians, Government has been influenced by the best motive, the good of the country, the purity of the judgment seat. In what we advocate there is even a nearer interest,—one that swallows up all others.

It is not easy to suggest the details of our proposed scheme; but there are points of it, open to every understanding. In the Punjab are six Battalions of Police; commanded by Native Officers. Excellent soldiers all. Some of these Corps were in the Sikh service, served with Pollock's Army and again under Edwardes. Two or three of them are doing frontier work; all are fully equal to average Irregular Battalions. Their Commandants, with most of the responsibilities of command, receive only 200 rupees a month, or one fourth the pay of a European officer in a similar position. The latter too rises to be a General, may find himself successor to Morrison, Casement, Nott, Pollock, Littler, Gilbert and Low in the Council Board. The old Native Officer lives and dies a Commandant on Rupees 200,* or retires on half the amount.

* Present incumbents, some of them Colonels in the Sikh service, receive their old rates of pay 400 or 500 Rupees a month.

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"Lives and *rots* without hope" is the expression we once heard a comparatively young Ressaldar use regarding himself? The sons of the Commandant have *no opening*. They would have entered the Sikh service, as Subadars, or even in their fathers' rank; if they enter ours, it must be as privates. We say, give such Commandants about *half* the pay that Europeans get, and let their sons, if qualified, enter the service as Jemadars, and let those of other Native Officers have *some* advantages above the ordinary recruit.

Let also the Officers of a certain number, say one, of the Irregular Corps be *entirely* Natives. A European Brigadier Commanding every two or three such, looking to the *pay*, discipline, tone, &c., doing, in short, much the duty, and having the same military authority as Captains of Police in the Punjab have, though interfering less with details than they do. Give in *all* Irregular Corps, half the Company's allowances to the Subadars Commanding Companies, who should do all the duty of Captains *except* paying the men. This important duty should always be performed by a European Officer *in the presence* of the Commanding Officer, or Second in Command. No room should be left for scandal or discontent. Raise also the pay of Subadars from 67 rupees a month to 140, or about one-third that of Captains *doing the same work*. Raise proportionally the pay of Jemadars. In all Corps of the line let there be no *Native Officers*. Their position is anomalous and absurd. In the Bombay Army there are seldom Serjeant Majors or Quarter Master Serjeants, because they clash with the Native Officers. The Bombay authorities are quite right. It is absurd, and might prove worse than absurd, giving twenty men, "all good drills" and all "wearing tight pantaloons," commissions, and then allowing them to be bullied by vulgar uneducated Europeans, *without commissions*. The anomaly, and the heart-burnings, will be removed by having the European officers and Serjeants with the stricter discipline, or rather with the more English practices, in one set of regiments; the Native Officers with the looser, *the French system*, in others. By removing Native Officers from Corps professedly commanded, and officered by Europeans, though too often *really managed* by Havildar Majors, opportunity would be given to the European Officer to look into the interior economy of his Regiment or Company. Seldom is any thing of the kind done at present. So long as all is smooth and quiet on the surface, few enquiries are made. All may be rotten below, the jog-trot is followed—a mine may be ready to be sprung, for all that nine-tenths of officers would know. *Many do not know the very names of the men of their own Company.*

No great expense need be incurred in carrying out the propos-

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ed arrangement. There are plenty of Regiments, an excess of men, scarcely a deficiency of officers. We repeat that organization and adaptation, mainly, are wanted. Let the one hundred and five Infantry Corps of the line be *gradually* converted into a hundred and twenty five Service, and thirty Veteran Corps. Let 18 of the present 24 Officers be removed from each of the 30 Veteran Regiments and be divided among the 125 Service ones, leaving the three Field Officers with one *selected* Captain and two *selected* Subalterns, in all six European officers. Omitting two Field Officers as generally absent, four Officers will thus remain, *all being selections*. This would leave 540 Officers available for Service Corps, which number, increased by 85, would provide five additional Officers for each, and thus increase their strength to twenty-nine. Allowing then nine for Field Officers, and for absentees, on private and medical leave, twenty Officers, or two for each Company would be present with each Service Regiment.

The scheme involves the disposal of all staff Officers in a staff Corps, also eighty-five additional Officers, and one hundred promotions to rank of Captain. The proportions of the relative ranks we would thus suggest for the 125 Regiments, would be three Field Officers, as at present, eight Captains, twelve Lieutenants, and six Ensigns, instead of six, ten and five, as now. And attached to each of the thirty Veteran Corps, three Field Officers, (one only to be present,) one *selected* Captain and five *selected* Subalterns.

To make this or any other scheme work, the service, not individuals, must be considered. Incompetent Field and other senior Officers *must be rigorously* set aside. None incapable should be at the head of *any* Corps, Regular or Irregular, Service or Veteran. There is no knowing where exigencies may arise. The Calcutta Militia and the Ramgurh Battalion should have as good Officers and as *good arms* as the frontier Regiments. There is at least no excuse for their being badly armed. It is very bad economy to send a soldier into action with any but the very best muskets in his hand. Incapables may be shelved as Seconds in Command, but they had better be sent home, even with a brevet step. The title of Major or Lieutenant Colonel will do no harm as long as it be not accompanied by authority. Old men, with their senses about them, and with the use of their legs, may command Veterans, but there should be a limit to the age, even of such incumbents. The now pending orders as to vacation of staff commands are anomalous, and, if they be decided against brevet officers, will be absurd. To replace a man of fifty by one of sixty is indeed a novel mode of regenerating an army, wanting, above all wants, new blood, life and energy. Commands of *all* Corps should be given to the *very best* Officers available. Their staff should be strictly selections.

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These should be posts *of high honor*, and of considerable emolument. The Veterans should have all the advantages of other Corps of the line, the men being older and the Company's Officers being Natives. Such Corps will be available for *all* home service, that is service within the Provinces, and will be specially valuable, if *treated with honor and consideration*, for guards on forts, magazines and treasuries. Majors and Captains should obtain brevet rank for three years' command of Regiments. Subalterns of ten years' service and Captains of twenty should receive one-fourth increased pay. Half batta should be abolished. It is an injusticeand an inconvenience, and costs on the one hand, as much as it saves on the other.

A large proportion of the expence thus suggested may be covered by a reduction in the strength of Companies, throughout the service, and by departmental clippings,—but supposing the balance of expence to be half a million a year, which would be its utmost limit, we hold that such a sum would be well expended in making a more contented and a more efficient army. It is not a *very numerous army*, but *a really efficient and a contented one*, that is wanted. Much of the duty still performed at Bombay and some that is done elsewhere by the Army, might with advantage be made over to the Police so as greatly to relieve the ranks. Indeed the Military might be entirely relieved of escorts, jail guards, &c.

Officers should serve five years in the Line before being elegible for the staff, the examinations for which, *in every department* should be strict. Those for Civil and Political employ should involve the tests in the languages, required of interpreters. At Madras, Tamul should be a requisite.* Exchanges should be permitted between Regiments, even of different Presidencies, also between Cavalry and Infantry up to the rank of Captain. It is ridiculous to keep a man, who cannot ride in a mounted Corps. Good may be derived from exchanges, harm cannot. The armies of the Presidencies should, as at present, be kept separate with separate Commanders of the forces, but with one Commander-in-Chief, relieved from the Bengal Command, for all. Proper emulation, and some check, is caused by these separations. Rates of pay have already been almost entirely assimilated. For future incumbents there should be no differences. The great question of simplyfying and making plain to all ranks, what is their pay under all circumstances, has yet to be resolved. Whoever effects the measure will save much discontent, if not some mutinies.

The arrangement for the supply of Native Officers will be the most difficult part of our proposed arrangements. From the

* Mr. P. Melvill shews that 2500 Madras Sepoys cannot express their wants in Hindustani.

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hundred and twenty five Service Corps of the line, let old Havildars be transferred for promotion, to Veteran Battalions, for home duties, and the younger to Service Corps for frontier and *Sonthal* like work. The veterans, we repeat, should be Corps of honor, manned by Sepoys of good character above forty years of age, or of weak and worn constitutons, from all other corps, and officered by Subadars and Jemadars of similar stamp, from the same quarters. The Native Officers of Irregular Corps should be partly from their own ranks, partly young picked men from the Line. Unless they are so selected, and unless they are unmistakably good men, commanding Officers of Irregulars will often pester their lives out. Their berths will not be worth holding. The utmost honest care will be required in making selections for transfer. We repeat that to all these Corps, Veteran, and Irregular, *first-rate* European Officers must be attached; four to the first, five to the others. Their names to be borne on the strength of the Staff Corps.

As a *general* rule we would require every Sepoy to serve a certain period in the ranks. Consideration should also be paid to seniority, to cleanliness, smartness and soldierly bearing, rather *than to literary acquirements*. Too much stress is now laid on reading and writing; we ought to remember that the military class, as a body, despise study. Time, at least, should be given them to get over their prejudices. Recent orders on this subject are very unpalatable to many of our best soldiers. Indeed very few of our worthiest old warriors would be now Ressaldars and Subadars if they had had to pass present tests. They should not be educated *above* their positions. To add literary attainment to Pathan and Brahmin pride of birth, and still to keep Brahmins and Pathans under Sergeant Majors is a grievous mistake. There are Sepoys in the Bombay Army who translate treatises on drill and tactics. This is hardly safe. Havildars, unqualified for promotion to either of the above classes of Corps should on retirement, after certain terms of good service, receive a step of rank. The present system of invaliding is defective. The Madras and Bombay armies invalid eight and ten years earlier than is the practice in Bengal. With them almost any man is passed after fifty years of age, and so it generally should be. Few Native Soldiers are fit for *Field* service after that age, though many are up to all Garrison duties at sixty. In Bengal the term for invaliding should be shortened, but at the same time there should be more check on malingering for pension after fifteen years. Veteran Battalions would be a check. They exist already in Madras and Bombay; but Bengal, which most wants them, has none.

The higher prizes for the very select have now to be considered. They should as of old, be commands of Hill Forts, and Jagheers.

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Also, as at present, titles of honor and pensions &c. but on increased scales, commensurate with the present British position, where we gave hundreds when subordinate to the Nabobs of Arcot and Bengal, we should, now as successors of the Mogul, give thousands. The practice, however, has been rather reversed. Jagheers that were once perhaps too freely dispensed are now *entirely* withheld. An able and deserving public servant, ambitious to possess what, above all else, a native desires, viz.: a bit of land of his own, has now hardly a road to its obtainment but by plotting to subvert our rule. At least so it may easily seem to him. Why oblige such conduct? The labourer is worthy of his hire,—the faithful servant of his reward. Why make him, at least in heart, a rebel, because he thinks Government an ingrate? We, intentionally, personify Government. Every native does so. The General, Colonel, Commissioner or Collector is, to him the Government. He perceives the great powers for mischief in the hands of such an official, he cannot credit that he has no power to reward. He, accordingly thinks him ungrateful. Much good service is thus lost; much bad feeling engendered. It matters little in the calm, it might matter much in the storm. Are calms so lasting, storms so rare? The objections to giving estates appear to us of no weight. Under the present settlement of estates there is protection to the cultivator. At worst the old Soldier would not be harder on the ryot, than are the *Jotee Pershads* who are fast buying up villages throughout the Provinces. Or if Jagheers be denied, let some of the zemindaries be purchased by Government and reserved either in fee simple, or as zemindaries, as the great rewards to the faithful Soldiers of the higher ranks. Such grants need not, as a rule, be in perpetuity. Two or three lives will be a long vista to the old Trooper or Sepoy. *Five hundred rupees in such form,* will go further than a thousand in any other. We beg attention to the fact; we write of what we know.

In the same spirit we could name a hundred forts, or other posts which could, with perfect safety, be entrusted to Native Officers, and would be prized by them as honorable retiring berths. Titles and honors are cheap; they cost nothing and are greatly valued. Medals to the mass should be abolished. Decorations are brought into contempt, when worn by individuals, or by whole Regiments known to have run away, or even when largely distributed to those who were not under fire. The "Order of Merit" and that of "British India" should be largely extended, and should be open to Europeans and Natives of all ranks. There should be two branches of each, one Civil the other Military. Titles should be attached to the higher grades, pecuniary grants to, at least, all the lower. There would be difficulties in the way.

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In what scheme are there not difficulties? The first Napoleon found no insuperable difficulties in his selections for the Legion of Honor. We doubt if either Napoleon ever decorated a notorious coward; that is one who had given proof of cowardice. So it might be with us. The Army itself can sufficiently judge such questions. After each action, let a hundred or thousand decorations be adjudged. No difficulty will be found in ascertaining who are best entitled to them. There may be heart-burnings and dissatisfaction. There cannot be more than at present. Half the value of a decoration is lost to A. B. and C., when it is also worn by D. E. and F.

We have much to say on many other points, but must reserve most of our remarks for another occasion. The great, the vital question is the officering the army. We have roughly sketched our scheme—roughly but, we hope, sufficiently to explain our meaning. Sir Charles Napier, a General of decided ability and of large experience, who had led both Bengal and Bombay troops into action, has declared that the present system is canvassed in every Guard-room. To a certain extent this assertion is correct, and the fact bodes no good. Sir Charles advocated the introduction of Natives into the covenanted ranks of the Army, but he would have found it difficult to carry out his scheme; caste, food, a hundred causes, will for half a century at least, present such amalgamation. The difficulties far exceed those of entrance into the Civil and Medical services, and in them they are not small. But, if all that ought to be done cannot be done, there is no reason why we should sit still and wait until obvious mights are clamoured for; until, in a voice somewhat louder than that of the European Officers, in the days of Clive, the "excellent drills" and the "tight pantalooned" combine to assert their claims. What the European Officers *have* repeatedly done, may surely be expected from Natives. We shall be unwise to wait for such occasion. *Come it will, unless anticipated.* A Clive may not be then at hand.

Those who have watched events, or have studied Indian Military History, can distinctly trace almost all past murmurs and mutinies, we might indeed say *every one*, to some error or omission, trivial or great, of our own. Pay has been the great stumbling block. Whether in Bombay, Madras or Bengal, doubts as to the intentions of Government in regard to pay, have been at the bottom of most mutinies. In Bengal such affairs have generally been exaggerated, while in Madras and Bombay they are kept quiet, if not hushed up. We confess to preferring the quiet system—washing dirty linen at home: the linen should, however, always *be* washed, somewhere and somehow! quietly, but fully.

This motive to mischief should be disposed of *at once*. It should

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not be in the power of any stupid Commander or Paymaster to refuse what Government had conceded. The Bombay rule of auditing *all* bills before payment is good and preventing retrenchments, shuts one doorof dissatisfaction. But even at Bombay, a plain unmistakeable Code is wanted in addition even to "Jameson's." One has repeatedly been attempted, but has always failed of accomplishment. Amusement might be derived from the narrative of the failures, if the results were less grave. We look anxiously for the very long promised Bengal Code, but fear disappointment. An Officer who had scarcely done any Regimental duty, with a Regular Corps for twenty years, aided by two young Artillery Officers, however clever, was not the fitting President, and they were not the fitting Members, of a Committee to prepare a Code for all branches of the Bengal army. We strongly recommend that the new Code, with all others extant, of the three Presidences, be made over to a Committee of mixed Artillery, Cavalry and Infantry Officers, and that a Code for *India* be prepared, in which *every* question, involving the rights of individuals, of all branches of the three Armies, should be distinctly and unmistakeably laid down in the briefest way consistent with clearness. Such a Code would be more valuable than three more European Regiments, or than five hundred miles of rail.

The other chief cause of mutiny is religion—fanaticism. Hitherto it has been restricted to Mahommedans. Hindoos are content to be let alone. The faithful, not only desire to proselytize, but go out of their way to annoy their neighbours with their ceremonies. On two or three occasions we have witnessed Mohurrum processions ostentatiously drawn up opposite a Christian church during Divine service, and there drumming lustily. The late Bolarum affair, like most Indian questions, has been taken up with party spirit. Brigadier Mackenzie possesses much of the Covenanter spirit, and Mrs. Mackenzie's book is unpopular, (we hope *not* Mrs. Mackenzie, objectionable as are many parts of her work;) therefore, we fear the attack upon him was accepted in some quarters, in a controversial spirit. But having read much on the subject, we cannot discover what legitimate offence was given; and fully approve the order which sentences all directly connected with the murderous attack on Mackenzie, to condign punishment; and all responsible to be dismissed the service. The Hyderabad Contingent, of all classes, is a distinguished body, but the Deccan Mahommedans pretty generally are fanatical and insubordinately disposed, beyond any thing to be found elsewhere in India, except perhaps at Patna, and on the Peshawur border. Witness Colonel Davies' murder in 1827, and the more recent mutiny of the 4th Madras Cavalry. Davies, like Mackenzie, was a fearless, chivalrous, fellow. Their cases were even more alike than their characters. On the impulse

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of the moment, the comrades of the murderers avenged Colonel Davies' death, but the murder was approved of by the Mahommedans of that day, and neighbourhood, and the ringleader's grave shortly became a place of pilgrimage and a resort for Mussalman devotees. The attack on Mackenzie was also by fanatics, and was perhaps more premeditated. Mackenzie issued a perfectly legitimate order; it was disobeyed. His mistake was in *personally* interfering. The error nearly cost his life, and may yet do so. His wounds were frightful, few men could have survived them. His dauntless spirit sustained him. However, this and other matters of the kind, should make us more than ever cautious against real offence. A cap, a beard, a moustache, a strap, all in their time, have given offence. *All on pretence of religion.* But by a little management, by leading instead of drawing, almost any thing may be done. The man who would not touch leather a few years ago, is now, in the words of a fine old Subadar, *"up to the chin in it."* But the same old fellow begged that the leather might stop there, and that leather caps might not *be tried.* In the Corps of which that old gentleman was a worthy member, leather cap-straps had been accepted *gratis* in preference to paying an anna or two for cloth ones. We mention the fact as shewing what may be done with men who have all but mutinied because the Grenadiers were told to occupy the Light Company huts; and at another time, because they *thought* they had been prohibited taking their bedding to the guard-room. Fact, management, *not Brahminism,* in officers, are wanted. Hindoos and Mahomedans can respect real Christianity. They certainly do *not* respect Anglo-Hindooism.

Sir William Gomm's farewell order tells how much has recently been done for the European portion of the Army. Barracks are improved; Gardens, Libraries and other sources of amusement will soon be as plentiful as they used to be scarce. Little more is wanted than to *prevent* individual Commanding Officers nullifying the good intentions of Government, by keeping sickly men in the plains, and sending bad characters in their places to the Hills; bullying the men, torturing them with stocks, cloth coats and hot weather drills. In short making what are called *smart* regiments at the expense of the men's very lives. Railroads, waggon trains, and steamers should now prevent Europeans being moved between April and November. Too much is heard of the sun *(not from them)* when they are wanted for Field service, but when there is no such necessity they are too frequently exposed, even in April and May. Brigadiers and Generals of Divisions as well as Regimental Officers sould be held responsible for such cruel follies. The European soldier is, after all, our stand by. We are delighted at

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every unattached commission that we observe given to a Company's European Soldier. Like his Officer he has more *average* emolument than his comrade in the Royal ranks, but like him is debarred great reward. Until lately commissions were not open to the Soldiers; yearly we hope they will become more common. With such rewards, and with rational pursuits open to the men, the tone of the barracks will rise. Drunkenness we trust will yet be the exception rather than the rule. Chunar should be abolished; it is a discredit to us.

We will no further enter on the vexed question of Cavalry than to remark that we generally support Captain Nolan's views. We mis-arm and mis-dress the Trooper, bit and saddle his horse as if the object were not to hold and ride him; and then we wonder that the same Trooper is no match for a comparatively feeble and ill-mounted Asiatic horseman. The complaint made in India is equally rife in Africa and in the Caucasus. A recent French writer observes that one Arab is good for three French Dragoons. We ourselves have witnessed one Indian horseman dealing with three English Dragoons. The annexed extract from Spencer's Crimea shews that to repulse Circassian Cavalry, the Russians are obliged to bring guns to bear on them.

"In other situations, on the banks of rivers or open places, they are equally dangerous, provided their inimitable Cavalry can act, for should they unexpectedly surprise a Russian Army, a charge from these terrible horsemen is a most disastrous affair. They then sweep down upon them like a living avalanche, and invariably throw the front and rear into confusion, cut them in pieces and disappear *before the* Artillery can be brought to play upon them." Page 327.

There can be little doubt that the Regulars have been over abused and Irregulars unduly bespattered with praise. The comrades of the men who rode at Laswaree, Delhi, Seetabuldee and Meanee, only want good leading and good management to ride through any Indian Cavalry. The disappearance of "the small speck of French grey" at Seetabuldee amid the host of Arabs, rivals Unitt and the 3rd Dragoons at Chilianwallah, Ouvrey at Subraon, and the Light Brigade at Balaclava. Why is it that one British Regiment, the 3rd Dragoons for instance, always covers itself with glory, while others go through campaigns unheard of? The men, materials, all but the leading, is the same! To talk of all the Irregular Cavalry as heroes is as absurd as to call all the Regulars cowards. We *personally* know many brave men who ran at Purwandurrah. Tha story also has yet to be told. The leaders were brave men, but they were not good Native Cavalry Officers. *No man can manage well or lead successfully men whom he dislikes.*

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We would not convert a man of Regular Cavalry into Irregulars, but we would have three Regiments of Company's Dragoons in lieu of six of Regular Cavalry. All others should stand, but they should be dealt with, much as we have proposed for the Infantry. The Native Officers should be collected in three or four out of the twenty-one Regiments with bonâ fide power and pay, as Troop Officers; but to those Corps four *selected* officers should be attached. Every Trooper should be permitted to fit his own saddle and adapt his bit to his own horse. Lancers should be abolished, and the tulwar, the weapon of the Indian horseman, should be allowed, as also a carbine and one pistol to each Trooper. It must be borne in mind that they are Light Horsemen *not* Heavy Dragoons.

Most of the Irregulars are good of their kind. Some very good, some bad. Some of the Officers cannot ride, some cannot talk to their men: others do so only to abuse them. Some of the Regiments are overwhelmed with debt; and yet burthened with bankers and with all sorts of tomfoolery in dress. In short, there is little system and no uniformity in the service. One Regiment wear kettles on their heads, others wear cocked hats. Few wear their own sensible turbans that will stop a sword cut and keep their faces cool. An Inspector is wanted; not an old Royal Dragoon Officer, but a first rate Irregular Officer, a Jacob, a Chamberlain, an Anderson, a Daly or a Malcolm. A man, in short, who will go on common sense principles, keep the men out of debt, insist on rational uniform and rational treatment. Such as the Irregulars are, there are very few instances of their misconduct, and then only when greatly over-matched; indeed unfairly tried. They are a most valuable arm and deserve every consideration. With such an arrangement as above proposed, and five Rupees added to the pay of the men, a noble body of horsemen might be secured to the Government; and fitting employment offered to the numerous broken down families, now muttering curses against us, in the streets of every large city in Upper India. Lord Gough, Sir Charles Napier, and almost all Irregular Cavalry Officers recommend the increase, even on the terms of reduction of strength of Regiments. If thirty rupees is necessary for the Scinde Horse, and for the Hyderabad (in the Deccan*) Cavalry, twenty-five is surely so for the whole body. In scarce times the Irregulars have not bread. In war time, they *must* plunder for subsistence. Sir Charles Napier thought they must do so in peace. What more need be said? If more be required, let us add that each of these horsemen is a soldier gained from the enemy's ranks.

* Until lately the Hyderabad Cavalry received thirty-three Company's Rupees a month.

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ART. VI.—*Reports on Education.*

THE Natural Sciences at the present time occupy a prominent position amongst the subjects of which a knowledge is considered indispensable to those interested in the advancement of industry, agriculture and the arts. There is hardly a trade or profession which is not benefited by each new step in scientific discovery, and the most important branch of modern statesmanship, political economy, is based upon the results of scientific labour. The time has passed away, when the mercantile, producing, and official classes looked down upon those who studied Science for its own sake, as useless members of society. The general public is so convinced of the necessity of instruction in the principles of natural science, that when governments have been slow in recognising the wants of the time, or where it is considered out of their sphere to provide for them, then private institutions have sprung up for the independent teaching of natural science. One of the most striking instances of this kind is the rapid progress of abstract research and applied science during the last twenty years in the United States of America. They are now almost independent of European assistance, or at least return as much as they receive. It is indeed obvious that economical and industrial improvements by means of Science cannot be obtained unless the growth of Science itself be protected, by not allowing considerations of secondary importance to impede its development. The momentary saving to be gained by neglecting for a while the reasonable claims of Science to support leads to increased expense in some other directions after a certain time, as many instances show. Such economy reminds us of the mistake of the farmer, who was well satisfied to have the labour of his horse, but grudged him the means of subsistence, and when he had brought him down to one straw a day, lost both horse and labour.

How deeply the importance of promoting efforts in abstract scientific, inquiry is felt by the governing bodies at home, is sufficiently shown, amongst other instances by the unprecedented liberality with which expeditions for enlarging the circle of our physical and geographical knowledge have of late been fitted out and supported.

One of these missions, sent out by the Court of Directors, is at this moment contributing to disperse the darkness in which the geographical and physical conditions of the country immediately adjoining our frontier in the Himalaya and Tibet, are still in a great measure enveloped. Expeditions have been made, it is true, before our time, by enterprising men into these and the adjoining countries, but owing to the hostile politics of native

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governments, inimical to the admission of foreigners, and the less scientific character of earlier travellers, the results of their exertions were necessarily incomplete and less satisfactory than they might have been under other circumstances. The publication of Humboldt's Memoirs on the mountain ranges of India gave a great impulse to physical research, and led to a series of private and public expeditions, which have enriched us with much valuable information, securing the names of those who undertook them a place in the annals of Science. Still, however, the observers were limited to the British possessions and those of our allies. Notwithstanding this and the natural obstacles the scientific observer has to contend with in the mountainous regions of the Himalaya, the attraction of that unexplored range has always been great to the enquiring naturalist, and the field has never been entirely neglected. To this circumstance we are indebted for possessing perhaps more available information with regard to those difficult countries, than of the whole of the rest of British India, to which access was easy and which has been for a long time in our possession or belonging to friendly powers. At all events, it cannot be said that during the gradual extension of the British power over the whole of India, the victories of our armies were accompanied like those of France in Egypt, by equally glorious acquisitions on the field of Science.

We have only an insufficient and fragmentary acquaintance with the soil, structure, climate and natural productions of most parts of India. In some spots, long in our possession, the most recent maps in the hands of the public, present vacant spaces indicating voids in our geographical knowledge. From some recent scientific publications, giving a summary view of the extent of our information in some branches of the natural history of India, it is painfully evident that, with a few solitary exceptions most branches of natural science have been greatly neglected, and that, in fact for most purposes the scientific exploration of India has yet to be commenced. It may be confidently asserted that anybody at home, desirous of becoming acquainted with the natural resources of Siberia, will more readily be satisfied than if he wish to instruct himself in the same subjects with regard to India. This deficiency cannot with fairness be attributed to an unscientific disposition of the members of the H. E. I. Company's service. Scientific men have at all times been in the service, and we owe to many of them valuable papers on Indian subjects, scattered about in the periodicals of the three Presidencies, and among the researches of the scientific societies in India. Such of these papers as possess lasting merit are, however, generally disconnected, and cannot assume the place which would correspond to their value, before a long series of still neglected intermediate

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subjects and localities shall have been investigated, which would serve to complete a picture of the natural history of India. A great number of others are useless on account of the insufficient knowledge their authors possessed of the extent and acquisitions of the departments of Science they wished to enrich.

Discouraging as such reflections may be, the signs of awakening consciousness of our wants, promise the commencement of a new era in Indian Science.

Turning our attention to the probable causes of our backwardness in scientific matters, one circumstance, before others, seems to be calculated, as long as it lasts, to make the exertions of many Indian students almost fruitless. This is the impossibility of getting books in this country. In Europe, Science is constantly progressing, and its laws, as far as they are known, are continually being modified, enlarged or condensed, confirmed or refuted. Thus, after the lapse of a few years, many branches assume such a shape, that they can with difficulty be recognised by those who have not the opportunity of following the general progress. As these alterations materially influence the mode and methods of observation and the manner in which the phenomena of nature are to be explained and connected, all such observations as have been made and published without reference to the improvements, can in many cases hardly be corrected or brought in accordance with the advanced stage of Science, by any other than the author himself, and frequently not even by him. They must therefore lose considerably in their general scientific value. This deficiency can only be remedied by our getting access, either in the original or in good translations, to those scientific journals of all nations, in which the original investigations and experiments in all departments of Science are deposited. Guiding the student in the employment of his labour with the best prospect of success, they also preserve him from falling into error. At the same time, as they contain in the series of their volumes, dating many years back, the historical development of Science, they permit the reader always to have recourse to the original fountain, not obscured by some intermediate interpretation, and consequently enable him to judge the true bearing of any question of importance. It may perhaps be said that the manuals, which are written from time to time, always endeavouring to complete the circle of knowledge up to the date of their publication, should be quite sufficient to keep our information on a level with the progress of Science. But as such books are from obvious mercantile and physical reasons, necessarily limited in size, they can in most cases give only successive general pictures of the existing states of science, omitting methods and transitory states, and avoiding discussion. Moreover being naturally written from more or less

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individual points of view, they must often fail to convey conviction to the scientific enquirer, and withhold from him the means of forming an unbiassed opinion. Consequently their scientific value does not lie in a direction to fit them for the purposes of the observer and instructor, although they may be extremely useful in other respects.

Complete series of scientific journals, extending over numbers of years, are even in Europe too expensive for the generality of scientific men. They are therefore usually kept in public libraries and by associations, for general use, or those who possess them liberally let others share in the advantage. The Asiatic Societies in India, the only bodies which collect scientific works, have hitherto directed their attention principally to the advancement of philological and antiquarian studies or matters of general interest, and natural Science has only been a subject of secondary consideration. This explains the poverty of these libraries not only in single works of reference, frequently too dear for private means on account of their rarity or costly illustrations, but also in some of the most common scientific journals. The neglect in this respect went so far in one instance within our knowledge, that one of the most indispensable of all physical journals, published in France, which had been kept from the beginning for many years, was discontinued a few years ago in ignorance of its value, and it will now hardly be possible to replace it without buying the whole series a second time.

If care had been taken before now, to provide for the literary requirements of the students of natural Science, at least in the capitals, a beneficial effect would doubtless have been felt. Although the immediate advantages would have been gained exclusively by the residents of these places, still the contributors of original observations in other parts of the country would have found there some persons at least, who would have had the means of appreciating their efforts and criticizing their productions on true scientific principles. Many would be glad of an opportunity of having erroneous views corrected, and to be saved the trouble of discovering long known things a second time. Some also would want advice what to observe and how to do it, as many zealous students in India are self-taught, and therefore naturally liable to conceive limited views and to give partial interpretations to the phenomena of nature. Periodicals might in this case have sprung up, of equal usefulness with those that exist in other departments of knowledge, which would have offered a centre of communication and instruction to scientific men scattered over the whole extent of India.

As it is at present, a man coming to India, however well informed in most branches of Natural Science, is cut off from the

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means of improvement by the impossibility of getting intellectual supplies from Europe, and the want of a common centre of scientific intercourse in India, which could replace the deficiency. After a time, in many cases, he will not be able to tell, whether the way he goes to work is such as to insure his labour that merit, which if well directed it ought to have, or whether his results will be altogether valueless. In fact, we may almost calculate the time, from the day of his arrival, when he will belong to a passed age in Science and be unable to satisfy the demands of the day.

This is evidently one of the reasons, why most of the important observations and discoveries in the natural history of India have been made by men who came with that intention from Europe, scientific travellers, or by residents whose means and calling enabled them to have intercourse with Europe. We are obliged to import intelligence and knowledge with great expense fresh from home, just as we do the contents of our godowns, both after a certain period being worn out or used up, and no opportunities existing to have them replaced in the country.

Another matter, which, if attended to, would have been of the greatest service to the scientific exploration of India, is the establishment of museums of different kinds. Such collections answer two very important purposes. In the first place they afford the means of practical instruction, elementary as well as scientific, placing all the known materials at the student's disposal, without entailing upon him the necessity of visiting the different places whence they were derived. Various modes of arrangement, systematically or geographically, allow the student at a single glance to acquire information, which it has cost those who worked before him, years of labour and study to obtain. The comparative contemplation of a large number of specimens is the only way in which the knowledge of certain branches of natural history can be promoted. Offering opportunities for comparing productions of different climates and specimens of different orders, collections are instrumental in correcting those errors and partial views, to which the study of the natural history of confined districts is likely to lead. Collections are, in the second place, the storehouses for future scientific research. Such materials, gathered by scientific travellers or obtained by accident, as cannot be investigated at the time, are deposited in collections and carefully preserved there, until, perhaps after years, leisure will allow some scientific explorer to examine them and discover new and important facts.

If general collections offer the advantages enumerated as respects the general progress of Science, local ones will be comparatively of still higher value to the country, the resources of which

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they represent. The demonstrative knowledge of the minerals, fossils, vegetable and animal productions of a country must precede their application to industrial enterprise. The establishment of local collections is frequently a necessary step to facilitate the formation of general ones, as the exchange of specimens with similar institutions in other places is often the simplest way of getting those that cannot be found in the country.

For the sake of inquiry and instruction it is of great advantage to have the leading specimens of a system arranged in such a manner, as to allow a great number to be seen at once and to have them also within easy reach. Hence the importance of exposing freely to view such objects as allow it without receiving injury. These, when exhibited in large rooms and, under the necessary precautions, thrown open to the public, serve to gratify curiosity and awaken an interest in the slumbering minds of the unscientific world in the study and promotion of Science. So they fill the place of curiosity shops and show rooms. This is as yet the only object which the collections at different places in India seem calculated to effect, as the opportunities they offer for the study, either local or general, of Science, or for instruction, are too trifling to be taken into account. The amusement of the natives is the principal advantage gained by their existence. It is not difficult to point out the causes of this state of things.

Public collections, supported by Governments or a large number of persons, are much cheaper than private ones of the same extent would be, a greater number of individuals being likely to interest themselves on their behalf, when opportunities for getting specimens are presented. Another, and perhaps the most weighty circumstance in their favour is the publicity itself of such collections. Besides what may be got by exchange with similar institutions, or bought annually to the extent of a stipulated sum, they are chiefly supplied by unpaid contributions from scientific men, who collect the specimens themselves. Those persons find a reward in the consciousness that, giving up their private acquisitions to public uses they will, by thus joining their own efforts with those of others, profit themselves in creating new and greater facilities for the study of their favourite pursuit. Such men will, however, not support a public institution, unless they have the certainty of seeing their contributions well taken care of and turned to a good account by the exertions and capabilities of those who have charge of and use them. Nobody will present specimens of animals or plants, when he knows that they would be spoiled for want of space or attention, or valuable minerals and fossils, where they would be neglected to make room for coloured pebbles or polished sandstones. Collections grow and receive their value only through the personal qualities and exertions of

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the men who have charge of them. If for nothing else, it would for these considerations, be important to entrust the superintendence of such collections to men who would conduct them in conformity with the demands of scientific progress, and at the same time, to place at their disposal means sufficient to ensure the preservation of specimens. Such men should, however, be independent and not hemmed in by the necessity of following unscientific occupations, foreign to the interest of their charge.

In Europe the population is numerous enough to permit the formation of large societies for scientific purposes; but in India the European community is so small, and those whose income and tastes will allow them to contribute to defray the expenses of a useful collection are so few in number, that we can hardly expect more to be done, although even on a small scale such establishments might do good service. In a country like India it is for this reason only with the support of Government that private exertions can lead to satisfactory results. With regard to Botany the liberality of the Court of Directors has already granted flourishing establishments, and it only remains to provide for the rest of the branches of natural history, which are not of less importance.

Among the branches of Natural Science, which have enjoyed in India a greater share of attention than others, we may also name Meteorology. Registers have been kept for many years past at the observatories of the three seats of Government, the observations of which have contributed not a little to increase our general meteorological experience. We owe to their existence the greater part of our knowledge of the climates of the Indian seas and coasts.

To provide the same advantage with regard to the exploration of other parts of the country, thermometers and other meteorological instruments were supplied to the military and civil hospitals and forms were distributed to the medical officers to be filled up with the daily readings, and returned monthly. In one of the three Presidencies also a few stations were provided with verified barometers, and a more complete set of other meteorological instruments also verified, and, if our information be correct, a small compensation was allowed to the person in immediate charge of the observations, the whole being likewise under the superintendence of a medical officer. The registers obtained by such means, if they might be relied on, would be of great value to Science. This is certainly the case with some, but unfortunately the greater number of the instruments, not expressly verified, are incorrect; that is to say they indicate several degrees too high and too low, owing in each case either to the nature of the instrument itself or to the manner in which it is fastened to

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the scale. But even if we suppose them to be correct, there would be another difficulty to contend with, by far the greater number of persons upon whom the care of the instruments and their observation devolves being ignorant how to use them. If it happens occasionally that instruments are placed in the proper localities and kept in a manner to ensure their object, this is owing to the fortunate circumstance of the medical officer in charge taking a personal interest in the matter, and possessing a sufficient knowledge of the subject himself. The observations are, by necessity left to the native apothecaries, who not being generally acquainted with the only mode of reading correctly, nor impressed with the necessity of keeping the exact time, only increase the errors adhering to the instruments by adding others of their own. Even where good and verified instruments are used, it has happened that the persons whose duty it is to attend to the observations were uninstructed in the proper use of the instruments, and unable to make the necessary calculations to fill up certain columns in the forms.

If we could select from the great number of registers thus obtained, those which are trustworthy, we might still gain good and valuable information on the climates of many parts of India. But having no indications to lead us in making such a selection, we are compelled to condemn the whole of them as worthless for most purposes. In this manner, time, labour and money are expended without the slightest advantage being gained. It would be unjust to find fault with the medical service for these unsatisfactory results, as there exists no reason to expect that medical men should in this capacity also be scientific men—more than good surveyors or anything else not connected with the treatment of diseases, unless indeed, in particular cases a knowledge of their education or personal inclinations would justify such a supposition.

To give an instance of the great importance attached to the quality of observations which are to be employed for establishing natural laws, it may perhaps be of interest to recall the circumstances which caused Huyghen's and Newton's first suggestion of the true shape of the earth to be for a long time violently contested, more than fifty years elapsing from the date of publication if Newton's "Principia" before it was universally acknowledged as a reality. This delay and opposition principally arose from the imperfect methods of observation, and the errors committed on instituting the first experiments to prove the fact, and had the effect of impeding the general application of that inestimable truth for the whole time it was doubted, however great may have been in other respects the scientific improvements resulting from the attempt to prove it.

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It is self-evident that the fitness of scientific observations as bases for conclusions must be entirely dependent on the degree of confidence we place in the persons who have made or superintended them. If we have reasons to doubt their ability of exercising sufficient circumspection, or their judgment in noting down impartially what is to be observed, or if we suspect the methods or instruments employed, then we reject the observations altogether, if it should be out of our power to diminish the errors which have been committed. Therefore, as no means exist of easily controlling the degree of conscientiousness with which observations are taken, or of enforcing the qualities of an observer by order, it would be unwise to entrust the superintendence of scientific observations to any other persons, than such as would take personal interest in the subject, and give reason to suppose that they are also able to perform the duty in the best manner.

Here also the adoption of a judicious system of supporting private exertions, whenever circumstances do not permit a strict supervision to be exercised by qualified persons, seems to be the only way to obtain useful results. To medical officers, teachers at colleges and other persons, declaring their readiness to send in regular returns, the purchase of good and verified instruments might be facilitated, and the instruments supplied at the public expense, and if required some small pecuniary assistance might be given to ensure regularity in the observations. Such a plan was adopted at the recommendation of Baron Humboldt in Prussia, where the expense of thirty-one meteorologic stations amounts to not more than about 3,960 rupees a year, the instruments being verified every year, some being private property and others supplied by Government. This sum includes, besides other necessary expenses, small compensations to some of the observers, and a salary to a scientific man who has to superintend the whole and to frame the yearly reports. In India such a sum would of course not be sufficient, but the cost would probably not exceed the amount yearly thrown away upon useless observations and bad instruments. In meteorology as in other branches of Natural Science, many men will be found in India, ready to welcome on opportunity of uniting their efforts to assist in the exploration of the country.

We should perhaps not have felt called upon to bring the subject of these pages before the public, had not the despatch of the Court of Directors of last year, desiring the establishment of universities in this country, held out strong hopes that the Court of Directors contemplated a decided step in favour of the creation of independent resources for scientific research in connexion with the educational department in India. Under these circumstances it is the duty of every scientific man in this country to support

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such intentions to the best of his power, by exhibiting as far as his experience goes, the real features of the existing state of things.

Reviewing our scientific condition, we find, that the progress in Indian exploration is mainly influenced by the incidental influx of competent and more or less independent men from Europe, which is not continuous, but subject to fluctuation in long and irregular intervals. If scientific or other bodies in Europe wish to obtain a knowledge of circumstances relating to physical or other natural peculiarities of India, they can find no information in our journals, they cannot apply to scientific authorities here, but have to send out men expressly for the purpose, just as they would send them into wild and unknown countries. Reasons such as those detailed above sufficiently prevent the development and application of scientific talents in the Honorable East India Company's service, so as to compel our own Government to have recourse to Europe, if they wish to obtain men fit for the execution of most duties requiring scientific erudition. With the establishment of universities the whole of this unfortunate state of things might be reversed. When, in addition to the necessary improvements already touched upon, complete physical and chemical laboratories for general scientific instruction shall have been established, and facilities provided for a regular supply of the materials requisite for every kind of scientific investigation, then a sojourn of a number of years in this country may become a desirable object to persons of the highest scientific attainments, and India will never be in want of men to turn its opportunities to advantage. To effect such a revolution is evidently one of the objects of the proposed erection of universities. They would form common centres to which every scientific man in the country might refer for assistance, advice, and instruction and for a just appreciation of his labours. They will, however, not realise such expectations, nor even secure a sound instruction to the students, unless such implements be provided, and the representatives of the different departments of Science placed in such positions as would enable them to test the validity of their own judgment in scientific matters. Our present arrangements in this respect are still so incomplete, that the most eminent natural philosopher in Europe, if taken away at this moment, without his books, journals, instruments and collections, and transplanted to one of the capitals of India, would find himself in the same position as a skilful seaman, shipwrecked in a boat on the open sea, and without the means of directing its course.

Men, who have not had the advantage of a scientific education, not being aware of the intimate connexion between research and instruction, might be led to infer that the establishments contem-

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plated by the Court of Directors were intended only for the education of the natives of India, the promotion of Science being an object of very inferior importance. But to all those, who have had an opportunity of getting acquainted with the nature of a university, it requires no explanation that a sound and fertilizing instruction in Natural Science is only to be looked for, when the professors or instructors themselves are in constant intercourse with nature, studying by observation and experiment to enlarge their own views, and correctly to interpret the many-fold action of the natural forces. If merely the passing through a prescribed course of learning were sufficient to fit the student to be a teacher in his turn, where would be the sources of improvement in Science, or its application? We should be thrown back to the scholastic age, when the essence of scientific condition consisted in a knowledge of the dogmas of defunct philosophers, and research was confined to the discovery of new interpretations of their words, a time, when industry and the art of applying the forces of nature to our purposes were at their lowest level. The choice of the term of university itself, the name implying activity in both directions, research and instruction—sufficiently attests that the authors of the despatch of the 19th July, 1855, were fully aware of the importance attached to the spirit in which the foundation of an establishment for the highest education should be undertaken.

After what has been already said, it is hardly necessary to dwell at greater length on the local advantages to be derived from universities in India. Amongst those deserving of particular consideration, the education of good and competent teachers for the many schools and colleges in other parts of the country is certainly not the smallest. If it is an object of the new scheme to let the whole people of India partake of the benefits accruing from a knowledge of the principles of Science, this would only partially be accomplished, if instruction was confined to the capitals and their immediate neighbourhood.

A university, satisfactorily to answer its purpose, must comprise a representation of all departments of the field of knowledge which it is intended to cultivate. In Natural Science, almost every branch is dependent to a certain degree upon the rest, and the entire neglect of one would necessarily impede the progress and take away from the effective teaching of the others. If instruction in one particular direction be omitted, the professors of the other departments must include the elements of that branch to a certain extent in their own courses, in order to make them intelligible to their pupils. Such an arrangement would consume a part of their time and care, which would otherwise have been devoted to their own departments. Speaking in a higher sense,

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Science is one whole, and the several branches are only its development in different directions.

To lay the foundation of institutions intended to ensure the uniform advancement of knowledge and instruction in all parts of science in India is not so great or difficult a task, as it would perhaps at first sight appear. The heads of the different branches, if for the commencement a representation only of the principal subjects is desired, are comparatively few, and might be further developed or augmented in the course of time, if the demand should require it. In the various colleges and other public institutions already in existence, the germs of museums, cabinets, laboratories and libraries may be found, which have only to be improved upon, completed or united, and subjected to a good scientific management. A good collection or complete cabinet of physical or other instruments is always a work of time. If the most indispensable technical apparatus for instruction and investigation are once provided, then, comparatively small annual or monthly contributions from Government, at the disposal of the competent representatives of departments, will suffice to obtain in time, valuable and useful establishments.

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ART. VII.—*"The Friend of India," July—December*, 1855. *The Rajmahal Hills, or Damun-i-koh; Journal of a Tour, &c. by Capt. W. S. Sherwill, 66th Goorka Regt.*

In Book XI. Chapter II. of Elphinstone's History of India, the reader is presented with the following narration :—

"A. D. 1676. The Emperor Alamgér, (commonly styled Aurangzíb) had scarcely returned from this unsuccessful expedition, (against the Affghans) when an extraordinary insurrection broke out near the capital. A sect of Hindú devotees, called Satuaramis, were settled near the town of Nárul: they were principally engaged in trade and agriculture; and though generally peaceable, carried arms, and were always ready to use them in their own defence. One of their body, having been mobbed and beaten by the comrades of a soldier of the police, with whom he had a quarrel, collected some of his brethren to retaliate on the police. Lives were lost, and the affray increased, until several thousand Satuaramis were assembled; and the chief authority of the place having taken part against them, they defeated a band of troops, regular and local, which he had got together; and finally took possession of the town of Nárul. An inadequate force sent against them from Delhi was defeated, and served only to add to their reputation; a repetition of the same circumstance raised the wonder of the country; and, joined to their religious character, soon led to a belief that they were possessed of magical powers; swords would not cut, nor bullets pierce them; while their enchanted weapons dealt death at every blow.—The belief that they were invincible nearly made them so in reality. Many of the zemindars of the neighbourhood took part with them; no troops could be got to face them; and as they approached Delhi, Aurangzíb ordered his tents to be prepared to take the field, and with his own hand wrote extracts from the Korán, to be fastened to the standards, as a protection against enchantment. The absolute necessity of resistance, and the exertions of some chiefs both Mussulman and Hindú, at last prevailed on the royal troops to make a stand, when the insurgents were defeated and dispersed with great loss. But the previous success had tempted many of the Hindú population to take up arms, and had thrown the whole provinces of Ajmír and Agra into such confusion that Aurangzíb thought his own presence necessary to restore order."

In one of the late Dr. Arnold's delightful chapters on the fortunes of the Roman Commonwealth is a description, as follows, of certain events, which occurred in the Island of Sicily :—

"B. C. 102, Eunus, a Syrian by birth, was the slave of a citizen of Enna named Antigenes; and had acquired great influence amongst his companions in bondage by pretending to divine inspiration, and particularly to a knowledge of the future. Amongst many guesses

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into futurity, some were likely to be verified by the event, and these established his reputation; so that at last he professed himself to be favoured with constant communication from heaven; and it is said that he used to secrete in his mouth some lighted combustible substance, and thus amazed the vulgar by seeming to breathe forth smoke and fire, as if under the immediate impulse of the god, who spoke from within him. The belief in his miraculous endowments was so general, that the slaves of another citizen of Euna, named Demophilus, unable to bear longer the cruelty with which they were treated, and bent on revenging themselves, applied first to Eunus, and enquired of him, if the gods would grant success to their attempts. Eunus eagerly caught at the opportunity thus offered him; assured them of the favour of heaven; and exhorted them to execute their purpose without delay. The slaves, employed on the several estates in the neighbourhood of Euna, were excited by the call of the slaves of Demophilus; a body of four hundred (400) men was collected; and they entered the town under the command of Eunus himself, whose trick of breathing fire is said to have produced a great impression on the minds of his followers. The insurgents were instantly joined by the slaves in the town; and an indiscriminate massacre of the free inhabitants followed, in which men, women, and children were treated with equal cruelty. Demophilus and his wife were seized at their country-house, dragged in triumph to Euna, and there murdered; but their daughter was saved by the slaves, in gratitude for kindnesses which they had always met with at her hands. Meantime Eunus spared out of the general slaughter such of the citizens of Euna as understood the manufacture of arms, and compelled them to labour in order to supply his followers with weapons. He also took to himself the title and the ensigns of a king, while he bestowed those of queen on the female slave who lived with him; and he formed a council consisting of those of his associates most eminent for their courage or ability. In three days he was at the head of six thousand men tolerably armed, besides a great multitude provided with merely hatchets, spits, or such weapons as they could find; and the number of the insurgents daily increasing, he was enabled to overrun the country, and several times to encounter with success the Roman forces, which attempted to oppose him. The example presently became contagious; Cleon, a Cilician slave, took up arms in another part of the island; and far from attempting to rival Eunus, he immediately acknowledged him as king, and acted in every thing by his orders. L. Hypsæus, one of the prætors, who arrived from Rome about a month after the commencement of the revolt, brought a regular army of eight thousand (8000) men against the insurgents, but was outnumbered by them, and defeated. Several other Roman officers met with the same bad fortune; and the slaves made themselves masters of many of the towns of the island. Their career was first checked by M. Perpena, one of the prætors, and afterwards finally stopped by the consul, P. Rupilius. This officer first recovered the town of Tauromínium after a long blockade, in which the insurgents were reduced to the utmost ex-

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tremities of famine ; and having put to death all those who fell into his hands, he proceeded to besiege Euna, the first scene of the revolt, and their principal stronghold. The sure process of blockade rendered the condition of the besieged desperate ; Cleon was killed in a sally ; and the place was in a short time betrayed to the Romans. Eunus escaped from the town, but was soon afterwards taken, and died, it is said, in prison of disease ; after which Rupilius proceeded to regulate the island, and ten (10) Commissioners were sent from Rome to assist in the settlement, in the manner which we have seen regularly practised by the Senate after the conclusion of its wars with Antiochus and Perseus, with Achaia and Carthage. The revolt was thus apparently suppressed ; but the cause of the insurgents found everywhere so many who sympathized with it, that similar attempts were made within a few years in several other parts of the empire. A serious disturbance soon broke out for the second time in Sicily. When C. Marius was looking for troops in every quarter to repel the invasion of the Cimbri, the Senate empowered him to demand assistance from the more distant allies of the Republic. He accordingly sent to Nicomedes, king of Bithynia, who excused himself by saying that so large a portion of his subjects had been carried off for slaves, that he was unable to raise the force demanded of him. The Senate then issued an order, that no freeborn native of any State in alliance with Rome, should be kept as a slave in any of the Roman provinces ; and the provincial magistrates were desired to liberate within their jurisdictions all who came within the terms of the decree. Accordingly Licinius Nerva, the prætor of Sicily began to set at liberty above eight hundred (800) slaves within a few days : but the rich slave-owners persuaded him to suspend his proceedings ; and he referred all who applied to him for liberty to the decision of their own masters. The slaves, thus disappointed of their hopes, resolved to obtain their freedom for themselves : insurrections broke out in several parts of the island, and though partially suppressed, revived with redoubled fury. Sabrius and Athenio were two of the chief insurgents : the latter displayed considerable military talents, and accustomed his men to regular discipline. He also, like Eunus, appealed to the superstition of his followers, and declared that the stars had foretold that he should be king over all Sicily. Several Roman prætors were defeated with loss in successive attempts to reduce the revolters ; and the whole of Sicily became a scene of plunder and destruction ; many of the free inhabitants of the poorer class availed themselves of the general confusion to carry on an organized system of devastation throughout the country. At length M. Aquilius, consul, shut the insurgents up in their strongholds, and surrounded them with lines of circumvallation, till famine obliged them to surrender. Many had fallen by the sword in several previous engagements ; and those who at last submitted were sent to Rome, to afford sport by fighting with beasts in the amphitheatre. But, it is said, they preserved their fierceness to the last ; and instead of combating with the beasts, turned their swords against one another, the last survivor completing the slaughter by killing himself. The peace of the island, thus with difficulty

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restored, was maintained for the future by regulations of extreme severity, and no slave was thenceforth allowed ever to carry any weapon."

Could the philosophical descendant of the great Timur, who ruled at Delhi in the latter half of the 17th century, have occupied but a few months since a post of observation on that fabled throne of Mahadeo, which surmounts the Mundar hill, he might have been witness to a recurrence of scenes, which on more than one occasion chequered the annals of his power. Could Aurungzebe have marched but last July across the fine old Mahomedan bridge, which, spousing an ancient affluent of the Ganges, conducts the traveller from the westward to Rajmahal, and sought in vain for the comfortable privacy of his once splendid 'Sangidalan', he might have been startled with the singular spectacle of a small band of British gentlemen, those "unskilful antagonists" of his times, ensconced in a single small building, perhaps on the very ruins or site of his former edifice; there keeping at bay an army of masterless savages within the bosom of the Great British Empire, and at little farther distance from its capital, than was Nárul from Delhi.

Or could the wealthy citizen of Rome or Latium whose broad acres in the days of the old Republic plenished his coffers with riches, and his table with Falernian, while his slaves famished on the plains of Sicily, have camped with his conscripts at the rear of our Indian consul against the Euna of the Sonthals, he might have taken the scene before him as a not inapt representation of the events which of old robbed him of his denarii, and spoiled his repose.

Society in an advanced state, like that of the present day, is probably not the quickest to comprehend such displays of popular ferment, or rather the excitement of a section of the people as that which the Indian public have recently been compelled to contemplate. The members of less civilized communities, who know and feel their own prevalent tempers and ideas, are more or less prepared for sudden ebullitions of the untrained, turbulent, and heterogeneous spirits around them, prompt to conclude on slight premises, and to execute their judgment without hesitation. These things are not to them matter of such surprise, as to matter of fact men in these busy days, who tread the even tenor of their daily routine, intent from day to day upon the passing present of real life, and indisposed to allow their thoughts an excursive range into abstract questions of political science. Men accustomed to the order and the quiet of a complete civil organization, and probably unaccustomed to trace, or to consider the in-

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finite variety of circumstances that act upon nations, even the living masses of their own social body, for weal and woe, are apt to be amazed at some sudden revolution of the political fabric, or unexpected counterbuff of the political wheel. Perhaps, for example, we do not reflect often enough, how in other parts of the world, are races of the human progeny just borne into existence, and nations on their first, their incipient rise to importance, and bodies, or classes of society, even in this late century of the universe, whose figure in the general history is destined for a yet future day. Yet are such often close to our own doors, when we either are not aware of the fact, or care not to regard it, or to suffer it in our remembrance. In near propinquity to the fashion and adornment of Belgravia in the mighty heart of London, may be discovered some wretched collection of squalid mortality, some Rag-Fair, or Paradise-Row, all unknown to fame. In like manner throughout the length and breadth of India are scattered numerous untaught or even barbarous tribes, of whom some are not remote from the oldest and principal seats of our British government. Those whose duties carry them to the interior of our provinces, the jungles and prairies of the native population, may know and hear something more of such than dwellers in Calcutta, or sojourners in Lahore. The public generally are hardly cognizant of their existence, and less of their names. In the process of time the most savage will progress; within the limits of a British Empire especially, and surrounded by races more enlightened than themselves, they must needs make some advance; but, though the means are not always the same which bring out a people to general notice, or spread their renown, the process is necessarily long.

While sudden outbreaks like the late revolt of the Sonthals may possibly confound such as have never made mankind their study, the thoughtful observer of the world's history, or any one indeed that has schooled his mind to reflect upon the beginnings and progress of the various races of men, feels no violence of surprise at the fantastic, or it may be just, exhibitions of the anger of an ignorant and undisciplined multitude. We learn little of men, while enjoying in their native solitudes unrestrained the pleasures of what is called natural liberty, and the occupations of the chase, dependent on the products of a soil too abundant and fertile to task their limited labour. It is but very gradually that in the lapse of time amid increasing population, property, diverse avocations and employments, and enlarged industry expend the understanding, and soften and imbue the moral disposition. By still slower degrees is the frame of a civil government formed or conceived, superstitious error ba-

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nished or modified, the genius of trade welcomed, the moral character of society regenerated. The progression from one stage to another of civilization occupies a far greater space of time, and is effected by many more concurrent influences than the undigested study of a people's history impresses upon the mind. The forest, if not checked, will speedily advance upon the plain; but in the moral wilderness of man's nature, the meliorating process is more difficult; to clear away the brush tangle, and underwood, and uproot rank weeds is a more certain and less tedious operation than to annihilate false principles, vice, and superstition. To cut down the bad, the useless, the cumbrous trees, leaving the good only to remain, and to prune the irregular or too widely spreading branches, is easier than to divest the mind of prejudice, of exaggerated notions. To sow a healthy seed may be an easy task in the physical world. It is in the moral world the most difficult of all.

But while slow progress is the law of these races, while left to themselves, it is of course obvious, that an important difference must be discernible, when they are brought, either by design, or fortuitous circumstances, into contact with races more advanced. The fierce tiger may be tamed, and its savage nature softened, if educated from its early infancy; it is less easy to be subdued and regenerated in mature age. A wild barbarian suddenly admitted into the social intercourse of his superior in the grades of the human family, nearly resembles the adult tiger withdrawn from his lair and his haunts in the jungle; but, placed higher in the scale of creation, and possessing the advantage of a reason, however dormant and unexercised, his mental culture, if indeed it has been already commenced, must at once progress with a favorable celerity; and his moral growth would assuredly be speedier and more certain than that of his old companions, left to their original sources of improvement.

How slow is the dawn and spread of civilization among the best constituted and most renowned of nations is amply illustrated in the history of the world. In ancient Rome, the bond of union based at first upon the simplest form, the primitive occupations of agriculture, and equal partition of lands, by degrees was complicated by the rise of religious institutions and ceremonies of superstition. Soon lands were extended, and handicrafts and a few public works of the simplest kind commenced; conquered tribes formed the first groundwork of the Plebeians, soon to be recognised as a distinctive appellation; the property of one portion of the community exceeded that enjoyed by the rest; and divided classes unequally sustained their several shares in the policy of the constitution; but 244 years had passed away before this extent of

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progress had been achieved, and the kingly authority gave way to the Republic. Upwards of half a century more elapsed ere one written law was known. Considerably more passed before the first money-tax was paid for the purposes of the State. Meanwhile had commmenced the long quarrel of 300 years' duration between Patrician and Plebeian, initiated by the evils of poverty and consequent debt at large interest, revived by the vigor and patriotism of the elder Gracchus, and terminated when the prerogatives of the two orders, legislative and executive, were at length made co-ordinate. During this time a standing army was raised and maintained, mercenary troops hired, leaving a large proportion of the native population to the fruits of their own earning, and a few military roads prepared. Not till after the close of this period had the first silver money been coined, nor had education yet advanced a step. It took two hundred and thirty-six years to consolidate the conquests and prepare the way for the Empire. Another instance, among the innumerable which the world affords, may be found in the case of the Franks, and of our own Anglo-Saxon forefathers. Very new and distinct influences, as compared with those which operated in the ancient world, began to bear upon mankind after the introduction of the doctrines and principles of Christianity. In Gaul and in Britain, as elsewhere, they had not their rightful share of influence amid the tremendous corruptions of the dark ages; but their indirect consequences were still almost imperceptibly operative. The feudal principles likewise, arising from the commixture of the customs of the ancient foresters of Germany with the remnants of the Roman civil law, formed another novel ascendant power, action upon the institutions, the manners, and morals of society. Slow still was the progress of the social body through a long succession of centuries. It was two hundred and sixty years after Clovis before the Frank Empire was consolidated by Charlemagne. Five centuries and a half more elapsed before the feudal elements coalesced into a monarchy, before the communes arose, and civilization commenced under Philip Augustus. In this age, the beginning of the 14th century, are first visible any manifest signs of a growing intelligence, among the people, and a happier social condition; the fair prospects, however, which the country now had of an increasing civilization were once more blighted by the long English wars, necessitating heavy taxations and nursing by their long continuance an intense spirit of vengeful brutality; until at the expiry of 108 years from the date of Philip the Fair, the English were expelled; peace once more established; and Charles VII. was enabled by the vigorous and

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wise policy of his administration to restore order out of a scene of blood, robbing and desolation. The nobles were left few in number after the wars were ended. The state assembly was now more than ever national. A standing army began to protect the country; and the feudal system was swept away. The people then began to feel a greater security of their private rights, and the benefits of industrious competency. As wealth and prosperity began to increase, trade and commerce sought their spheres of action, and maritime discovery progressed. Knowledge and literature were greatly advanced, and the papal thraldoms repudiated. New inventions displayed wonders hitherto unknown. The lower orders were elevated, the police more efficiently regulated,—manners, domestic and social, and the moral sentiments of the nation improved. Before the first decisive and continued impulse to this state of things had been given, 936 years had fulfilled their revolutions.

If we turn to England, a brighter picture perhaps meets us, but it likewise supports our statement. There was something excellent, solid, and enduring in the early Anglo-Saxon institutions, much of the strength of which was no doubt due to their early acquaintance with Christianity. By and bye the comparatively fair scene which England presented, blighted by the destroying hand of the Dane and the Norman, gave place to tyranny, devastation, and bloodshed. The feudal system, notwithstanding the few doubtful advantages it was calculated to produce was erected, rendered but a little less arbitrary than in Gaul, by the small extent of the island, the much smaller power for evil as well as good possessed by the barons in their fiefs, and the greater and closer power of the king over the nobles. The same causes placed an unduly despotic power in the monarch's hands, which was not unfrequently unduly exercised, and ultimately arrayed against him the hostility of the nobility, backed by the needful and efficient aid of the commons. From the date of the last Saxon king, 237 years passed by, before Magna Charta shed a ray of hope upon the crushed and ignorant people. Another half century introduced the principle of representative government of the commons. About the same time law and justice became based on a fixed, and permanent, and more secure footing, than before; civil liberty was no longer a mere name; foreign commerce and internal trade found encouragement; literature slowly and doubtfully raised its head; and religious questions commenced to be discussed. For the first time from a period backward of 319 years did real progress and civilization begin a new career; which, interrupted by occasional misgovernment, and for a time by the greater unhappiness of the civil

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wars, yet with the general condition of a free, opulent, and flourishing people unimpaired, still continued its onward progress, to be succeeded in the time of the Tudors by yet larger accessions of prosperity, and crowned with the unspeakable blessings of the Reformation.

How beautifully does Dr. Arnold remark, in his review of the Augustan era of the Roman Empire :—

"Amidst all the evil, which is most prominent on the records of history, a power of good we become conscious is silently at work, with an influence continually increasing, and virtue and happiness are daily more and more visiting mankind."

To those, (and in this country we meet many such) who are unaccustomed to consider correctly and fairly what the British Indian Empire is, such a picture as that which we have attempted to pourtray, is calculated to afford matter for sober reflection. We not unfrequently meet with persons, dissatisfied with the progress apparent in British India, and disposed to attribute the result chiefly if not wholly to no other cause than the defects of British rule. The examples above given of the best constituted, the most renowned, the most polished of European communities, sufficiently show through what a very gradual process, by what a variety of influences, through how protracted periods, civilization has ever been brought about. This in modern times, in our polish and refinement, unused to even any idea of barbarism, men are very apt to overlook and to forget. In Hindoostan the case so far from proving otherwise, it were reasonable to expect, should present a far more difficult and more tedious process.

The more civilized portion of its inhabitants, trammelled by the frigid rules of caste and a debasing mythology, and inheriting from their distant forefathers' habits of vice and profligacy, are still breathing in their domiciles, and domestic circles, among their friends, and throughout their neighbourhood, an inveterately tainted atmosphere of vile morals, and evil example. Other tribes there are unbound by caste, but descendants of old freebooting and predal races, such as were the Mahrattas and their many offshoots, to whom anarchy, robbery, and violence were through some centuries at once the business and pleasure of life. Unawed by Mahomedan prowess, untamed by their artificial kindness, what power, what agency is that, which rising in the perfection of moral strength and beauty should suffice suddenly to transform such a wilderness as India presents into a smiling garden? What in Europe, blest with purer principles, and freer institutions, what in all countries and all ages of the world, has been so slowly

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effected, cannot be rapidly attained in the East; nor should its accomplishment in India with even an equal rapidity by any means be expected. How heterogeneous are the elements of her population, how vast and extensive the tracts occupied by her tribes, how varied the language, the antecedents, the present condition and capabilities of those tribes! The work of improvement must on every account therefore be of tardy growth. It is not in man's nature, it never has been in the visible moral government of the Creator, and perhaps may not be destined to be hereafter, otherwise than all history and experience has heretofore shewn. Whether an association of the native races with a free and enlightened people, limited though their mutual intercourse has been, and still may be through the faulty negligence of our countrymen, ought not even in the few years, of British rule to have impelled the civilization of the country with greater speed,—whether the peculiar policy of the civil government in particular instances, such as the perpetual settlement and many other special measures, has been such as to retard social progress,—these and such like questions, involving a complicated enquiry, and varied discussion in a wide and oft-traversed field it would be beside our purpose, and needless to consider. Yet what people, what government is there, however wise, and however politic, however flourishing, or what gifted individual among the many that at different periods have given a turn to the whole current of human affairs, that has invariably chosen the fittest path, nor ever mistaken the truest interest of the community? The historical student may ever be assured that the greatest as well as the least of men's errors are ruled by a power higher than theirs, though the truth be often almost ignored by modern politicians; and that it never was the purpose of the moral governor of the universe that his place should be supplied by any earthly agency. And that special moral engine of good which has elsewhere induced, imperceptibly as well as directly, benefits of peculiar worth and dignity, has for long been dormant or at best feebly exercised in these countries. "Nor is it possible," says that delightful author, whom we have before quoted, speaking of the Roman cruelties towards the conquered Epirotes, and Rhodians:—

"That these evils should be prevented, unless truer notions have insensibly established themselves in the minds of men, even of those who are least grateful to the source from which they have derived them; and if modern Europe be guided by purer principles, the Christian historian cannot forget from what cause this better and happier condition has arisen."

Let but the dreadful state of society and of morals in the Ro-

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man world in the age immediately preceding the preaching of the Christian religion be remembered, and then the effects immediately succeeding its first introduction. But now this very source and cause of general good is at length beginning, slightly but still steadily, to exert an influence hitherto unfelt, and unrivet the chains of caste; how largely it will aid the secular power in the moral regeneration of India, we have no right to expect to see, but full reason to feel that a posterity, perhaps not far distant, will perceive and own its priceless fruit.

Among the various races of men, even of those scattered through the vast plains of India, we question whether there has been or is a tribe, of which the origin and condition can afford a parallel to the Sonthals. They almost appear a people by themselves. The slaves of Sicily, whose case we quoted at the commencement of this notice, were chiefly either foreigners captured in battle, slaves from Africa, taken in the two first Punic wars, and from the countries of Macedon and Epirus in the wars with Perseus. They were ground with oppression; beside the strong hand there was no bond of union between them and their rulers, or with the classes around them; they were utterly separate, and in utter dejection. The conquered natives again of the Roman colonial settlements, though humbled by a severe military despotism, were dispersed through a multitude of cities, and in the various arts, and walks of life, lived in comparative civilization. The Spartan Helots, the captives of Messene, bound to the soil which they tilled, and paying a fixed, though a very light portion of the produce as revenue of the state were in abject slavery, unentitled to any property, liable to be sold, and restrained from revolt only by the despotic control of their master. Like them the villain of the Anglo-Saxons, the Franks, and Normans, laboured in servility upon his lord's estate, and followed him in battle, though not dispossessed of his small property nor of all his civil rights; until in process of time, the rise of middlemen between them and their owners with other collateral causes, abolished their class and name. The clans of Scotland, engaged at times in some temporary hereditary feud, or border rapine, lived bound to their chief and to each other by the ties of kindred real or supposed; shepherds rather than cultivators, though without the nomad habit. Their country being rich in pasturage, the arable land of small extent, and but little of it cultivated, their cattle plentiful, a different mode of existence was not ready to suggest itself. The want too of carriage and easy communication was adverse to the rise of commerce. Their ancient Celtic manners preserved to the last the distinction of their race. If we travel nearer

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to our own Indian clime, we might find many classes resembling the Bheel and Pindaree robber, but few the Sonthal cultivator. Central India has for centuries been the nurse of predatory tribes, and no province more so than Malwa, whence the Pindarees and Bheels arose. Alexander's fancied subjects among the Bactrians and Logdians were not so wild, so unsubdued, as these scourges of peaceful men, before the vigor of Lord Hastings paralyzed their arms, and broke up their combination. The several branches of the Dhangher and Cole tribe of Chota Nagpore, and in some respects the Scottish clans of the Caledonian Highlands in time of peace, whom we have glanced at above, approach nearest in character to the Sonthal race. The former prefer the hilly regions; wild and ignorant and addicted to strong potations, they are yet peaceful and industrious cultivators of the soil, unfettered by caste, and simple in their religious belief and ceremonies.

An interesting account of the Sonthal tribe, and of the immigrants of that race to the Damun-i-koh and Rajmahal hills, exists in the VII. No. of the Asiatic Society's Journal for 1851, from the pen of that invaluable officer, Capt. Walter S. Sherwill, lately employed in the Govt. Revenue Survey of the Behar province. From that account we are about to furnish a brief description of the Sonthal, of his person, character, and peculiarities; but to it we would refer such a wish to find a more extended notice of the subject :—

"The hills are inhabited by two distinct races, the mountaineers, or a race living on the summits of the hills and who are with rare exceptions never found residing in the valleys,—and the Sonthals, who reside in the valleys. Both these races have distinct languages, neither of which are understood by the Hindustani man, nor are the two languages understood by the two races. The Sonthals are interlopers; the hillmen are the original inhabitants."

The history of the hillmen, from A. D. 1764 is then detailed, including an account of their constant depredations on the people of the plains, their customary levy of blackmail, their successful resistance to the troops of the old Mahomedan Government, and afterwards of the British, who were unable to assail the hills, and their eventual submission to kind and conciliatory measures, under the conduct first of Captains Brooke and Browne; and then of Mr. Cleveland, a Bengal Civilian, who lived for years among them; and, whose memory, when he died at Bhaugulpore in 1784, was cherished by a grateful Government, and perpetuated by the monument, in which the Governor General, Warren Hastings, recorded their sense of his services. His name is still remembered with af-

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fection "by the hillmen." "They despise the Sonthal." Of these men the British Government in 1792 formed a militia corps, the Bhaugulpore Hill Rangers.

In 1832 a boundary, defined by masonry pillars, was marked off under the authority of Government to distinguish the lands occupied by the hillmen from those belonging to the zemindars and ryots of the lowlands at the foot of the hills. But within the pillars, and outside of the hills, properly so called, and actually inhabited by the mountaineers, was an extensive tract of level country and valley, called the Damun-i-koh, or skirt of the hills, which the hillmen refused to cultivate or occupy. The Sonthals, who it is probable were one of the numerous branches of the ancient Gonds of the vast Gondwana tract of Central India were then scattered over a large extent of country, including Cuttack, Singbhoom, Dhulbhoom, Midnapore, Bancoorah, Manbhoom, Barabhoom, Pachete, Chota Nagpore, Palamow, Ramgurh, Beerbhoom, and parts of Bhaugulpore. It was the wise policy of the Government of the day (Lord Wm. Bentinck, G. G.) to encourage these simple agriculturists to clear away gradually the vast jungles of the Damun, to cultivate its rich fertile soil, and settle themselves and their families upon the lands. Many immigrant Sonthals from different quarters followed the first settlers, and imitated their example :—

"The Sonthal, or lowlander, is a short, well made and active man, quiet, inoffensive, and cheerful ; he has the thick lips, high cheek-bones, and spread-nose of the Bheel, Kole, and other hill tribes of Southern, and Central India ; he is beardless or nearly so ; he is an intelligent, obliging, but timid creature ; very cowardly towards mankind, but brave when confronted with wild animals ; the Sonthal is an industrious cultivator of the soil, and as he is unfettered with caste, he enjoys existence in a far greater degree than does his neighbour, the priest-ridden and caste-crushed Hindoo. They swear by the tiger-skin, but swearing them at all is unpardonable ; for truth is by a Sonthal held sacred, offering in this respect a bright example to their lying neighbours, the Bengalees. When the substantial good things of life as meat and poultry, are scarce, he does not refuse to eat snakes, ants, frogs, and field rats ; as well as all animals whether slain, or that, have died a natural death, or have been torn by wild animals. He is a larger and taller man than the hillman. In every village there is a small thatched roof, supported upon one or more wooden posts : the roof gives cover to a small earthen platform raised a foot above the ground : this spot is termed the "Mangi," at which is buried the memory of some former "Mangi" or village-governor, who for his good conduct, abilities, or other good quality, has been with the unanimous consent of the villagers, canonized : and the spot named after him. At these spots the headmen of the village meet, talk over the affairs

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of the village, threaten the unruly, punish the guilty, collect the rents, and make small votive offerings to the defunct Mangi. The religion of the Sonthals consists in prayers, sacrifices, and dances, the whole of which are generally performed by the votaries, whilst in a state of intoxication. The only prayer I have heard of amongst these people, is a supplication to an invisible and powerful spirit for protection from famine and sickness ; from disease amongst their cattle ; for defence against wild animals, especially the tiger ; and that their children may be defended from all dangers ; amongst which are enumerated the attacks of wild beasts, snake bites, scorpion sting, and all kinds of accidents."

"This simple prayer" adds Capt. Sherwill, "points out in a forcible manner the condition of the Sonthal and his wants :" and he goes on to shew how reasonable are their sentiments and wishes in the above particulars ; their crops being their only stay and dependence ; their cattle necessary for their husbandry, their persons and likewise their cultivation much exposed to the various denizens of the forest ; and their children being their pride, as well as useful in the field and as housekeepers at home. Their domiciles are usually well stocked with poultry, pigeons, pigs, goats, and the produce of the dairy generally. They drink a spirit distilled from rice, which they term "Pachui" and likewise that obtained from the Mahua tree. Like most nations, but unlike the Hindoos, they believe blood must be shed for the propitiation of sins ; a sacrifice is followed by a feast.

"Invariably more or less a scene of debauchery, terminating in a wild and most extraordinary dance. The only rite which the Sonthal appears to have borrowed from the Hindoos is that of the Churruk or swing-pooja. The religion of the hillmen is simple ; they invoke an invisible spirit, Bedo Gosain, but through the medium of various gods, as wooden images, stones, trees, bones, and skulls. The Sonthals are governed by Pergunnaits and by Manghees chosen by themselves ; the Pergunnait has charge of perhaps 12 villages from which he "collects" the Government revenue, and makes it over to the Government officers ; the Manghi has immediate charge of his own village."

If circumstances compel a Sonthal to leave his settlement, he finds little trouble in taking to another, clearing a patch of grounds for his crops, and erecting his log hut.

"As he never manures his land, and generally occupies an indifferent soil, a constant charge in his abode is necessary."

"The Sonthals are very expert with the bow and arrow ; I have seen the bear fall an easy prey to their well planted arrows ; also a hare knocked over at full speed ; birds on the wing I have seen killed, but with blunt or knobbed arrows."

In the Damun-i-koh, there are not a few antique remains of the Jain and other Hindoo sects, consisting of ruins of tem-

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ples, carved stones, sculptures and representations of Shiva. A harvest rejoicing further on is described attended with the sacrifice of a goat to the invisible deity.

"Two men with dishevelled hair, and heads hanging down sat under a small shed a few hundred yards from the village; a drummer beat furiously upon a kettledrum, who gave an extra thump on his instrument as occasional offerings of grain in small calf-bowls were presented by various Sonthals from the village to a small stone erected in front of the shed:" presently "the two men under the shed, now shaking as if possessed with a violent ague, commenced shrieking in a horrid manner; several Sonthals rushed forward, and asked questions, answered by words, but oftener by screams; at last both the men springing up from the ground, with most demoniacal yells and fearful bodily contortions, led out a small black kid, whose head at one stroke of a sword one of the mad or possessed men severed from its body; before the body could fall to the ground, the second screamer, who held the string tied round the kid's neck, rushed forward and caught it in his arms; he grasped the neck with the right hand, to check the flow of blood from the arteries; then walking to the small leaf dishes containing the offerings, withdrew his hand, and from the spouting arteries filled the cups, the body and limbs of the kid writhing and kicking convulsively. A question was then put by the Manghee of the village to the sacrificer, as to whether the deity was pleased, and ready for the dance; the answer was in the affirmative; one of the possessed men raised a green bamboo high in the air over his head; and the word being given by the Manghi, to go and call the villagers to drink and dance in honor of their deity, the man tore away at a furious pace, his hands over his head, screaming in a most horrid manner. The dance took place at the place of sacrifice. I ascertained that the shaking fits betokened excessive thought and contemplation; that men fast for two, three, even ten days to bring themselves into a state of half wildness; during which they are supposed to answer questions through the power of the deity possessing them, which in this case appears to have been the spirit of Bora Manghi, a deceased and canonized Manghi, and formerly a chief amongst them."

"Burhait, the capital town of the hills, is a substantial Sonthal village with a large population, and about fifty families of Bengali traders (1851) there is a good bazar, and two markets are held during the week."

The Sonthals appear to have a great respect and preference for their wooden solid-wheeled cart, in the construction of which, and their mode of loading it, they are described as shewing an "utter contempt of all rules of mechanics;" the wheels are solid, and placed parallel to each other at one extremity of a couple of bamboo poles which are pegged to the axle, and meeting in a point at their other extremity, rest upon the yoke which crosses the buffalo's neck; and in this way "15 feet of

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unsupported length receive the enormous burden usually imposed upon the bamboos." They do not seem inclined, however, to exchange their venerated vehicles for others of a more scientific description.

The Damun-i-koh, whose inhabitants we have described, comprises 1366.01 square miles of which the space not occupied by the hills is 500 square miles ; of the latter 246 square miles were in the survey of 1850 still covered with jungle ; the rest or 254 square miles being cleared.

"A Sonthal, although he does clear away the forest in a most masterly style, has the good taste to spare all the useful and ornamental trees when of decent size ; this always imparts a parklike appearance to the Sonthal clearances."

The tract was not included in the decennial settlement with the zemindars of the country. The Sonthals were first admitted to the lands in 1830 ; in 1838, when the Superintendent of the tract was appointed by Government, their number is stated to have been about 3000 souls only, located in (40) forty villages ; in 1851 they numbered 82,795, inhabiting 1473 villages. The policy of the Government, wise and beneficial as it was benevolent, allowed a Sonthal to lease a new patch for three years' rent free ; after which the assessment for the next three years was hardly more than nominal, an entire village paying from 3 Rs. to 10 Rs. per annum as revenue ; while at the end of that further period a five year settlement was made at such rate as the Sonthals themselves agreed to conclude it, being in no case higher than 8 As. and usually not more than 2 As. per Bigha The consequence has been that from 1837 to the last year there has been year by year a steady and large increase of revenue from Rs. 6682, in 1837-38 to Rs. 58,033. But of late years greedy zemindars, living near the borders of the Damun, have often cast a wishful eye towards these pleasant lands. Bengalee muhajuns also, the most rapacious and unscrupulous of traders, have one by one gradually settled down in the towns and villages for purposes of trade. From the time that these merchants from the outside have taken up their abode in the hills, the condition of the Sonthal has undergone a gradual but serious change. There are causes at work to which it will be necessary to revert, not only impeding his future progress, but undermining his material happiness. Durga Momin was once a contented, if not a happy man ; the four or five loghouses, which stood in his humble enclosure, overshadowed by "the pungent Sahajna, the favourite tree of the Sonthal" contained a thriving family—and industry and honesty had met their usual reward. While his wife and his daughters took care of his home, by turns tending his dovecot, his poultry, and his pigeons, express-

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ing his mustard seed oil, or husking his rice and his junera, he marched forth with a light heart with the stronger members of his household to hunt the deer in the brake, or till his distant plot of ground. As evening came he shouldered his plough, while his sons herded the buffaloes, and wended home, to meet his friends in quiet intercourse at the village-manghi, or it may be enjoy a jovial carouse. In his father's days and in the days of his youth he had never seen a mahajun; probably had never known such a thing as a debt. But in an evil hour came one and then another commercial adventurer from the neighbouring districts of Bengal, until perhaps in the course of a few short years he found some fifty mahajuns and baniahs located in his own and the neighbouring villages. In command of money, they presently monopolized the trade of several descriptions of goods, and encouraged the rude and ignorant cultivators to accept their proffered loans. One day Doorga Momin was in a desponding mood; the harvest was near, promising a plentiful income, but he wanted ready money for some urgent purposes; or it was a season of scarcity, and his field was his sole dependence; or some domestic calamity had befallen him and for a time clouded or seemed to cloud his prospects; or there was some want of forethought; from Buldeo Singh, trader, he is constrained to receive 4 Rupees; he feels that he will soon be able to repay it, with 4 As. in the Rupee, or 25 per cent. interest which he is willing to do; and his intentions are honest in that respect, as Buldeo knows full well: but when the day of payment arrives, Buldeo demands and receives 8 Rupees and then offers no receipt. Haladhur Chowdhri also advanced him 6 Rupees, but on consideration only of a bond for thirteen, and this in fact is the general mode of repayment which the mahajun has adopted, using short weight, and taking many times more grain than amount to the value of the debt; and thus forestalling the Sonthal labourer's harvest prospects. Where the Sonthal had not the required sum to pay, an equivalent for the deficiency is taken in his grain, fruit, cattle, and other stores. Juttoo Manghi has collected from the forest at the foot of the hill a basket of the 'peeal' fruit; he has dried and prepared them.

"They are considered by the rich natives as a great delicacy, and sell in Behar and Bhaugulpore for 8 annas per seer; but the buniahs give the Sonthal weight for weight in rice for this expensive luxury. A seer of peeal is worth 8 As.; a seer of rice is worth one pice;" Juttoo Rai receives for his basket of fruit "one thirty-second portion of its true value." "

Manick Chowdhri has a marriage or a funeral to celebrate; but is anxious not to spend his own money for the expenses; in place

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of which therefore he levies from the nearest village a "Salaamee" or so called voluntary offering of 100 Rupees. One wealthy individual has occasion for the use of a few carts to convey some stores to a distant mart; and desires some coolies, or porters to carry some personal baggage, or level some inequalities, or smooth some difficulties of the road. But to hire the carts and pay for their use never enters into his thoughts; nor does he care to remember that the Sonthal is especially averse to service; wherefore he causes a conscription of carts and coolies from the Manghi and headmen. Another oppressor wishes to purchase of a Sonthal villager a quantity of rice; but because the latter is unwilling to part with it at the sum his customer would fix upon it, his ears are pulled, and the coveted goods forcibly seized for no price in return whatever.

But these and several other similar species of tyranny are not confined to the muhajun alone. Gangadhur is an influential zemindar. The border of his Tuppeh touches the boundary pillars; within the pillars Manick Sonthal has a lovely spot of corn-land, which he has nourished with frugal care; he has paid his rent for it for five years; Gangadhur can by no means claim it, for even his own ancestor has "signed that plot away." As however Manick has paid six annas per mensem for the ground, he or his gomasta thinks no harm of levying from him the lenient sum of 6 Rupees, in consideration of the fact that he will thenceforth be relieved of his further exactions for that year. There are base, corrupt police; the higher grades as well as the lower, with a few bright and honorable exceptions, preying upon the people; if a Sonthal die in a village, one or other of their number will attempt to cook up a case of unnatural death, or some worse suspicion against the deceased's friends, unless satisfied with a customary douceur; if a mahajun entertain a special grudge against some individual Sonthal, a bribe to the police can at once effect his arrest on some groundless accusation. In the judicial courts are amlah not less given to illicit gains of a like nature. In the Revenue department of the public offices are the Suzawuls who collect the rents from the Pergunnaits, the Manghis, or the villagers generally; and where authorized to receive some six rupees on behalf of the Sircar, (government) they will lay some six other rupees for their private benefit; or where a rent of 4 as. for a plot and all it contained was fixed in the settlement, they take a rupee more for a sapling bamboo clump, or a solitary fruit tree, growing thereon. Thus zemindars, or more properly speaking, zemindaree retainers, as gomasta, surbarakar, peons, and others, mahajuns and their 'mustajirs' or agents,—the police,—the revenue and court amlah have exercised a combined system of extortion, oppressive exactions,

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forcible dispossession of property, abuse and personal violence, and a variety of petty tyrannies upon the timid and yielding Sonthal. Usurious interest on loans of money ranging from 50 to 500 per cent.; false measures at the haut and market; wilful and uncharitable trespass by the rich by means of their untethered cattle, tattoes, ponies, and even elephants, on the growing crops of the poorer race; and such like illegalities have been prevalent. Even a demand by individuals from the Sonthal of security for good conduct is a thing not unknown; embarrassing pledges for debt also formed another mode, of oppression. The non-payment of a debt, be it a just or an unjust demand, is followed by a petition by the claimant in the nearest Moonsiff's court, the issue of a notice to the defaulter, of which probably the prosecutor takes care he shall not be aware at all, or not till too late to take the necessary measures for his clearance, and by a writ of attachment on his moveable property, which may be executed, and the victim reduced to beggary and ruin, ere he has any idea of the impending calamity, unless he turn and satisfy the rapacity of his enemy. If a civil suit ensue, chicanery and legal difficulties defraud the illiterate Sonthal of his just rights. In 1848 the Sonthals of three entire villages suddenly absconded, and never returned, in consequence of the fradulent, false, or exaggerated suits of the muhajuns in the civil courts. Legal forms, and all the processes of a complete civil organization came on a sudden as it were upon a rude and semi-barbarous race, as yet unfit to receive them.

The several modes above detailed of a systematic oppression of the Sonthals and chiefly in respect of exactions by all the native classes around them and the muhajun's debts, are illustrated by facts already recorded, and known to many, as well private individuals as the authorities. That obstacles to redress, and just relief of their distresses, existed, cannot reasonably be doubted, and though whatever they may have been, their nature and degree are matters at present out of our enquiry, there can be as little doubt that the requirements of the people and the country were inadequately met in the manifesto issued by the Sonthals in the Kythee Hindi tongue and published in Bhaugulpore, and by some means also in Purneah. Under date the 10th of Sravon, 1262, B. S. or 25th July, 1855, it is set forth that the sin of the muhajun, and of the amlah is great, and that the Sahebs delegate the duty of investigation to subordinate officers, who oppress them, and have produced their change of character and action. There was a solitary case of alleged forcible abduction of two Sonthal women, and even of murder, and some minor acts of oppression, as taking kids, fowls, &c. without payment, on the part of Europeans employed on the line of Railroad.

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It is easy to imagine how many a Doorga, and a Manick Sonthal brooded, whether in patient silence or in stifled murmurs, over inhuman wrongs such as these; nor can any feel surprise that their displeasure was visibly demonstrated in the short series of nightly attacks on mahajun's houses in the early half of 1854, which, according to legal definition designated dacoities, were well merited reprisals on their unprovoked cruelties. The dacoits so called were at length detected, tried, and punished, but to quote their language their oppressors were not even rebuked; and argument and petition, ominous of the future, then followed.

In this state of things, it was, that the Pergunnaits, the Manghees, and heads of villages seem to have begun in earnest to cogitate what might be the proper course for them to pursue. The capital of all the Sonthal towns and villages as well as of the hills generally is Burhait; one half mile distant from which to the South-west is the village of Bhagnadihi, whose inhabitants were most probably grievously oppressed; and here lived the noted leaders of the late rebellion, Seedo and Kanoo, and their less forward brothers, Chand and Bhyrub. Though there was discontent among the Sonthals of the Damun-i-koh, it seems to have been shared, though doubtless in a less degree, and from less violent causes, by their brethren to the west and south of that tract; and mysterious allusions are occasionally thrown out to one Morgo Rajah, as a Sonthal chief residing near the Parisnath mountain, whose self-charged mission as well as that of his disciples, is said to be the union into an independent kingdom of the south country, meaning the original country of the Sonthal tribe. Equally mythical was the ignoble course imputed to Meer Abbass Ali, an Ex-Ameer of Scinde, residing at Hazaribagh. His servant Urjoon was a Sonthal of Chamarkoh near the Parisnath mountain, who for some purpose invited two Sonthals to Hazaribagh in April, 1855, and persuaded them to fetch a number of their fellow huntsmen to beat game in the jungles for his Highness's sport. A large body accordingly went, it is said, and attended the Ameer's hunting expeditions for one and half months. It is probable enough that during this time they made known to their friends, possibly to the Ameer himself, the burthens they had to endure. He buried, it is stated, in their sight a single rupee in the ground, and some grains of Dhan or paddy-wheat. The seeds presently produced a crop, but not the coin; whereupon he admonished them, when they borrowed hard cash from the mahajuns to pay no interest, but when they borrowed Dhan from them, an interest equivalent to 4 As. per rupee upon the value of the grain ought to be paid. The return of those Sonthals to the Bhaugulpore

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district was soon followed by the outbreak of the revolt. It was alleged also by the chief witness to the above matters that the four brothers were among them. The proper inference deducible from these facts, if indeed true, seems to be not that the Ameer advised or lent his countenance to schemes, which could in no way affect his interests, unless indeed to give way to a latent animosity towards the British Government, which has not hitherto been suspected; but that these unhappy men hoped to find some valuable assistance in their intended measures from their brethren south of the Grand Trunk Road. The story however touching the Ameer appears in truth to have arisen from some yet unexplained and secret discontent of Urjoon himself.

It can scarcely be doubted, and by Seedoo is expressly confessed, that the Manghees and others of the Sonthal villages in the Damun had for some time before the insurrection, and perhaps as there is reason to suppose in meetings expressly convened for the purpose, begun to agitate their grievances among each other. Their endurance had reached its maximum; and while the spirits of the people were in this condition, it needed but a spark to kindle the fire. As to Seedoo and Kanoo there is evidence to show that their personal characters were at least bold, original, and persevering. They were too, it seems, personally and deeply concerned in the common misfortunes of their race; and as they meditated in their private dwellings and talked over their own and their people's wrongs, the right and effectual way of lighting that flame may readily have suggested itself to their minds. On other occasions of the world's and of India's history, as will be mentioned, it has been seen how the fanatical spirit of religious superstition may by a small excitement be swayed to strengthen and help forward a quarrel already ready to burst, and based on other grounds; and the Sonthal we know on the authority of the intelligent observer before quoted, is an eminently religious man. The strong drink and wild dance also, to which the Sonthal is so much attached, were other elements of excitement, fully sufficient to fan the lurking flame.

At last, then, the blow was struck. Seedoo and Kanoo were at night seated in their home, revolving many things; their brothers, Chand and Bhyrub were ten miles away at Simulchup; a bit of paper fell on Seedoo's head, and suddenly the Thakoor (god) appeared before the astonished gaze of Seedoo and Kanoo; he was like a white man though dressed in the native style; on each hand he had ten fingers; he held a white book, and wrote therein; the book, and with it 20 pieces of paper, in 5 batches, four in each batch, he presented to the brothers; ascended up-

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wards, and disappeared. Another bit of paper fell on Seedoo's head, and then came two men, each having six fingers on each hand; hinted to them the purport of Thakoor's order, and they likewise vanished. But there was not merely one apparition of the sublime Thakoor; each day in the week for some short period, did he make known his presence to his favored apostles; at one time it was in a flame of fire, with a book, some white paper, and a knife! at another in the figure of,—what has before been mentioned as a subject of the Sonthal's special admiration, —a solid cart wheel! In the silvery pages of the book, and upon the white leaves of the single scraps of paper, were words written; these were afterwards deciphered by literate Sonthals, able to read and interpret; but their meaning had already been sufficiently indicated to the two leaders. Such were the mysterious revelations which the brothers announced to their wondering neighbours; possibly their own imagination may have represented them to themselves as real, no doubt they succeeded to a certain extent in inducing a belief of their truth. For more than a month previous to these occurrences the Manjhees of various villages had consulted upon the proper measures towards the muhajuns; and now forthwith trusty messengers bore away to Chand and Bhyrub, and other Manjhees in different directions, the Sâl-tree branch, a symbol which like the fiery torch in old Highland gatherings, appears to have had, either by a general ancient custom, or more probably a pre-concerted recognition, a secret attached meaning. Meanwhile in the garden enclosure of the leader's home was duly erected the proper figure of their Thakoor; this was a small circular mound of mud, two feet in diameter, and raised some three inches from the circumjacent earth; upon the centre of which was another very small circle, a knob of mud, raised also some three inches, and about two inches in diameter. This figure was a cart-wheel! At first it was sheltered beneath a spread chatta or umbrella; but soon a nobler canopy was constructed of wicker work. Before this figure the villagers were instructed to present their offerings of grain and milk, and to sacrifice the kid and buffalo. As the milk stood in their cups, upon the pinda, or earthen altar, or they poured it into the fissures of the mound; a gentle spouting, a feeble hiss, or a stronger fizz, and other similar phenomena were, by some amount of jugglery, or more probably a stretch of an excited and heated imagination, caused or supposed to take place, and to indicate the spirit's hidden presence. Where some unhappy villager's sacrificial milk would not act in the prescribed manner, it was denounced as too blue in color, unpleasant to the deity, or attributed to some wickedness in the offerer. The heaven-sent

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book, and the sky-showered paper were produced, the credentials of Thakoor's accredited apostles. In these the Thakoor's purwana, (written order) the mandate of heaven, was inscribed, addressed to the Sonthals of the Damun-i-koh. A day was fixed, when the tribe should meet at the Thakoor-bari, (god's house) of Seedoo and Kanoo, and hear the command of the deity.

It is a singular and very remarkable thing, that this book was verily and indeed a heaven-sent revelation. It contained a writing in an oriental tongue; but it was none other than the Christian's Gospel according to St. John!

The Sâl-branch, and the fame of Seedoo's wonders did their designed work. In the appointed day, June 30th, (full moon) 10,000 Sonthals are supposed to have met at Bhagnadihi. The Thakoor's order was announced: and in accordance therewith letters were written by Kirta, Bhadoo and Sunnoo Manjhees at Seedoo's direction addressed to Government, to the Commissioner, Collector, and Magistrate of Bhaugulpore, the Collector and Magistrate of Beerbhoom, to the Darogahs of Thannahs Dighee and Tikree, (Rajmahal), and to several zemindars, and others; from the Darogahs and zemindars replies were called for within 15 days.

The order of the Thakoor was remarkable; it expressly disclaimed all intentions against the government; and specially directed the revenue to be collected by themselves, and paid as heretofore to the State. Its rate was to be 2 As. on every buffalo-plough, 1 Anna on each bullock-plough, a half Anna on each cow-plough, per annum; and the rate of interest upon money, to be 1 pice in the Rupee yearly. It enjoined the instant slaughter of all the muhajuns, of the Darogahs; and likewise, as Seedoo alone stated, uncorroborated by his comrades, of the Superintendent of the Damun; utterly to banish the traders and zemindars and all rich Bengalees from their country, and sever their connection in toto with the Damun-i-koh; and to fight all on resistance; for water only should issue from their guns.

The Darogah of Thanna Dighee, or Burio Bazar heard of a large assembly, and sent a burkundaz to learn their numbers; he proceeded on his way not only to make enquiry, but also it would seem at the instigation and by the bribery of some muhajuns to seize the four brothers, and others on a false charge of dacoity; he halted at Rukshee; early the next morning a loud discord of drums announced the arrival of a Sonthal embassy to escort the unfortunate police officer to the presence of the rebel army, and their renowned Soubahs, at Baboopore; they charged him to levy and pay to them 5 Rupees on every Bengali family in the neighbourhood; in vain he bid them disperse. On being questioned as to the reason of his coming, it is said,

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that he at first replied to investigate a case of snake-bite, and then to enquire into their alleged intentions of committing dacoity; that the muhajuns declared their intention of expending any amount of money however large to effect the capture, and arraignment of the four brothers; and that rope had been brought on purpose to bind them. They bid him to arrest them as dacoits, if he had proofs; if not to give them in future the justice they had in vain before sought at his hands. The Darogah in anger ordered them to be tied, but on the contrary the Manghees tied him;—Seedoo with his own hand despatched him with a sword, and Kanoo slew Manik Chowdri one of the foremost of the moodees, (shop-keepers) present. Their followers attacked some burkundazes and other moodees, nine men in all were killed, and the rest of the Darogah's party fled precipitately; (July, 7th, Saturday). Of the four leaders, Chand only was absent at this time.

Blood having once been shed, and the tempers of the insurgents excited, the rebellion at once extended with many frightful atrocities. For some unknown reason, it was a part of their plan, as they proceeded, to bathe in the Ganges at Baniagram, near Rajmahal, but this was not effected; and likewise to carry about in a palkee some alleged avatar, or incarnation of the deity, which was at one time a child-god, born of a woman at Kutjundlee, which suddenly grew a man, to be the Soubah of the Sonthals, and for whom a man, a woman, and a virgin cut a certain grass, of which a bundle was transformed into a fortress of gold, containing a well of silver, for his residence. At another it was a goddess, a Thakurani descended at Kumulpore, a female of ancient age, who condescended to be so far mortal as to imbibe milk; while at another, it was impersonated by ordinary individuals, who had entered into communion with the Thakoor. But all these absurdities were no doubt devised to keep up the courage of the numerous rabble. And as among our Sicilian slaves, a few Bengalee fraternities were compelled or more probably easily induced to join the gathering, including the Lohar, (blacksmith) the Kumhar, (potter) the Telee, (oilmen) the Gowala, (cowherd) the Carpenter, (kuhar); for these were useful to the Sonthal Commissariat.

The progress of the insurgents from the time of the Darogah's murder is generally known; their arms were the bow and arrow, axes, swords, and a few guns; as they retraced their steps from Baboopore to Panchkotea, they wreaked their vengeance on the Khan Saheb, a naib sezawul of revenue, whom Kanoo cut down with his own hand; they fired the house of the Raja of Ambar at Kudamsa; but at this place, as they also fell upon an European Indigo factory, early in the morning,

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they were astonished to meet the resistance of the Planter, Mr. C. Maseyk, who with two other gentlemen, armed with fowling-pieces, and stationed on a boat in the middle of a nullah, which commanded the approach to the premises, kept at bay the whole Sonthal army, wounded some, and captured one prisoner. At the same time 160 police burkundazes, rapidly sent by the civil power for the immediate protection of Kudamsa, safely hid themselves in the high grass and reeds that lined the nullah's banks. Unable to effect their purpose in the face of the long guns, the Sonthal rebels moved on and plundered Aklai, and Sricond, at which place the bungalow of a gentleman employed on the Railway was burnt down; several Railway works were similarly destroyed. Thakoor was devastated, including the palace of the Ranee. The zemindar of Mohespore was then attacked, and the Raja of Lukhunpore did not escape their fury. Pulsa shared the fate of other places, and here the insurgents were recompensed for their toils by the capture of some buckets of wine, a booty which their habits and inclination would lead them to prize not the least; but it was perhaps not at the most favorable hour; for as they returned to Mohespore they sustained a signal defeat on the morning of July 15th, (Sunday) by the Government troops; the water which the Thakoor had promised should issue from the muskets was changed into bullets by reason of the private wickedness of individual rebels; Seedoo, Kanoo and Bhyrub were themselves shot, though not mortally, and 200 other Sonthals killed and wounded; above Rs. 7000 in cash, and 4000 Rs. worth of goods, all plundered property, were recovered. At Rogonathpore, Chand and Kanoo with their followers afterwards met another similar but less extensive reverse; and with their leaders wandered about the Luchunpore and Dhuldullee hills; a portion of them however attempted to oppose the approach of the troops to their capital, Burhait, (July 24th) they were quickly dispersed; but their stores of plundered valuables were no where to be found at Burhait or Bhagnadihi. Soon after this Seedoo was given up to the Bhaugulpore troops through the treachery of Toolsee Sonthal and a few others, who were immediately cut to pieces. During these events one party of insurgents near Paharpore, under the conduct of Tribobun Sonthal, met two unfortunate English ladies, Mrs. Thomas and Miss Pell in their flight, as well as three European gentlemen, Mr. Henshawe and his two sons, who were barbarously murdered. Everywhere the insurgents' course was marked by scenes of inhuman and atrocious cruelties, murders, burnings, pillage and devastation. By the 20th of July the revolt had spread, and was in activity from Taldunga, at the south-west of Beerbhoom, on the Grand

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Trunk Road, and Synthea at the south-east, on the Adjye river, to Bhaugulpore and Rajmahal on the Ganges at the north-west and north-east of the Bhaugulpore district. The insurgents were carrying on operations, not only as we have seen along the Moorshedabad border, but at Nulhatti, Rampore Haut, Nagpore, Nungolea, Gurjori and various other places in Beerbhoom,—about Barkhop, Goddah and elsewhere in the heart of Bhaugulpore, and most of all perhaps at that time on the north of the Damun-i-koh, and along the south bank of the Ganges from Colgong on the west to Rajmahal on the east. Rajmahal itself was saved by the resolute and vigorous resistance of Mr. Vigors, and other gentlemen of the Railroad, who had fortified and barricaded the residence of the former gentleman. To the west of Rajmahal the Sonthals were laying waste the country in the face of a large body of Government troops, the cause of whose inaction, however, is a matter under enquiry. It was in this vicinity that 317 years ago the emperor Humayoon had marched, after his siege and capture of Chunar, to oppose the pretensions of Shir Khan, the claimant of the principality of Gour, and beat back his forces in the defile of Sicrigulli.

During these events in the disturbed districts, the military protection of the country afforded employment to a large number of troops, scattered at long distances from each other, and in several directions. To prevent the passage of the Sonthals to the country south of the Damooda river, and of the Grand Trunk Road, as well as to protect the adjacent country to the north of the road, and in Beerbhoom, the Ramghur Irregular Light Horse, the Governor-General's Body Guard, portions of the 2nd Grenadiers, of the 50th, 56th, and 37th Regiments and 200 Nizamut sepoys from the Guard of the Nawab of Moorshedabad with 30 of his elephants, beside 32 horse, and at a later period the 63d N. I. were put in motion; on the Moorshedabad border the 7th and 31st N. I., and in Bhaugulpore, the Hill Rangers, and parts of the 40th, 42d and 13th Regiments N. I. from Dinapore, were employed. Some of their operations we have already glanced at; a more detailed view of their nature and order may be useful to connect the parts of the history. The first move against the insurgents was made by a party of 400 men of the 7th N. I., stationed at Berhampore, in concert with the Magistrate of Moorshedabad. On the afternoon of the 11th of July they marched for Aurungabad, the head quarters of a sub-division, and near Rajmahal. Information received on the road prolonged their march to the factory of Mr. H. Maseyk, at Doollean, whence 160 police burkundazes were started by the civil authorities to the protection of his brother at Kudamsa; but

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the extent of their usefulness has been already stated. The troops followed them, but arrived at Kudamsa, (July 13th) shortly after the departure of the rebels; they pursued the latter to Pulsa, (July 14th) again too late, but tracked them the same night to Moheshpore, where on the following morning the first engagement ensued; with what results we have already seen. On the 20th July they moved on towards Sricond along the line of Railway; but diverged westwards to Jambad or Burtollah; waded through swamp, and paddy fields; crossed the Gambria or Gumani river; and on the 24th entered the first pass they had met into the hills; and overcoming a faint and useless attempt on the part of Kanoo to stop their progress, reached Burhait on that date. The affair at Rogonathpore soon after followed; and at Moheshpore the garrison of the 7th N. I. were attacked by the Sonthals in a vain attempt to take possession of the zemindar's brick-built house for a residence of their Soubah. Measures were taken to plant garrison posts of the 7th and 31st N. I. and the Nizamut troops at Nulhatti, Pakowr, Palee, Pulsa, Aurungabad, Shumseergung, Jungypore, Foodhipore, and elsewhere, protecting the country on either side of the Moorshedabad border from the Beerbhoom boundary to the Ganges river; and in this quarter we hear of no further violence on the part of the Sonthals.

The first intimation of a large gathering was received at Bhaugulpore on the 4th of July. On the 6th, the Magistrate of the district and the Superintendent of the Damun-i-koh were at Rajmahal, but unaware of the nature of the rising, the numbers of the assembled men, or the extent of their ill feeling. The news of the Darogah's murder was brought to the sudder station by two of his servants and a burkundaz, who had escaped from the scene of that day's tragedy. On the 8th July the Hill Rangers were called out, and soon after their outpost detachments employed at Purneah were required to join them: 160 rank and file of this corps marched on the 10th July, and next day they were at Pialapore, whence they advanced to Colgong. On the 16th July, accompanied by their brave European Sergeant Major and a gentleman, Mr. Braddon, an Indigo Planter, they encountered a body of the insurgents. Their muskets were damp, from this or some other cause they hung fire, and the attack signally failed; Mr. Braddon was killed, the Sergeant Major after a gallant resistance was cut to pieces, 25 men of the corps were killed and wounded, and the rest obliged to fall back on some boats and retire to Colgong. By the 21st July they had been reinforced by 42 of their own corps, and 250 men of the 40th N. I. of whom 250 others had been retained at Bhaugulpore. At Pialapore 2000 Sonthals were ready to

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give battle ; but in expectation it is supposed of the arrival of the remainder of the 40th Regiment, no active operations were undertaken : and meanwhile the Sonthals pursued, east, south, and west of Colgong, their work of plunder and destruction. Major Shuckburgh with half of the 40th Regt. presently arrived ; and by a few successful engagements in which the Sonthals were said to have been more than once the attacking party, changed the state of affairs in the north-eastern direction. On the west and in the interior of the Bhaugulpore district separate expeditions had the effect of clearing the country from further depredation, and driving the insurgents further south. Kishen Singh, a zemindar with his retainers attacked a body of the insurgents in one place, but was defeated; at Chouckotee another party were met by Capt. Francis, commanding a detachment of the 13th N. I. and retreated with loss; nevertheless a force of 800 Sonthals immediately after fell upon his camp, then guarded by 40 sepoys, who bravely repulsed them, while from the 27th of July to the 22nd of August a portion of the 40th Regiment accompanied by their able and experienced guide, Capt. Sherwill, accomplished a long and circuitous diversion in the heart of the district, without indeed encountering an enemy, who fled before them southwards, but recovering large quantities of plundered property, stores of grain, &c. Bhaugulpore was now for a time quiet, excepting the southern purgunnahs on the Beerbhoom border, at Hendweh and Belputta, at Rajshadang, Telabonnee, and other places within and near the chains of hills. In Monghyr the peace was maintained by a large standing body of armed Ghatwals, whose expenses were paid by the zemindars, Joy Mungul Sing, and Mohendronarain ; a noble example to their countrymen.

The Beerbhoom side of the disturbed country was in greater disorder and for a longer time. By the 20th of July Mithijanpore and Narainpore had been sacked ; at the latter place Gholam Ali Khan, the Darogah of Thanna Afzulpore, won laurels, sword, and shawls by his gallant and successful defence of a large pucka house belonging to the zemindar. On the 21st, a body of the insurgents were met at Katmah by the Sirdar Ghatwal of Kajoorea, and a few inferior Ghatwals, and strange to say a handful of Bengalees also ; the son of the Sirdar was killed, and Katmah fell into the Sonthals' possession : by the 23rd, the large town of Gunpore and many other villages had been destroyed. At the same time parties of the 2nd, 56th, and 37th Regiments were engaged at various points with severe loss to the insurgents ; the small detachments separately located were unequal to the work prepared for them ; the rebels obtained possession of the town of Nagore ; Lieut. Toulmin was killed

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in an unadvised attack upon a superior force posted on the opposite side of a nullah ; but with these partial reverses the troops were successful, especially in a gallant affair by Lieut. Delamaine of the 56th N. I. at Mungolea; the insurgents were soon compelled to evacuate their important positions at Afzulpore, Nagore, and the Moluncha Hill (a Trigonometrical survey station), and they retired in large force to Koomerabad, after a series of brutal and ferocious cruelties, authenticated examples of which we have not the present means of recording, but which imagination can hardly conceive. By the 17th of August, quiet was for a time restored to this part of the country, though the numbers in open arms were still estimated to exceed 30,000 men.

But these various military operations, affording but a very brief immediate relief to particular localities, and driving the insurgents each time into the jungles, had of themselves but little practical effect in checking the progress of the insurrection. They were too few.

"The rebels, says the *Friend of India*, for weeks met no practical resistance at all. The season and the distance delayed the soldiers ; and even when they arrived, the vast range of territory covered by the insurgents compelled the officers to sanction an infinite sub-division of the force. The rebels, therefore, were allowed to glut themselves with plunder."

A westward movement of some bodies of Sonthals with a view to a permanent and peaceable settlement on the unoccupied lands on the banks of the Barakur river, and near Parisnath mountain, was at this time reported, but apparently it rested on slender and insufficient grounds. The revolt was merely slumbering. A proclamation issued by the local Government in August, after the Supreme Government had negatived the proposition of Martial Law, inviting all the well and peaceably disposed to tender their submission within ten days, and promising on that condition free pardon to all but their most active ringleaders, and those proved to have committed murder, was not merely declined and rejected,—this no doubt was done by many among them through fear and discredit of the humane intentions of their rulers,—but the paper was in some places despised, spurned, and burnt in contempt. Late in September, under the guidance of Ram Manghee, Sham Soubah, Phoodun, Keawla Anoo, and other magnates of their army, the Sonthals were again on the move in the north-western parts of Beerbhoom; and at Jyepore, Kendra, Noni, and other places in southern Bhaugulpore ; they were compelled to activity even though in a possibly unwilling opposition to Government by the serious want of food, and partial desertion of those artisan castes of Bengalees on

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whom their Commissariat in some measure depended ; in consequence a few military expeditions, marches, and countermarches, and skirmishes were again rendered necessary.

The unhealthy season of the year was a serious obstacle to military movements ; as yet Martial Law had not been proclaimed ; the conduct of the entire operations against the Sonthals was by the supreme authority virtually placed in the hands of the military power, unhampered by the smallest restriction of the Civil Laws, though without proclamation of Martial Law ; the arrangement was then modified so as to include the co-operation of the civil power ; and as a necessary consequence, the Civil Law was still the law of the disturbed country, and the tactics of the military subjected to civil control. The urgent and pressing character, however, of the events which were occuring, explained the positive necessity of arbitrary and severe, though not irresponsible measures ; and accordingly on the 10th of November, Martial Law was at length proclaimed, and capture in arms in open hostility to Government, or in the act of opposing by force of arms the troops, or in any overt act of rebellion against the authority of the State was made an offence punishable by sentence of Court-Martial. Subsequently the use of particular weapons, and of the Sonthal drum was prohibited. The effect was soon apparent ; combined movements in the Lukhunpore and Seebchulla Hills, and in various quarters both in Bhaugulpore and Beerbhoom, accompanied with the instant slaughter of all resisting Sonthals, and all appearing in arms who would not submit themselves, the execution of a few ringleaders and the capture of Kanoo near Operbunda by the Sirdar Ghatwal of Konjra, restored quiet to the country. At the same time a large number of Sonthal prisoners underwent their trial at Bhaugulpore and Sooree, and upwards of 130 men were condemned on various counts to different punishments. The appearance of restored peace was such that on the representation of district officers, civil and military, and of the local Government, the Government of India suspended the further operation of Martial Law, which was accordingly withdrawn on the 3rd of January, 1856, after a duration of not quite two months. This bold measure was followed almost within a fortnight by fresh outrages in the neighbourhood of Jyepore, and the Monghyr border, committed by fugitive Sonthals from the south, starved into renewed exertion ; they have abstained, however, for their own interest from violence to human life and limb, but before the Hill Rangers have presented front, and a steady and unyielding resistance ; and whilst we write, the manifestos of their new Soubah, Seeb Shah, have come before us, dated the 29th and 30th of Pous, 1262, B. S. corresponding to the 12th and

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13th of January, 1856, threatening the plunder and destruction of the European factories at Sungrampore: which has since been effected.

Such is a general account of the progress of the Sonthal insurrection; a rebellion with which we find it not easy to find a parallel in the annals of Indian or any other nations. The old Mahomedan empire in India had frequent experience of the disaffection of its subjects: but they were for the most part, like the revolt of the Affghan settlers in Akbar's days, struggles for power by factious nobles and their partisans. That of the Satuaramis recorded at the head of our chapter was but a very temporary religious outbreak of idle, and profligate fanatics. At Bareilly in Rohilcund, A. D. 1816, a people but recently subject to no law under the anarchical condition of Oude, and now swayed by British law, and held to order, were suddenly excited by a new petty assessment for the support of their chokidars. The administration of this tax, odiously mismanaged by the native officials, gave offence to a part of the townsmen; the spirit was contagious, and their example was imitated with and without any conscious reason by others; a skirmish ensued between the mob and Government sepoys; a Mussulman of high rank was wounded; and at once a religious character was given to the rebellion, to strengthen the interests of those who had provoked it among a rabble crew of bigoted Mahomedans; until experience taught them that they were not a match for united and disciplined soldiers. The Ferazee disturbances at Baraset, in 1841, under the conduct of Syed Ahmud, and his disciple, Meer Niser Ali, or Tittoo Meer, were the results of a religious frenzy excited by the craft of these pseudo-reformers of Mahomedan corruptions, who designed merely to fill their purses by the willing offerings of their deluded followers; and so likewise at a later period in Furreedpore, A. D. 1847, when their descendant, Deedoo Meer, again became a leader in the sect. The extortions of these reformers presently shewed their true characters, and worked the ruin of their cause; and this of itself, but more when aided by the presence of a few troops, was sufficient to put down the vain attempt to oppose a strong Government; and an end was put to the rebellion. In Chota Nagpore and Palamow one petty and short-lived rebellion once occurred, occasioned by little beside the wild state of the inhabitants, averse to the restraints of law. Some years after, in 1832, another broke out in the same line of country among the Cole population; but here the event was traced to circumstances, not dissimilar from the Sonthal grievances. A family quarrel existed in the house of Gobind Singh, the Raja of Dhulbhoom; one member, Madhub Singh, disappointed of the Raj, but dangerous in his personal character,

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spent his money in certain trades, which among the poor people of the province he soon monopolized; he lent out large sums to numerous Ghatwals, ryots and others, at usurious interest, and reduced them to great extremities; till they joined in a close connection with another member of the same family, Gunganarain Singh, whose title to maintenance, and other allowed privileges according to Hindu civil law in the family inheritance, had been ignored, and who was besides the personal, inveterate, and talented enemy of Madhub Sing. The latter was murdered, and Gunganarain led forth his obedient followers to a general pillage of the country, till he met his death from the troops of Government. In olden days, when the power of Persia was dominant in Syria, B. C. 360 it was "the insolence and exactions of Persian satraps" that roused the Phœnicians of Sidon and Cyprus against their masters. In Asia Minor it was "the arbitrary exactions of corrupt Magistrates, and greedy officers" that provoked the conquered provincials, subject to Rome, whose government was an "instrument of oppression," to massacre the Romans in Asia at the outbreak of the Mithridatic war (B. C. 88) "Who does not know," Cicero asks, "that the Achœans pay a large sum yearly to L. Piso?" In France, A. D. 1358, during a period of general and unusual calamity, it was "the insolence and luxury of their lords playing at dice upon the oppressive taxes of the poor," that produced the dreadful insurrection of the peasantry, known by "the name of the Jacquerie, and marked by all the circumstances of horror incident to the rising of an exasperated and unenlightened populace." In England perhaps there was never any movement which in its origin can be likened to the Sonthal revolt; even Cade's rebellion, which more than any other seems to present similar features, was based upon no real ground whatever, but the general want of unity in the kingdom and the distracted state of the popular mind amid the quarrels of rival nobles, which disturbed the reign of king Henry VI. But in its terrible progress, in its diabolical and atrocious scenes of cruelty, the slow roasting of men, even the aged, the torture of children, the ripping of women, the hacking of limbs, the quaffing of blood, the burnings, and the robberies, which marked the Sonthal movement, it may compare with the tumultuous proceedings of the demoralized mob in the days of Walpole and George II. (1736 A. D.) or the insurrectionary scenes of Carlow and Wexford (A. D. 1798) in Ireland; but with this difference that crimes might have been counted by thousands instead of hundreds in Beerbhoom and Bhaugulpore. It is but too easy to judge of an event after its occurrence, and it would be as unjust as ungenerous to attribute a failure, either of duty or of foresight, to the local Government, in not

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providing against the occurrence of a disaster so utterly unexpected by them and the public alike.

An impartial enquirer, however, might pause in according to his unqualified admiration to the measures pursued before the outbreak, to pacify a previously known discontent of the Sonthal race, or to those which followed the full burst of their fury. For example, he might deem it a strange thing that the Sonthal should turn dacoit. The Sonthals were a separate race; they were quite distinct from Bengalees, and without distinction of caste; they were unacquainted with the conventionalities and trickeries, the modes of crime belonging to a few predatory fraternities of Bengal, they were noted for probity, for their peaceful lives, for their quiet demeanor, and their steadiness of character. In short a full and credited account of them had been officially known to Government, and that account was highly creditable to the tribe. How then was it that such a people, among whom not only was dacoity an unknown thing, but theft was an unknown crime, suddenly changed character, and committed, not a solitary example, but a long series of so called dacoities, or gang-robberies by open violence? The printed decisions of the Zillah Judge, and of the Sudder Court pointed plainly to the exactions of muhajuns as the sole bone of contention, and there can be no manner of doubt that the distinctive complexion of their crime ought to have been recognized in the decisions, and in the punishment of the offenders. The same thing was reported expressly by the Magistrate to the Commissioner, and by the latter to Government. The first natural and obvious question that it would seem would arise in such a case, is, what is the meaning of this quarrel with the muhajuns? If the submissive Sonthal cultivator has adopted a new system of so serious a character, what is the character of the new influence which has been brought to bear upon a peaceful but yet an ignorant and semi-savage race? Such questions might possibly to some minds have suggested a full and complete investigation of the altered circumstances of the Sonthals, and the more as it was by the sufferance of Government alone that muhajuns were ever allowed either to enter or remain in the Rajmahal hills. The Superintendent, however, of the Damun-i-koh was entrusted with the powers of the Civil Judge to arbitrate between the Sonthal and the muhajun; this now appears, and might then have appeared an undigested measure, because it was applying a supposed remedy to a disease, before the disease was comprehended; and also that the tract of the Damun being under the ordinary Regulation law, a civil suit would be necessarily hampered with an infinity of forms, processes, and technicalities quite unsuited to the unsophisticated Sonthal, and in

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which he would be certainly overreached by his wily and litigious adversary. The orders actually passed were through the fault of the local officers not carried out for several months, and had scarcely been in operation before the revolt commenced.

When however the revolt had begun, the signs of an approaching storm of no ordinary potency were visible. It was unlikely that several European gentlemen living many miles apart in different occupations, and filling varied positions in society, some unknown also to the rest, should at the same time have written as they did letters of serious import, gravely announcing an extensive rising of a numerous and armed population, had they not possessed strong and sufficient reason for their fears and forebodings. Europeans in general are not wont to be alarmed at a common event. But three days after such communications had been received and indubitably confirmed, after one Regiment had been ordered out of Berhampore, to be relieved by another from Calcutta, and after a felt and acknowledged necessity existed of despatching further troops to the protection of Beerbhoom and the Grand Trunk Road, it was considered that one Company of sepoys at Raneegunge, and one at Sooree would suffice for all the purposes required. It proved to be and it might perhaps have been foreseen, a very insufficient force. But, as the *Friend of India* has stated there were at this time not 1200 troops within 80 miles of the scene of disorder. The fear entertained by some for safety of the Bhaugulpore station were conceived to be groundless. Looking calmly back at the current of events, and the progress made by the insurgents in that direction, that fear is seen to have been for a time fully warranted. Not only the rumours and the alarms spread abroad in various directions, but the reports of district officers of the state of affairs were considered highly exaggerated. So again, as if past experience had not sufficiently chided such temerity, were the reports of the recent recommencement of the revolt in January, 1856, pronounced exaggerated; facts have amply shown that there neither was, nor scarcely could be, exaggeration on the subject. And in real truth if, where real or reasonable grounds for alarm exist, the powers in authority were to act at once fully up to emergency, and as though the exaggerations were indeed and honestly true, how much it is reasonable to suppose, of impending anxiety, toil, and disaster would be obviated and avoided.

It was an important object to shut up the passage of the Grand Trunk Road so as to arrest and prevent any contagious spirit from infecting the wild inhabitants of the pergunnahs south of that highway. Latterly, perhaps from fear of their gaining no work, food, or employment on the northern side,

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large bodies, even thousands, of Sonthals, have been permitted to cross the great road.

But these and such like errors are in a broad view of the question trivial and unimportant; and ought to be compared with the anomaly which we have already observed in regard of the delay in declaring Martial Law. It is seldom that a danger like that we have viewed is or can be properly estimated in the present; and in nearly all cases of the like nature large and small has it happened that resort was had in the first instance to inadequate and insufficient means. But the primary delay in the declaration of Martial Law was like an utterance that the civil regulations, the law of the land were sufficient for this as for other occasions of violence against constituted authority; that it was beneath the dignity of the Government of the great Indian Empire to have recourse to such unusual weapons within its own manageable sphere, and upon an antagonist of such small dimensions; that the civil power was, if fairly wielded, of itself fully able to meet the danger; an utterance refuted by the resort to military force; and soon followed by an unwilling confession of the actual and urgent necessity of the measure.

What may be the future of the disturbed territory it is not for us to predict, whether famine, now wisely met, will distress the remnant of its people, or pestilence still further decimate their numbers (for dead bodies are strewn over the face of the earth) whether the depopulation will be soon replenished, or the waste country consume years for its regeneration, are problems yet to be solved. The tracts have been formed into an extra-Regulation Province, subject to the rules of common sense and equity, instead of the Indian Code and Procedure, and unreasonable precedents; the police are to be changed for a body of military police, horse and foot, scarcely more expensive and far more efficient, on the footing of the various civil militia corps of the country; and roads and other public works are to be extensively opened throughout, by means of the involuntary labour of its late occupants so averse to all service, whether hired or unremunerated.

But the state of the law as regards usury, and the relation of the Sonthal to the classes around him might likewise seem to demand attention. On Attic soil, we are told, the small proprietors, impoverished by outward causes, borrowed money at high interest, and mortgaged their lands to the rich, and settled in them again as tenants. The laws made by and for the nobles enabled a creditor to seize an insolvent debtor, and sell him as a slave,—a right frequently exercised; numbers were thus torn from their houses. Stone-posts marked the many acres pledged for debt, and no longer the property of the unfortunate debtor. Solon met

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these evils B. C. 594, by "a disburdening ordinance," reducing the rate of interest, retrospectively and prospectively, and lowering the standard of the silver coinage, by which the debtor saved above a quarter of his debt in the payment. He released the pledged lands from their pledges; and the slave-law was utterly abolished, thus emancipating entirely every slave-debtor. His schemes were submitted to, because the people had installed him as their arbitrator to decide, not as a lawyer would now decide a private contract, but on the best view of the public interests. The state of the debtor's law in ancient Rome is a matter of interesting enquiry. In the time of Servius Tullius their goods only, and not their persons, were made liable for their debts, and the odious and cruel custom of the nexum, and debtor-slavery were banished for a time; when the regal government ceased, the aristocracy revived the law; and debts incurred through extreme poverty on the one hand, and loans offered at exorbitant interest on the other, brought on the plebeian and patrician quarrel. More than two centuries afterwards the Lex Papiria restored to the debtor his civil freedom; and subsequently foreigners and Roman citizens lent and borrowed money on equal terms. The extortions of state officers also were made recoverable by a rigorous law; generally the rate of interest did not exceed 12 per cent.: by the law of the Twelve Tables it was 8⅓rd per cent. for the old year of ten months, or 10 per cent. for the common civil year; and this was fixed as the maximum. The State opened a bank to lend money to the indigent on security; debtors might be legally paid in kind, as by land, cattle, &c.; usury was punished by a mulct of four times the amount of the loan; but the law was of course evaded: and though a legal rate of interest was still continued for all legal purposes, exactions could not be prevented by any enactment. Some reasonably small rate might be recognised, which should not swallow the harvest profits of the cultivators, and afford an equitable adjudication of the differences between them and their suitors; and the blind or fraudulent lending of money upon a palpably impossible or dubious security be legally forbidden.

There are many parts of the Bengal Presidency where a sudden emergency like the Sonthal revolt, but of a more formidable character, might at any time burst forth, and find fewer troops in the vicinity to check its progress. On the Chittagong borders there are many races, wild and savage, who might inflict as much mischief as the Sonthals have done; and the force at present located in that quarter would hardly be sufficient even to offer a successful resistance. While we write, we have just heard of a recent massacre by hill tribes in that very quarter. The neighbourhood of Tipperah swarms with multitudes of

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barbarians, and there is no defence. Many fair districts on the north of the Ganges are peculiarly exposed to danger without a soldier within a week's call. Twice in sixteen years have the Ferazees given trouble to the Government; a third instance of their religious propensities is not even an improbability. On the south and west of the Cuttack province are tribes familiar with crimes of violence and rapine; the protecting force is not probably too small, if more distributed over the surface of the country. Westward of the Jungle Mehals are most plentifully scattered the elements of rebellion, and hordes of men to whom an excitement of such a nature would be acceptable; the protection is very feeble; while throughout Behar is an ignorant, bigoted, proud and high-spirited population, ever alive to some new idea, quick to conceive, and as ready to resent a supposed injury. We are therefore not only willing to agree with the *Friend of India* that "Sooree, Rajmahal, and Bhaugulpore should be turned into military posts;" but would be glad to see military posts multiplied throughout these provinces; and this in addition to the new regime of police control about to be established. It is easy indeed to scheme without reckoning the cost. But the cost, it is scarcely too sanguine a hope to express, might almost be met by the reduction of many inefficient and even useless, as well as expensive establishments in more than one branch of the public service. In point of fact, however, a large addition to the military force of the Lower Provinces is already a gained point; and the valuable element of Irregular Cavalry is included in the estimate; it remains to be desired that their distribution should be directed according to the real dangers of the country.

But as regards the punishment of the Sonthal disturbers of the peace, we likewise concur in the main with the views expressed by the editor of the Journal we have quoted:—

"It is only by striking terror into these blood-thirsty savages, who have respected neither age nor sex—that we can hope to quell this insurrection. It is necessary to avenge the outrages committed, and to protect the cultivators of the plains from a repetition of them. The Sonthals believe that they can enjoy the luxury of blood and plunder for a month without a certainty of retribution. It is absolutely necessary that this impression should be removed, or obliterated, if Government would not in these districts sit on bayonet points. To achieve this end the retribution must be complete, leaving no calculation of chances for future rioters; striking, that none may fail to know and understand; and tremendous that people may know their lives and happiness are not held of light account. It is to Pegu that we would convey the Sonthals, not one or two of the ringleaders, but the entire population of the infected districts. India has not arrived at the point, where armed rebellion can be treated with the contemptuous forbearance, with which an English Ministry can pardon a knot

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of Chartists, or banish a gang of Irish patriots. Let the Sonthal's punishment be entrusted to a special commission, as was done in Canada in 1838. Or if even this expedient be too arbitrary, let the villages be fined in an amount about equal to the plunder retained, and the sum distributed among the sufferers. To secure the punishment of the race, and restore the prestige of British authority, the mass of the Sonthals should not remain unpunished."

The leading principle of these passages is not perhaps one to be called in question. It was absolutely right, and a desirable thing that punishment of the severest kind, consistent and commensurate with its object, should be inflicted on as large a number as possible of those actively concerned in the movement. Under a system of Martial Law, too late declared, and too easily withdrawn, or else by special legislation, such results were attainable. Under the ordinary Civil Code in a civilized age and community their attainment was simply impracticable.

"The inefficiency of the law has been demonstrated beyond the possibility of argument: under its provisions, we could neither put down, nor punish insurrection. Whenever an unusual crisis occurs, we abolish the Regulation system. We recur at once to the old principle of Government, as a refuge from the imbecile tyranny of legal institutions. Is it not probable that legal forms are not applicable to half civilized races, that for them absolute power under real responsibilities is the true government?"

Such is the language of the *Friend of India*. A blind devotion, writes Dr. Arnold, to the letter and forms of the constitution on all occasions, may really compromise those great interests, for the sake of which alone forms are valuable.

Hence did the Governor General ordain that Sonthals should be prevented from crossing the Grand Trunk Road, even though the measure might be an illegal one. It is for these and like reasons that we could have wished to find a sterner justice dealt to the Sonthal insurgents, than they have been permitted to feel. The safety and interest of the State, the foundation of constitutional government, as well as the moral effect upon observant classes of society, and upon the Sonthals themselves, required, one might be disposed to think, a severer course. Of the many prisoners captured by the military authorities, as well when Martial Law was in force, as when it was not extant, how many handed over to the civil power have been, and will be, from some vagueness of proof as to particular acts, acquitted and released as innocent subjects, who without infringing any moral principle of truth, justice and equity, might have been at once and on the spot condemned as in a state of open defiance of the authority of their rulers. It is proposed to employ the Sonthal con-

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victs in opening out roads in the district of Bhaugulpore. But they are known to be adverse to service of any kind; high wages do not tempt them to any servile labour; before the outbreak those employed on the Railroad were few in number. A Sonthal convict, then, kept and guarded, may indeed be forced to work upon the roads; but unless in the condition of a close prisoner, it is questionable whether any other of the race will not either flee to the jungles rather than fulfil his sentence. And others than convicts cannot now be had, because they cannot be visited with their merited punishment.

While we hasten to bring our thoughts upon this subject to a close, the question oft and again recurs, will the Sonthals indeed be re-settled in the Damun-i-koh, or shall they give place to a new people from the plains of Bengal? And if the latter be the event, where must the survivors among the insurgents betake themselves? We hear already of bodies of even thousands of Sonthals having crossed without let or remonstrance the Grand Trunk Road, though they were even intreated to return to the Damun, or occupy the banks of the Barakur river. It may be better that they should live in the south country, than starve idly among the Ghats of the Vindya chain. Yet it is much to be feared that this permission will be found to have been very premature; and a vigilant espionage, backed by a cordon of strong military posts both on the north and the south of the Damooda river, may possibly be not only an useful but a necessary measure. The feelings and temper of the race, their doings and status through the next few months, but particularly on the approach of the rains must be most strictly watched. A love of plunder if not of bloodshed has been excited both by the induced habit and by the comparative impunity which the Sonthals have enjoyed. They witnessed no Martial Law till a late hour, when it should have been declared in the first week of the revolt; when established it was but partially exercised, and soon withdrawn. The punishment it brought though severe was not sufficient, and was but very temporary. The Sonthals will surely not fear a second trial of independence when the first has been so successful, and so leniently visited. As yet they have not only disregarded, but refused the invitations held out to them to return to the Damun-i-koh; and it seems exceedingly doubtful, that they ever will re-settle in the tract.'

If they should persist in this course, it will of course be a matter of not a moment's difficulty to find other parties anxious to take up the vacated lands, and far less liable to be deceived or imposed upon by muhajuns not more cunning than they. But the Sonthals are not exterminated; there are thousands wandering about the Ghats; though they may have been participators

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in rebellion, individuals cannot now under the system which has been adopted be selected from their numbers for punishment; they should therefore by every means be induced by the Government and the authorities employed in the new non-Regulation district to re-settle quietly in the Damun; for the country is more likely to be benefited, and the jungles cleared under their management than that of Bengalee cultivators; and as a late learned professor of political and economical science was wont to inculcate, the permanent gain and advantage of Governments and the proprietors of the soil are identical with the interests of the community, who cultivate the ground. The Sonthals have rebelled indeed and rendered themselves the enemies not only of the opulent Bengalees who brought on the movement, and deserved their fury, but of the many ryots around who never offended them, but whom they attacked, when the lust of bloodshed and plunder was fully aroused. Yet that condign retribution which once might have been visited upon them has been foregone; the proper time and occasion for its infliction has passed away; the submission of the now-obedient must be accepted. It has always seemed to us a great mistake that the military expeditions which were directed to sweep the valley of the Damun-i-koh, were not extended to all the pergunnahs southward and westward of that tract, where it was known that large numbers of the insurgents had repaired, and that others would follow. Until these had completely submitted themselves, little was gained or to be expected by marching through an empty and deserted valley. But no military forces scoured these tracts; and if they did not follow the Sonthals, it could not be supposed the Sonthals would be attracted to their company. They should, we think, have been hunted out, by a competent military force wherever they had gone, and compelled to return and submit themselves; and expressly forbidden to wander forth again without license. It is not improbable that this course would have prevented the second outbreak on the Monghyr border in the month of January last. This policy, there is reason to think, must even now be adopted, and Martial Law again be declared, and maintained so long as it is found necessary to employ the military in active service in any of the disturbed tracts. If some such steps be not adopted, and while the season is propitious it is not improbable that the absconded Sonthals will again and for a long period harass the country wherein they are concealed. We conceive that they should be surrounded, and hunted up everywhere, that none should be allowed to move to the south of the Damooda river or of the Grand Trunk Road, that they should be compelled, by force, if need be, to return to the Damun-i-koh,

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and to the wasted country in Bhaugulpore and Beerbhoom, to rebuild the ruined villages, restore the desolate fields to cultivation, open roads, and advance general public works ; and do this under watch and guard, for otherwise they will run away ; and that this state of things should be continued, until they are completely tranquillized, and reconciled to their allegiance. The apparent illegality of such measures is, as we have before expressed, no illegal, or unconstitutional, or improper exercise of the rights of civil government. The expense can hardly be greater than that which it is already contemplated to incur in the maintenance of military garrisons, as well as of a new and augmented military police. We would not check any voluntary communications between the Sonthals, and the Bengalees, not even with the muhajun class ; for trade is humanizing ; but the Sonthals should be made fully to comprehend the meaning and use of police laws, and judicial courts ; for this they have never yet understood. We have seen many anecdotes of their extreme astonishment at witnessing, during recent operations, the arrest and punishment of lordly Bengalee baboos, who used to be their irresponsible tyrants. That all tyranny, therefore, is illegal, and that redress on that account is sure to be had, they should be led clearly to see and understand. The several new offices being created in the new official district should be under the guidance of a single superior, sensible and experienced ; one, as it has been expressed :—

" Who unites soldierly activity and nerve, great calmness of judgment, and immoveable tenacity of purpose. He may raise a race from barbarism to civilization, turn a country of jungle and ravine into a fertile province. And the man, who makes rebellion impossible by the elevation of the Sonthals, may claim a place in English opinion by the side of the foremost of Indian names."

We aspire yet to see the Sonthal people, endowed with many good and estimable qualities, thus elevated, and hereafter refined, and totally restored in public opinion. There is too, another, and a material element of civilization, which it is proposed to try.

Mr. Droese, a missionary, has long laboured in Bhaugulpore, he is well acquainted with the Sonthals ; he has borne his testimony, that the Sonthal villages, which contained the few of that race that have learnt any of the principles of Christianity, were the last to join in the insurrection, and then were urged probably by a pressure from without. This grand, this most essential, and by far the most effective element of progress and civilization the Church Missionary Society of old England are purposing to introduce. How large an effect must it produce. And amongst the Sonthals there are no castes ; there are no ancient

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prejudices on religious points; there are no deterring ties of a pledged faith, of adherence to treaty and expressed or implied promise, to hinder the mighty Government of India from an active and beneficent co-operation with these benevolent designs. How must the philanthropist, the earnest believer in Christianity, the warm friend and well-wisher of India, and her governors, both imperial and local, desire that the name of the Government of India may yet be associated with so great and good a cause, that the great Government of India may accept the honor and the privilege of a leading participation in such a furtherance of the material welfare of a race, once their bitter and troublesome enemy, but converted into the most faithful, and exemplary of her allies. Does she not hear the cry? the echo of a still small voice from those unhappy jungles? It calls for that, which after all, is the only ultimate real want of a nation, as of an individual, doomed to the dust, like the countless generations, and mighty empires before them, the light of real knowledge, the glory of real life.

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ART. VIII.—1. *Official and Descriptive Catalogue of the Madras Exhibition of* 1855.

2. *Madras Exhibition of* 1855. *Catalogue Raisonnée of the thirty Classes into which the Articles in the Exhibition are divided, with an Index of the Subjects comprised in each Class, and of the names of Exhibitors: compiled for the use of the Jurors.* By Lieut. H. P. HAWKES, S. A., *Commissary General, Assistant to the Director of Arrangements to the Madras Exhibition. Published by authority of the Sub-Committee of Arts and Manufactures. Madras,* 1855.

3. *Jury Reports of the Madras Exhibition of* 1855.

FIVE years have not yet passed away since the great Exhibition of 1851, the most remarkable event of the many which mark the course of industrial progress. Most of us can recollect the doubt and distrust with which this gigantic scheme was regarded by most people, and the contempt and ridicule with which it was treated by others. Few were sanguine enough to anticipate a great success, such as, notwithstanding numerous imperfections, it is now on all hands admitted to have attained.

One great element of this success was doubtless the comprehensiveness of the scheme. It has, we believe, been frequently remarked, but it is not the less worthy of repetition, that a less comprehensive scheme would in all probability have been a signal failure. The time at which it was held was likewise in the highest degree favorable, and the bold and original conception of the building was no doubt another element in the successful result.

Notwithstanding the brief period which has elapsed since the close of the great London Exhibition of 1851, it has had many imitators. Some, as was to be expected, were hasty schemes not duly organised, and terminated in failure. Others, smaller in scale, have nevertheless been highly deserving of praise, and of record. It is highly satisfactory to know that the last great imitator, or rather friendly rival, the Paris Exhibition of 1855, having surmounted the obstacles of evil times, has been very generally recognised as successful, and has even in some departments made marked strides in advance of that of 1851.

To the great Exhibition of 1851, India contributed largely. In all the Presidencies, Committees were organised and objects of interest, both manufactured goods and raw produce, were forwarded to London, where some of them, especially the jewellery, formed one of the most attractive features of the Exhibition. The specimens of raw produce were in some instances less attractive. Packed in haste, upon a sudden emergency, their origin and nature was frequently not readily de-

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terminable, and the very limited knowledge of Indian local geography common in England prevented many of the most important things being properly appreciated. These defects appear to have been in a great measure remedied at the Paris Exhibition of 1855. The experience of 1851 was useful in this country as well as at home, and the gratifying result has been that the Indian Department was one of the most attractive in the building.

It has, however, been very generally felt that the benefit to India from both of these great Exhibitions was not commensurate with the efforts made here to represent this country worthily. The objects collected throughout India and forwarded with great care to Europe were at once lost sight of. Their appearance, when admitted to the world's show, and their comparative merits when placed beside the produce of Europe, were unknown to the producers, who had therefore no stimulus to increased exertion.

It was, therefore, with much satisfaction that we learned the proposal to hold an Industrial Exhibition in Madras. We have watched its progress with much interest, and it is with no little gratification that we point to the works whose names we have placed at the commencement of this article as a proof that in this respect at least India is no laggard, but has commenced betimes the good work of improvement and progress. We are well satisfied that enough and more than enough has been done to make it impossible to stand still, and we are desirous of calling the attention of the Indian public to the amount of good which has been effected by a small number of earnest and laborious men, in a direction in which so little progress has hitherto been made, and in which it is so much to be desired.

In July, 1854, "The Right Honorable the Governor of Madras in Council" (we quote from the official catalogue) "considered it likely that improvement in the agricultural and manufacturing industries of this country would be best promoted by a comprehensive movement on the part of Government. With the object, therefore, of encouraging useful productions of all kinds, in agriculture, machinery, manufactures and arts, it was resolved by Government to take the initiative, under the conviction that to impart the necessary impulse and to ensure success, the efforts should be general, generous, and long continued, and that such efforts would be attended with important and rapidly beneficial effects."

By general consent of all parties concerned, it is admitted that the idea of this comprehensive scheme originated with the Governor himself, and that to Lord Harris, therefore, is justly due the honor of having set a going a movement of great importance. It does not in the least detract from this merit, and may indeed be said to enhance it, that Lord Harris saw himself surrounded in

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Madras by a number of men of great ability and no less zeal and energy, to whom he could with confidence entrust the details of an undertaking which he must have felt to possess many characteristics of an experiment.

Where all seem to have worked so well it would be invidious to mention names, but we extract from the official catalogue a list of the Committees organized under the designations of Executive Committee and two Sub-Committees for raw products and machinery.

Executive Committee.

The Right Hon. Lord HARRIS.
The Honorable J. F. THOMAS, Esq.
EDWARD BALFOUR, Esq., Secretary.
A. HUNTER, Esq., M. D., Director of Arrangements.
H. A. MURRAY, Esq.
Capt. J. W. HAY.
The Honorable WALTER ELLIOT, Esq.
The Honorable Sir H. C. MONTGOMERY, Bart.

Sub-Committee for Raw Products.

W. A. MOREHEAD, Esq.
EDWARD BALFOUR, Esq.
H. CLEGHORN, Esq., M. D., Secretary.
Lieut. Genl. J. S. FRASER.

Sub-Committee for Machinery.

W. U. ARBUTHNOT, Esq.
Lieut. Colonel J. T. SMITH.
Major MAITLAND.
S. SMITH, Esq., M. D., } Secretaries.
A. HUNTER, Esq., M. D., }

The whole formed the General Committee of which Lord Harris was President. Upon the four Secretaries of course the greater part of the labour of detail fell, and all who know Madras will concur with us in expressing approval of their selection. Lord Harris always presided at the meetings of the General Committee, which were held once a week, and took a most active part in the arrangements. Mr. Balfour, as Secretary to the Executive Committee, undertook the department of Finance.

One of the first steps which was taken by the General Committee, was the nomination of Local Committees. One was appointed for each of the principal districts of the Presidency. They were 28 in number, including those of the Portuguese and French Governments at Pondicherry and Goa, and the sum of 1,000 Rupees was placed at the disposal of each with a view to their furnishing a characteristic consignment of the raw and manufactured products of their respective districts.

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About so novel an undertaking there was necessarily a great want of experience, and the consignments from the different districts varied much in extent and value. More than one district was suffering from dearth if not famine, and consequently the attention of the officials was occupied with matters of immediate urgency, which prevented their lending their aid to the Exhibition. The members of the Local Committees were generally the principal civil authorities of the district, but merchants, and medical officers were added where it was practicable, and the services of such persons as were understood to take an interest in the matter were always applied for, and those of volunteers gladly accepted.

A place of exhibition was one of the first questions which called for solution, and fortunately there was no occasion to discuss the necessity of raising a special building, which would have entailed a heavy expense, and would have been necessarily fatal to the projected Exhibition. The large and spacious Banqueting hall, lofty and well lighted, in a favorable situation, consisting mainly of one large hall surrounded by a broad gallery, was available for the purpose and was placed by Government at the disposal of the Committee.

About the middle of January, or six months after the promulgation of the scheme, as we learn from the narrative prefixed to the official report, contributions began to arrive, and as the Exhibition was opened to the public on the 20th of February, little more than a month was allowed for arrangement and classification. Many of the articles exhibited did not reach Madras till long after the commencement. This was no doubt unavoidable in so novel an undertaking, and may well be allowed as an excuse for some delay and a little confusion in the preparation of the catalogue, the printing of which could not even be commenced till a month after the opening.

The Exhibition was opened by Lord Harris in person on the 20th February, 1855, and the inauguration, as befitted so important an event, was attended with a considerable degree of pomp and solemnity. There was a public holiday at all the Government offices, and at the different educational institutions, and the mercantile community, with a prompt appreciation of the importance of the day, made holiday at the same time.

On the 28th April the Exhibition was closed, having been open two months and eight days. An official record was kept of the number of visitors, which amounted to 26,563, an average of 463 on each of the fifty-eight days during which it was open to the public. To those who recollect the incomparably greater numbers who daily visited the great Exhibition, this may at first sight appear a very small number, but a moment's reflection on the difference of circumstances will satisfy every one that taking into consider-

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ation time and place, these numbers are highly satisfactory and encouraging.

Saturday appears to have been always the favorite day for visiting the Exhibition, the numbers being always on that day considerable greater than on other days. The cause of this preference was the lower price charged on that day. It was also generally selected by public schools, and the pupils of the Medical College. The boys of the Male Asylum and other charitable institutions were admitted on Saturdays for one anna each. It is reasonable to suppose that these lads derived a large amount of pleasure and profit from their visit, as the secretaries and their assistants were always in attendance on such occasions, to explain the raw products and machinery in their respective departments. After four weeks the interest of the public seemed to flag, the weekly numbers diminishing rapidly from 4,300 to about 1500. It would appear therefore that the interest was to a great extent local, and that that part of the population which was attracted by the Exhibition, and to which the price of exhibition was not prohibitory, had for the most part seen it before the end of March: during the last week, no doubt because it was the last, the numbers were double what they had been for some time previous.

The nature of the attraction offered to visitors may be learned by a reference to the official records of the Exhibition; but these can convey no idea of the general effect, which was of course dependent upon the mode of classification and grouping. Those who had an opportunity of witnessing it describe it as in all respects satisfactory, and as highly creditable to the Madras Presidency. The Banqueting hall, a lofty and imposing room, was in every part completely filled. Raw products from all parts of the Presidency crowded the galleries, and manufactured goods of the most varied kinds occupied the main hall.

A very large and valuable collection of articles illustrative of the Madras tariff, prepared by Mr. Underwood, Collector of Sea Customs under instructions from the Court of Directors for permanent deposit in the East India House Museum, was placed temporarily in the hall, where it was arranged upon the plan adopted by Mr. Archer in his collection of Liverpool imports, which attracted so much attention at the great Exhibition of 1851. Many admirable specimens of carving in wood and ivory were exhibited, wax as well as other models of fruit and flowers, which were highly ornamental. Temporary screens were covered with drawings and photographs, of great promise, and on the walls there was a display of mats and carpets of various fabrics, and a great variety of native arms.

The verandah below was occupied by a number of the larger implements and machinery, such as pug-mills, water-mills, rope-ma-

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chines, Underwood's apparatus for cleaning fibres, and many others. In the same part of the building were placed a number of models made by Major Maitland at the gun carriage manufactory, along with a large assortment of articles prepared in the Industrial School by Dr. Hunter's pupils.

At the close of the Exhibition private contributors removed such portions of their property as they thought fit: of the Government property a part was forwarded to the India House, and the remainder was sold by auction to assist in defraying the expenses of the Exhibition. A large portion of the collection of arms and antiquities was placed in the Madras Public Museum. Many articles of artistic value were presented to the School of Arts. Raw products, the value of which (in small specimen,) is merely nominal, but which possess great interest to public museums and institutions, were largely distributed. The drugs were presented to the museum of the Madras Medical College and of the Hyderabad School of Medicine. Other products were made over to the Madras Museum, extensive series of all the raw products of the Presidency were sent to the public museums of Kew and Edinburgh, to the Pharmaceutical Society, and to other economic collections of Europe as well as India.

The organization of the Madras Exhibition was similar to that of the Exhibition of 1851. The articles exhibited were arranged in classes, and for each class a jury was nominated, to whom the task was entrusted of critically comparing and estimating the relative value of the things shown. Medals of two classes were awarded, and a third mark of distinction was designated as *honorable mention*. As soon as possible after the opening of the Exhibition, a catalogue was published. This was in the first instance hastily got up, as it was important that visitors should be supplied with some means of knowing what objects of interest were to be looked for. A more complete catalogue was afterwards published for the use of the jurors, and as a work of reference, under the title of a Catalogue Raisonnée of the Madras Exhibition of 1855. In both we observe that the prices of goods are generally marked in accordance with the plan adopted at Paris.

The pages of these catalogues form, it is understood, a very complete record of the Exhibition, and they undoubtedly exhibit ample proofs both of the zeal and activity of its promoters, and of the good will with which the great body of the public, or at least the parties principally interested, supported their efforts. Dry details of goods exhibited and lists of exhibitors (nearly 500 in number) are not adapted to our pages. We shall therefore turn to the reports of the *juries*, the third of the works now before us, as the most ready way of imparting a knowledge of the nature of the Exhibition and of ascertaining its importance and probable effects on

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the commerce and manufactures of the country. The careful preparation of these reports reflect great credit upon the reporters, and must be most gratifying to the parties to whom rewards were assigned, as a proof of the care with which the jurors examined and weighed the relative merits of all the articles exhibited.

The jury reports commence with new products, which though comprising only four of the thirty classes, are undoubtedly in many respects the most important fact of the Exhibition, as it is from among them that most novelties may be expected to occur. The demand in Europe for Indian manufactured goods has long been on the wane, while that for raw products is year after year rapidly increasing in amount, and will, we trust, ere long obtain an extent which a few years ago would have appeared incredible to all, and even now is regarded by most people as unreasonable.

In Class I, which comprises the *mineral kingdom*, and specially mining and metals, we have little to dwell upon. The trade in precious stones is ancient in India, and not likely to increase; and the metallic riches of the peninsula await for their full development the completion of the Rail. Recent discoveries of valuable ores of iron in Northern India teach us emphatically how small our acquaintance is with things which might have been supposed well known, and forbid our saying that the full extent of the mineral wealth of the peninsula was clear by the specimens sent to the Exhibition.

The report of the jury on Class II, *chemical and pharmaceutical products and processes*, contains much very interesting matter. At the time of the Exhibition a Committee was engaged at Madras in the discussion of the extent to which the import of drugs from Europe might be avoided, by the substitution of indigenous articles of the Materia Medica, and the report well observes that in the opinion of the jury, "many other indigenous drugs besides the "country medicines" now known, might be brought into use, and improved by the operations of the pharmaceutical laboratory, and they urge the Medical department to co-operate with the Drug Committee, now in existence, in the further prosecution of enquiries which may be greatly extended, and which will prove of general benefit by pointing out the pharmaceutical resources of the country, and effecting a considerable saving to the coffers of the State." A similar Committee, but with a much wider scope, embracing all Government stores, is now sitting in Calcutta, which will no doubt refer to the reports of the Madras Exhibition in this and other classes, for many valuable hints regarding cheap substitutes for the more expensive articles at present imported from Europe.

Two very extensive collections of pharmaceutical substances were contributed to the Exhibition; one by Dr. Kirkpatrick, com-

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prising the indigenous drugs of Mysore; the other by Mr. Waring, containing those of the kingdom of Travancore. Each collection contains upwards of 240 specimens, nearly all of indigenous origin, and to each a first class medal was awarded. The collection of Mr. Waring was especially valuable from its being accompanied by dried specimens of the drugs exhibited. The drugs were thus readily identified and having been catalogued with their botanical names, those which prove of value can be obtained at pleasure. The value of Mr. Kirkpatrick's collection, is enhanced by many interesting observations on the therapeutic action of the drugs, a few extracts from which will show the value of the whole. One of the most important native drugs is Untamool—the root of a small scandent asclepiadeous plant, *Tylophora Asthmatica*, which possesses the properties of Ipecacuanha, to which Dr. Kirkpatrick thinks it is in every way comparable. He further adds that he finds the powder of the dry leaf as efficacious as that of the root, a very important fact, and well deserving attention when made by a man who gives the following cautious report of the value of Muda, a medicine which has been much extolled. "I have often used this medicine in leprosy, and other complaints but without obtaining any distinct or recognisable effect of any kind: I am not even sure that it is alterative. The doses I have used have not been more than ten grains, and in these it has not even nauseated. I have not used the *Calotropis Procera* which is said to be more active, and is supposed to be the true Mudar of Bengal." Dr. Kirkpatrick reports favorably of Kaladana, a medicine much used in native practice, and strongly recommended as a substitute for jalap. Similar practical remarks are appended to many other drugs in Dr. Kirkpatrick's list published in the Catalogue Raisonnée, and which deserve the attention of medical men.

Another Indian drug of great importance is the indigenous Sarsaparilla, *Hemidesmus Indicus* of botanists, regarding which we extract the following important information, which will at the same time show the mode in which the reporter has treated his subject:—

"5. *Country Sarsaparilla.* The roots of "*Hemidesmus Indicus*" have been sent from almost every district, but they vary considerably in aroma, the bundle from Trichinopoly being the best.

Syrup and extract from the indigenous plant, growing at the foot of Courtallum hills, by 1st Dresser C. Appavoo Pillay, Tinnevelly.

Dr. A. J. Scott has forwarded a crystallized principle called "Hemidesmine," which is found on examination to be an entirely new substance, exhibiting a remarkable indifference both to acids and alkalies, crystallizing in a peculiar manner in hexagonal plates, which are subject to rapid efflorescence. The only ascertained solvents are alcohol and æther; it is perfectly insoluble in water, both cold and hot. These facts show that it is a substance of a very peculiar na-

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ture. The jury recommend that this preparation be fully tested in hospital practice, along with the extract and syrup prepared from the same plant, and forwarded by 1st Dresser C. Appavoo Pillay. In consideration of Hemidesmine being a new product, the jury award a 1st class medal to Dr. Scott, and to C. Appavoo Pillay, honorable mention."

The numerous contributions sent by medical officers of all classes to the Exhibition, and the attention which they evidently pay to the development of the indigenous Materia Medica as evinced by many little things, strike us as being highly creditable to the service. Omum water so frequently mentioned as a vehicle for more potent medicines, is prepared from a species of dill.

Another important contribution to the modern Materia Medica obtainable from Madras, is the fish-liver oil, which is now manufactured in large quantity and of excellent quality on the coasts of the Peninsula, and in 1853 was exported from Malabar, to the extent of 700,000 gallons. A commodity which can be produced in quantity on any sea coast, will probably be most successfully manufactured where labour is cheap, and should it have been fairly established, the Peninsula of India may not only be able to retain this fish oil as an article of export, but will in all probability rapidly extend the quantity manufactured.

The report on Class III, *substances used as food*, is also full of interest, and well merits the attention of merchants and others, at a time when the markets of the world are in such a disturbed state that new sources of supply are everywhere eagerly sought after, and once established, have a fair prospect of becoming settled channels of trade.

It is well known that in the Madras Presidency the arable land bears but a small proportion to the whole extent of surface, and that with the exception of the west coast, the rains are over a great part of the area so scanty, that the farmer is mainly dependent upon irrigation. It is however far from being a general rule that the most fertile and productive countries are in the highest state of cultivation; great efforts are apparently being made to improve the quality of the produce of cereals in the Madras Presidency, and the influence of competition will no doubt tend to stimulate further progress. The introduction of Carolina rice, as drawn in the following extract, is a step in the right direction.

"In size, colour and fineness, none was equal to the Carolina rice, of which a beautiful sheaf was exhibited by W. E. Underwood, Esq., grown at Ennore from imported seed. The straw of this is large and strong. There have been several importations of this grain, but the seeds did not previously vegetate; 80 bags were imported of which about three measures were received by Mr. Underwood, the rest were sent to the northward, and never reached their destination; the seed produced 5 per cent. more grains and ripened a month earlier than

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the surrounding paddy. There is sufficient quantity for distribution, and as the value of Carolina rice is greater than that of Madras rice, the propagation of the new variety is very desirable."

In all the irrigable lands rice appears to form the staple crop, but on the higher lands, which are incapable of irrigation, the various kinds of grain grouped together under the name of millet appear to be much cultivated. Thus the report tells us that

"There are samples of a variety of millets, which are of great importance in many parts of the country, and hold a rank second to rice alone. In Mysore, perhaps, they surpass all other crops in importance. Ragee forms a principal article of diet along the Western Ghats, &c."—

And furnishes a list of six species of millet-yielding cereals, each with countless varieties, and all provided with Tamil and Hindostani names indicating their wide diffusion throughout India. The extension of irrigation will we trust be the means of greatly diminishing the cultivation of a class of cereals, possessed of small nutritive powers, and whose use seems in general an accompaniment and indication of a low degree of civilization. Bad food and low civilization react so powerfully one upon another that it is difficult here as in many other cases to decide which is the cause and which is the effect.

Thirteen samples of wheat were exhibited, grown chiefly on the table land. How far the higher levels of the Peninsula are adapted to the cultivation of this most important of all corn yielding plants is not yet known, but no doubt the question will soon be solved if it be true that the export of wheat from India to Europe has been ascertained to be practicable, a thing long doubted. The enterprise of the South is not likely to neglect to turn to advantage the plains of Mysore and the Deccan—now that the Rail and the Godavery hold out a prospect of easy export to the sea coast; and if these districts be found adapted to wheat cultivation, much benefit will no doubt arise to the country.

We learn from this report that the cultivation of coffee is extending rapidly in the Madras Presidency, especially on the moister slopes of the Western Ghats, which have a climate almost identical with that of Ceylon, so that success is not at all doubtful. When such a cultivation has been fairly established in a suitable climate it needs no further stimulus, but may fairly be left to develop itself. Indeed the great risk is that speculators (as in Ceylon) may be induced to extend the cultivation to districts which are ill adapted for it by climate or other causes, from want of attention to the necessary element of success. It is to be hoped that it may not be our duty at any future time to chronicle such causes of failure.

Cocoa, as an object of cultivation, has been so much neglected

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in India that it is important to extract the following paragraph which we consider deserving of attention.

"*Cocoa.*—The Cocoa seeds sent by General Cullen from his gardens near Oodagherry, 1,800 feet above the sea, are the only samples; they are of good quality, the beans being plump, ripe and clean, but small, not well cured and without colour. The jury consider this deserving of honorable mention. Considering how much of this article is employed daily in private life, it is of great consequence to get good Cocoa grown in the country. The Committee would draw attention to the cultivation of the tree, from which this valuable nut is produced, and for which the climate and soil of the Western coast would appear peculiarly favorable. It may be remarked the Cocoa flourishes best in the alluvial soil of mountain vallies, though it will grow well at some elevation on mountain sides. Great care should be taken in the selection of plants, as the varieties are numerous, some producing very superior fruit to the others; judgment on this point must chiefly be acquired by experience."

"Considerable diversity of opinion exists as to the distance, at which the plants should be placed, some authorities considering that from 12 to 16 feet apart is sufficient, others maintaining that 30 feet is not too much. It is clear that a free ventilation of air should be insured to the tree, after it has come to its full growth, and this cannot well be attained with a smaller space than 30 feet. The Cocoa plant requires large forest trees of favourable sorts to be scattered amongst them, to protect them; the tree used for this purpose in the West Indies and South America is one of the Bombaceæ. The average return of Cocoa per tree, when the trees are planted close together, is from 1 to 3 lbs. there being two crops in the year, but as much as from 9 to 16-lbs. may be procured by proper planting and cultivation. The plants begin to bear at from 5 to 7 years of age; during this period, the interspaces between the rows of trees can be rendered productive by planting yams and vegetables in them. Great care is required in curing the Cocoa, after it is separated from the pod, and on the method of fermenting and drying, depends very much the production of a good or bad article."

Tobacco is another very important product, which we are glad to observe indicated as being extensively cultivated on the islands of the Godavery. Its quality appears to be excellent. It is well remarked by the reporter (Dr. Cleghorn) that the quality of the leaf mainly depends upon the process of manufacture, carelessness in drying producing tobacco of much inferior quality to that yielded by the same crop when more carefully treated. We have here a hint, addressed to growers and curers of tobacco in all parts of India, attention to which would we believe in many cases materially increase the value of their produce.

The climate of the southern parts of Malabar and of the valleys of Travancore appears (like that of Ceylon) well adapted for the cultivation of spice, and samples of cloves, mace, cinnamon

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and nutmegs are accordingly among the articles exhibited. None of these however are as yet largely cultivated, and further experiment is required to say whether or not the produce is capable of competing with that of the Malayan Peninsula. The cultivation of cinnamon we do not doubt might be largely extended.

The subject embraced in Class IV "vegetable and animal substances chiefly used in manufactures as implements and for ornament" were found to be so numerous that the jury of 10 members was compelled to have recourse to a division of labour, appointing sub-juries to undertake the examination of the different subdivisions of the class, which was divided into eight sections as follow :—

Section—	I.	Gum and Resin Series.
„	II.	Oil Series.
„	III.	Dyes and Colours.
„	IV.	Tanning Materials.
„	V.	Fibrous Substances.
„	VI.	Cellular Substances.
„	VII.	Timber and Ornamental Woods.
„	VIII.	Animal Substances.

Lieut. Hawkes undertook the duties of reporter in the section of oils, Dr. Hunter in that of fibrous substances, and Dr. Cleghorn in all the other sections.

Among the gums and resins, so important in commerce, our space will only permit us to notice briefly two substances of great importance from their absolute novelty as products of British India. These are Gamboge, and Gutta-percha.

The existence of Gamboge in the forests of the west coast of India in large quantity has apparently been known for some time to the natives, as it has been occasionally exported in considerable quantity through Bombay to Europe. It was not, however, till the specimens in the Madras Exhibition attracted general notice that the attention of merchants and medical men was directed to it. On investigation it was found that the Malabar drug was quite equal in quality both as a pigment and as a medicine, to the best Siam Gamboge, and the Madras medical stores are now supplied with it. As the tree which yields it has been determined by Dr. Cleghorn to be the same as the *Garcinia Pictoria* of Siam and Malaya, we may with confidence believe it to be of equal quality; and as we may expect to see it form a large article of export, it is gratifying to learn from Dr. Kirkpatrick that the tree "is spread over a large extent of country in the Nuggur jungles, occupying a middle position between the edge of the Western Ghats, and the table land in the other direction;" and from Mr. Maltby, of Canara, that "it is found in the greatest abundance along the whole line of our Ghats" and "might become an important article of export.

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The great demand for Gutta-percha and the increasing difficulty of obtaining it in the forests of the Straits have led to a great deal of search for the same or some substitute elsewhere. Gums more or less plastic appear to be yielded by a vast number of different trees, among which many *Asclepiadeæ* may especially be mentioned. The most important characteristic of Gutta-percha, however, and that to which it is mainly indebted for its value is its property as a non-conductor of electricity, and consequently as an isolator of the electric current. No substitute possessing these properties was known up to the time of the Madras Exhibition, but gum sent from two portions of the Eastern Ghats, is noticed by the reporter in the following terms :—

"General Cullen has forwarded a drawing and description of a large forest tree, abounding at the foot of the Ghats N. E. of Trevandrum. The plant delineated, is evidently one of the Sapotaceœ, and the Malayalim name is "pauchonthee," and the product, of which a good sample is forwarded, on examination bears a strong resemblance to Gutta-percha, both in external appearance and mechanical properties. It appears to the jury, that this gum elastic is possessed of valuable properties, and they beg to recommend that a 2nd class medal be awarded.

"2. Lieutenant Col. F. Cotton, Engineers, forwards from the Neilgherries a small sample of a product similar to Gutta-percha in its smell, general appearance and fracture. No drawing of the tree has been submitted, but a few leaves which surrounded the exudation, very closely resemble the real *Isonandra Gutta*. The trees are said to be very large and numerous in the forest. The jury award a 2nd class medal."

These specimens were subjected to a careful examination, which has confirmed the value of this Gutta-percha and its abundance in the forests of Travancore, and probably of other parts of the Malabar coast. The species has not yet been determined, but ample means to that end will probably be obtained ere long. If equally valuable with the Straits, Gutta-percha the indigenous tree will probably soon be exhausted; but in a country in which European capital can be so readily applied, we may hope ere long to see this valuable tree an object of cultivation, and the whole world supplied from the lower Malabar hills.

It is well known that for many years the demand for fixed oils has gone or steadily increasing, and that even before the breaking out of the war the great London manufacturers were seeking all parts of the earth for cheap oils, so as to reduce as much as possible the price of two of the great necessaries of life, light and soap. Under existing circumstances, increased prices have of course stimulated that search, and the Madras Exhibition shews clearly that India possesses ample means of supplying the demand, when her productive resources have been properly developed.

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Lieut. Hawkes' report gives an excellent review of the different oils in use in the Madras Presidency, their sources, relative abundance or facility of production, and the mode of preparation in common use. As a commissariat officer the subject seems to have attracted his attention, and he has embodied in this report the result of his enquiries and experiences in different parts of the Presidency. His account is prefaced by an abstract of the quantity of oils exported annually from the Madras Presidency from 1848 to 1853. This is one of the many valuable statistical tables contained in the report of the jury which alone confer upon it a great value. We make room for the list of exports for the years 1852-53.

	Quantity.		Value.
Cocoanuts, dry	Cwt.	151,528	Rs. 5,30,928
Cocoanut oil, ...	Gl.	14,57,741	3,18,655
Gingeley seed	Cwt.	2,51,613	5,31,864
Gingeley oil	Gl.	72,607	43,608
Lamp oil seeds	Cwt.	73,215	54,228
Lamp oil	Gl.	51,084	20,927
Ground nut oil	Gl.	57,207	23,603
Fish oil.....	Gl.	2,57,217	71,769
Margosa oil	Gl.	3,111	1,701
Pinnacotay seeds	Cwt.	860	1,167
Cassia oil	Cwt.	30	1,701
Sandal wood oil.....	Cwt.	96	50,037
Cotton seed	Cwt.	8,090	7,613
Fœnugreek	Cwt.	1,451	5,322
Mustard seed	Cwt.	16,075	34,048
Castor oil	Gl.	8,059	7,818
Castor seeds	Cwt.	2,764	4,247
Linseed.....	Cwt.	1,106	3,275

One of the most curious and striking products noticed in the report is the Gamboge butter, which is remarkable as being an innocuous product of the tree which yields the acrid green resin gamboge.

"The solid butter contained in the seeds of the "gamboge tree" a species closely allied to the G. purpurea which produces the "cocum butter" has attracted attention. The gamboge tree grows abundantly in certain parts of the Mysore and Western coast jungles. The oil, which is procurable in moderate quantities, is prepared by pounding the seed in a stone mortar and boiling the mass, until the butter, or oil rises to the surface. Two and a half measures of seed should yield one seer and a half of butter. In the Nuggur Division of Mysore, it is sold at the rate of As. 1-4 per seer of 24 Rs. weight, or at £36-6 per ton, and is chiefly used as a lamp oil by the better classes of natives, and by the poor as a substitute for ghee. The butter thus prepared does not appear to possess any of the purgative qualities of the gam-

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boge resin, but is considered an antiscorbutic ingredient in food. (The above interesting particulars have been furnished by H. R. Oswald, Esq., M. D., Nuggur Division, Mysore Commission."

The report on dyes and colouring substances by Dr. Cleghorn is, like all the other reports, full of valuable information, and at the same time very suggestive. It commences with Indigo "the most important of Indian dye-stuffs," and therefore highly interesting in an economic point of view. The improvements introduced into the cultivation of Indigo by European skill in Bengal seem to have at last attracted the attention of merchants and planters in the Southern Presidency—with what result the following extract shows:

"In former years the usual mode of extracting Indigo, as practised in Southern India, was from the dry leaf, a process which will be found minutely described in the pages of Heyne and Roxburgh. But this is now almost entirely superseded, by the better system of the *green leaf* manufacture, which is followed in all the Indigo growing districts of this Presidency, save the Province of South Arcot. In the latter, the *dry leaf* process is still persevered in, but it is likely that it is only so, from the distance to which the leaf has generally to be carried before it reaches the factory, and the consequent partial drying that takes place on the journey. The Indigo trade of Madras has of late years sustained a great development, though, owing to the drought of 1854, the export fell off above 50 per cent, it having in that year only reached 2,162 candies (about 4,300 chests) while in 1853, it amounted to 5,445 candies (about 10,900 chests)."

A table of the export of Indigo from Madras to the port of London shows a gradual increase from 3600 chests in 1840 to 9761 in 1853. In 1854 from the above mentioned causes the quantity fell to 9229 chests, but the diminution was quite temporary. These numbers show the rapidly increasing importance of the indigo trade of the South, and appear to indicate that the dry hot climate of the Carnatic is well adopted to the cultivation of Indigo. It would appear however that there are still many drawbacks to the success of the manufacture, as the report goes on to say that—

"Notwithstanding this importance of the traffic, the general manufacture is so indifferently conducted, or rather on so imperfect a system, that the value of the article produced is seriously diminished, and its currency injured as an article of trade. It is not that the quality of Madras Indigo is inferior to the ordinary run of that of Bengal, for where the manufacture has been conducted on a large scale, and with elaborate care and skill, as in the factories of Messrs. Arbuthnot and Co. at Cuddapah and Bimlipatam, and Messrs. Hart and Simpson in the Cuddapah and Nellore districts, an article is produced which is held in high estimation in the home market, and commands as current a sale as the produce of any Bengal factory. But Indigo is commonly manufactured over the Madras Presidency in driblets; one vat

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owner often not producing enough to fill even a chest, and the consequence is, that no one can make a purchase of a quantity of Indigo in the Madras market upon a sample, as is commonly done in Bengal,—that every parcel, and often the same chest is of mixed qualities, and that the value of the dye becomes thereby disproportionately depreciated at home."

The remedy for this drawback is self-evident, and if the prospects of the trade continue to advance steadily, capitalists will readily come forward, with the necessary means to concentrate the manufacture, as is generally done in Bengal.

We refer to the report for details regarding the other dyes made in Madras. The only novelty which attracts our attention is a dye obtained from Casuarina Equisitifolia, which we do not recollect to have seen noticed elsewhere, so that further trials have perhaps not confirmed its value. It is thus referred to:—

"An entirely new dye-stuff is exhibited by Mr. Jules Lepiné (late of Pondicherry,) obtained from the bark of the *Casuarina Equisitifolia*. The manufacturer states that the extract is fixed by a solution of Bichromate of Potass: with *alum* as a mordant the Casuarina gives a reddish nankeen colour, with iron a black colour, and if these mordants are mixed, the result is grey. The Casuarina dye becomes fixed by exposure to air without mordants, a nankeen red is obtained after 30 minutes exposure. At the end of an hour, M. Lepiné states that the colour is not affected by water, alkalies, solar light, or heat. The crystallised extract and cloth dyed with the Casuarina were laid before the jury, and the reddish brown colour of the cloth stood the test of washing well. Considering the discovery to be highly creditable to M. Lepiné, the jury award a 2nd class medal."

Passing over tanning materials as not of sufficient importance in the Exhibition to induce us to linger over them, we come to *fibrous substances*, perhaps the most important of all the raw products. Dr. Hunter's report ought to be studied by all who are interested in this branch of commerce, not only for a full account of the various fibres exhibited, pointing out their merits and defects, but for the excellent remarks which it contains on the causes of the defects which are so commonly observed in many of the Indian fibrous substances, and the means of preventing them. His instructions on the best mode of preparing each sort of fibre are prefaced by the following general remarks, in which the true principles are so clearly stated that they require no comment:

"Few subjects present a wider or more interesting field for investigation than the best modes of cultivating and cleaning fibrous plants. Hitherto, these branches of industry have not been carried on in India, with sufficient care or energy, to make profitable returns to the agriculturist or the merchant. Some very serious faults have been committed in the process of cleaning Indian fibres, which have tended in a

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great measure to deprive them of their value for manufacturing purposes. In order save labour, the useful practice has been to steep the plants till the sap and vegetable juices are thoroughly decomposed, and the fibre can then in most instances, be easily beaten or washed out, but this method, though applicable to a certain extent, in cold climates, where decomposition takes place slowly, is found to be very injurious to the fibre, and to be almost inapplicable in warm climates, where fermentation often passes into putrefaction within three days, and the decomposed sap acquires acid and other properties which not only deprive the fibres of their strength but discolor them in such a way as to render them quite unfit for manufacturing purposes. Most vegetable substances contain besides the fibrous tissue, sap, cellular tissue, and a little coloring matter; the sap consists usually of water, gum, fecula and alkali with occasionally tannin.

"It is from a careful observation of the laws of vegetable growth and decay, that man has been enabled to take advantage of many of the beautiful vegetable products that lie scattered about in luxuriant profusion, and in proportion to the pains he takes to observe the laws of nature, and the judgment he displays in applying this acquired knowledge to scientific or useful purposes, so are the results beneficial to the community at large; one man looks perhaps at the chemistry of vegetation, another merely at the physiology, while a third considers it useless to waste time with such abstruse studies, and enquires merely what is the mercantile value of fibrous substances, and how cheaply they can be brought into the market. Now all these enquiries have their relative importance but unfortunately for India, scientific and practical researches have not been carried far enough, and mere economy of production has been studied, and as far as most of the fibrous plants have been concerned, the results are anything but satisfactory. It would be a useless as it is uncalled for, to enter into a detailed account of the method of cleaning every kind of plant, but some broad and simple principles may be laid down, which have been found by experience to be applicable to the cleaning of most fibres.

The leaves, stalks or barks of plants should be cut when in full vigor and of a bright green color; when old, dry or decayed, they yield coarse and stiff fibre. No more should be cut at a time, than can be cleaned within two days, and the cut plants should not be left long exposed to the sun as the sap dries up, and the process of cleaning them becomes more tedious. The sooner the sap, pulp, and impurities can be removed from the fibre, the cleaner and stronger will it be. The process of rotting plants, or steeping till fermentation takes place, is objectionable in a warm climate, and is now being abandoned even in cold climates, as it discolors the fibres and takes from their strength. Beating, crushing and scraping fibres improves their quality, instead of injuring them, as was at one time supposed. In fact, the more a fresh fibre gets knocked about, provided it is not cut across and rendered too short in the staple, the softer and more pliant does it become. If a plant be well crushed or beaten soon after it is cut, it may be immensed in water for a night and a good deal of the injurious part of the sap will be removed."

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With this rather long extract we shall close our notice of these valuable reports, as Dr. Cleghorn's report on timber, though replete with information, offers little matter for extract, and it would be needless to enter into equal detail with respect to the other branches of the Exhibition. Were it necessary we might derive from the columns devoted to the best of the manufactured articles, and from the words of the reports upon them further proofs of the economic importance of the Exhibition and of the satisfactory nature of this representation of the productive resources of the Peninsula. Our readers will, however, probably agree with us that practically the raw products are the most important, and at any rate enough has been said to enable them to form their own estimate of the amount of good effected, and to direct the attention of those more especially interested in economic enquiries to the pages of the report for further information in those branches in which they may desire to offer it. If we succeed in impressing upon the minds of our readers the same feeling of satisfaction which we have derived from the perusal of the works now before us, our object has been fully attained.

One aspect of the Exhibition alone remains to be noticed, and it is one which well deserves to be brought prominently forward. We refer to the question of expense. It has been stated to us on undoubted authority that the whole expenses of the Exhibition did not exceed but probably fell a little short of 10,000 rupees or £1,000 sterling. No doubt, much might be said to qualify this statement. The support of Government was lent in every way, and thereby great expense was spared. The disinterested labours of the many able and zealous men to whose exertions the Exhibition owes so much cannot of course be taken into account. There were, however, other expenses which by Government assistance were avoided. Thus return carts or baggage animals were placed at the disposal of local committees, so as to save outlay for carriage; the building in which the Exhibition took place was, as we have seen, public property, and smaller savings were practicable in a hundred ways, to diminish the money expenditure.

With every allowance however for all these qualifications of the broad statement, it is not the less satisfactory that so great an amount of good could be effected for so small a positive outlay. Had the expenses been heavy the most zealous advocate of economic progress, and the most ardent believer in the benefit of this mode of diffusing knowledge of our wants and deficiencies, might have hesitated before recommending a repetition of the experiment though fully convinced of the good which the last had effected. As it is, however, no such scruples need interfere with us in calling for a succession of these Exhibitions as soon as we are convinced that they have done good.

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Practical men will, however, call for further proofs of the benefit conferred than a mere statement of the success of the Exhibition as a show, and a bare enumeration of the valuable reports prepared by the jurors in the different classes. We concede willingly, that unless practical improvement follow, the benefit of the display is merely temporary, but we contend that the time has not yet come when it is possible to point in detail to great benefit conferred. Too short a time has elapsed since the close of the Exhibition to enable a correct estimate of the impulse which we believe it to have imparted to commercial enterprise, but we are not now as in 1851, without experience in national Exhibitions, and may fairly reason by analogy that as the result is so far satisfactory, further benefits may be expected to follow. In most points the competition was very satisfactory, and a spirit of enquiry has been set on foot which may be expected to lead to important results. Distant provinces have been made acquainted with each others products, and have had an opportunity of observing their own dependencies. In no country is this likely to be fraught with good as in India, as there is no country in which there is so little intercourse between places far apart.

We are not, however, without some positive proofs that good has been already effected. Some instances in which novel products, either natural or partially prepared, have attracted the attention of merchants, have been noticed in the preceding pages, and many others might have been enumerated. The interest of the public has also been evinced by numerous enquiries for the principal kinds of machinery exhibited. Machines for cleaning fibres, crushing and grinding metallic ores and colours, and raising water, mills for grinding grain, heckling mills and carding and weaving machinery, printing presses &c. have been in considerable demand by many to whom those modes of economising manual labour had been hitherto unknown. At the School of Industrial Art, many applications for models, drawings and plans of machinery have been received, as well as large orders for work of various kinds. This Institution has also been the medium, through which many remunerative orders have been sent to parties, who contributed to the Exhibition, and no doubt many more similar orders have been sent direct.

Our position at a distance does not enable us to ascertain more than a few isolated facts of this nature, and we desire to state nothing of which the accuracy cannot be guaranteed. One fact however, is in itself sufficient to prove the estimate, which has been formed on the spot regarding the success of the Exhibition, namely the resolution of the Madras Government to hold another similar Exhibition in February, 1857, at which there is to be no limitation of the articles as to place of production. Next year, therefore,

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will witness an Exhibition of the Industrial state of all India. That the Madras Presidency will again contribute largely, we cannot doubt; and if Bombay and Bengal co-operate heartily, as we earnestly trust they may, success is certain. It may be a matter of regret that the Supreme Government has not been sufficiently soon aroused to a sense of the value of the movement at Madras, to take upon itself the organization of the first great Exhibition for British India. The time for this has now, however, gone by, for while a year has been allowed to pass away without a sign in Calcutta the Madras Government has acted, and will we trust meet with zealous support from all parts of India. In sending their consignments to Madras, contributors will have the certainty that the tried staff who organised the last Exhibition, will carry to that of next year, the same zeal and the same industry in addition to the experience then acquired.

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ART. IX.—*The History of Persia from the most early period to the present time.* By Major General Sir JOHN MALCOLM, G. C. B. K. L. S., Governor of Bombay. A new edition, revised, in two volumes, London. John Murray, Albemarle Street.

Purchas, his Pilgrimes. In five Books. London. Printed by William Stansby for HENRIE FETHERSTONE, and are to be sold at his shop in Paul's Church-yard at the signe of the Rose, 1625.

Sir Anthony Sherley, his Relation of his Travels into Persia, the Dangers and Distresses which befel him in his Passage, both by Sea and Land and his strange and unexpected Deliverances, his magnificent entertainment in Persia, his honorable imployment there, hence as Embassadour to the Princes of Christendome, &c. &c. London. Printed for Nathaniel Butler and Joseph Bagpet, 1613.

The Three Brothers, or the Travels and Adventures of Sir Anthony, Sir Robert and Sir Thomas Sherley, in Persia, Russia, Turkey, Spain, &c. London, 1825.

AT the present day when we are enabled to look with justifiable pride and satisfaction upon a magnificent Eastern empire, and on an array of more than 200,000 oriental troops, armed and disciplined on the European model by British officers and enlisted under the banner of England, it may not be uninteresting to cast a retrospective glance at the earliest efforts made by our countrymen two and a half centuries ago to establish a military and political footing in the East, and to discipline the Persian troops with the view of enabling them to cope with the great enemy of Western Europe in that day,—albeit our present good ally,—the Sultan of Turkey, the *Soldan, Grand Turk,* or *Ottoman,* as he was then variously designated.

The record of these adventures, as far as they can be traced, are strange and startling even for that romantic period of their occurrence, the Elizabethan era; but unfortunately we are only enabled to pick out details of these interesting proceedings, by bits and snatches, just sufficient to tantalize us with the conviction of the valuable biographical memoirs that have been lost to us. Purchas is our grand stand by; numerous detached notices of the heroes of our narrative, the Sherley Brothers, being scattered throughout his quaint old volumes, whilst Harkluyt gives an account of an early expedition of one of them to the West Indies.

The last work quoted at the head of our article, professes to give a corrected narrative of the life and adventures of the fraternal triad, but unfortunately the fulfillment falls very short of the promise, as it does not even contain the personal narrative

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of Sir Anthony, and completely ignores Sir Robert's visit to Hindostan.

From the scanty and fragmentary materials within our reach, we purpose laying before our readers a brief outline of the career of the adventurous brotherhood, more particularly of the two who carried their enterprise into Asia, dwelling somewhat in detail on their proceedings in that quarter, as containing more of special oriental interest.

The Sherleys, Shirleys, or Schirleys were an ancient family connected with some of the best blood of England, having branches in Derbyshire, Leicestershire and Sussex. Of the latter the representative in the middle of the sixteenth century was Sir Thomas Sherley of Winston, who married Anne daughter of Sir Thomas Kemp, by whom he had three sons, Sir Thomas, Sir Anthony and Sir Robert, "a leash of brethren severally eminent" as Fuller terms them. Sir Thomas the elder of the three was the latest in making any public reputation for himself, "men's activity not always observing the method of their register" as the quaint old author just quoted observes, who further remarks—with reference to the successes of the two younger members of the family, instigating Sir Thomas to endeavour to distinguish himself,—"as the trophies of Miltiades would not suffer Themistocles to sleep, so the achievements of his two younger brothers gave an alarm unto his spirit. He was ashamed to see them worn like flowers in the breasts and bosoms of foreign princes, whilst he himself withered upon the stalk he grew on." He had, however, distinguished himself as a young man in the wars in Holland, and had been knighted by Lord Willoughby for his conduct there in 1589. After the rumours of his two brothers' adventures in Persia had reached England, Sir Thomas determined to follow their example and to conduct a semi-religious, semi-political crusade against the Turks on his own account. He accordingly equipped three vessels and collected a body of five hundred military adventurers, apparently of the most worthless description, with whom he sailed on his strange and questionable enterprise in the latter end of 1601. Soon after entering the Mediterranean, they encountered bad weather which drove them on the west coast of Italy; Sir Thomas seized this opportunity to pay a visit to the court of Florence, where he was received with marked honor and distinction; after remaining there a short time he resumed his voyage, bending his course for the Grecian Archipelago. Here he fell in with a large Turkish vessel of war which he attacked and finally captured, after an obstinate engagement which lasted eight hours, during which he lost a hundred of his men: this prize proving of little value, a general feeling of discontent sprung up amongst his disorderly followers; one vessel deserted him, and

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he was obliged to return with the other two to Leghorn to repair damages. He had scarcely resumed his voyage when a fresh mutiny arose, and the second ship sailed away and left him. With his own, the sole remaining vessel, he bent his course towards Milo to look out for a noted pirate, but was driven to the island of Zea, where he found a Venetian ship at anchor, which his crew of desperadoes wanted to seize upon. To divert their attention he planned an attack upon a neighbouring islet, which was carried out on the morning of the 15th January 1602; but here his crew added cowardice to their previous insubordination, and Sir Thomas with two of his followers was left in the hands of the enemy, who made him prisoner after a desperate defence. As might have been expected from the circumstances of his attack and the savage and bigoted hatred of the Turks, he met with little mercy or consideration, and his life was only spared in the hope of obtaining a large ransom. He was first sent in chains to Negropont and thence to Constantinople, where for nearly three years, he was confined in a loathsome dungeon in the Seven Towers fed only on bread and water, heavily chained, frequently put in the public stocks, twice ordered out for execution, and subjected to every possible hardship and indignity to compel him to pay a ransom of fifty thousand sequins. The English Ambassador at the Porte, apparently Sir Paul Pindar, was earnestly solicited to interfere in his behalf, being well acquainted with his family. "But prisons are like graves, where a man, though alive, is nevertheless buried from the regard or respect of any," and no notice was taken of his application; perhaps the Ambassador may have considered Sir Thomas' marauding expedition, at a time when no actual war had been proclaimed between the two nations, as altogether unjustifiable; but the expedition,—the object and destination of which was well known at home,—had met with no opposition or discouragement from the English Government, and a general condition of warfare then existed between Turkey and the several nations of Christendom, neither party caring much for formal declarations, and almost as little for treaties when such existed.

At length Sir Thomas' father and other relatives made interest for him at home, and the Ambassador was ordered to endeavour to negotiate his release, which was finally effected in December 1605, and in the following year he returned to England, having acquired much of the notoriety he so earnestly desired. Before twelve month were over he was again in trouble, having been committed to the Tower on a charge of intriguing to obtain the traffic of Constatinople for Venice and the Florentine States, but apparantly he was speedily released. In "Dalrymple's Memorials" there is a petition from him to King James, dated January, 1615,

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representing his own and his father's past services and his ruined condition, on which he states that his father, "being a man of excellent and working wit, did find out the device for making of baronets, which brought to your Majesty's coffers well nigh £100,000, for which he was promised by the late Lord Salisbury, Lord Treasurer, a good recompense which he never had." Of his subsequent career we have no further trace; but we find in Gough's Camden that his son rebuilt the Church of Stanton Harold, as set forth in the following inscription:

"In the year 1653,"
"When all things sacred throughout the nation
"Were either demolished or profaned
"Sir Robert Sherley, Bart. founded this Church;
"Whose singular praise it is, to have done
"The best things in the worst of times."

We now turn to the other two brothers the narrative of whose career falls more within the scope of an oriental publication.

Anthony Sherley, the second son, was born in 1565 and educated at Oxford. Regarding his early training he states himself, "In my first years my friends bestowed on me those learnings which were fit for a gentleman's ornament without directing them to an occupation; and when they were fit for agible things, they bestowed them and me on my Prince's service, in which I ran many courses of divers fortunes according to the condition of the wars, in which as I was most exercised, so was I most subject to accidents."

Before he was of age he commenced his military career in the wars in the Lower Countries, the usual field for the enterprising youth of that period. In 1586 he held a command in the famous battle of Zutphen, and subsequently accompanied his great friend and patron the Earl of Essex when he was sent to the assistance of Henry the IV. of France. Here he remained some time, and was actively engaged in the wars of the League, where he so much distinguished himself that the French monarch bestowed upon him the order of St. Michael, his acceptance of which extremely displeased Queen Elizabeth, who observed that "as a virtuous woman ought to look on none but her husband, so a subject ought not to cast his eyes on any other sovereign than him God hath set over him. I will not have my sheep marked with a strange brand, nor suffer them to follow the pipe of a strange shepherd."

For this breach of allegiance, Sir Anthony, on his return to England in 1593 was committed to the Tower, and a special commission ordered to enquire into and report upon his conduct. This report being favorable and the Queen's paramount authority being sufficiently vindicated, he was speedily released, and the following

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year he married Frances, the sister of Sir Robert Vernon of Hodnet. This marriage appears to have proved an unhappy one even at an early stage; for he immediately commenced arrangements for a new adventure, and in a letter from Rowland Whyte to Sir Robert Sydney, dated in November 1595, he writes—"Sir Anthony Sherley goes forward on his voyage very well furnished, led by the strange fortune of his marriage, to undertake any course that may occupy his mind from thinking of her vainest words."

The expedition he now projected was an attack upon the Spanish island of St. Thomè, the details of which voyage are given in Harkluyt. It is sufficient for us to state that after considerable delays and difficulties he obtained a commission from the Queen for the adventure, and equipped nine vessels with 900 men, but subsequently left three of the larger ships and half the soldiers with the Earl of Essex, then about to undertake an expedition against Cadiz. With the remainder he set sail for Plymouth on the 21st May 1596. After touching at the Canaries and waiting for the chance of meeting a Spanish fleet, they bore away for provisions and water to the coast of Guinea, where Sir Anthony was attacked with fever and had a narrow escape from death; his crews also suffering greatly from the unhealthy nature of the coast and tempestuous weather; according to Harkluyt "the water falling from the heaven did stink, and did in six hours turn into maggots where it fell either among our clothes or in wads of ocombe." From thence they steered to the Cape de Verde Islands, and abandoning the original plan of proceeding to St. Thomè, attacked and gallantly captured the Portuguese city of St. Jago, which however they were unable to maintain against the vast numerical superiority of the enemy; notwithstanding which, they made a skilful and safe retreat to their ships with little loss.

From the Cape de Verde Islands they sailed for Dominica in the West Indies; but in the tropics the old infection reappeared with increased violence. The narrative states that "our men fell generally downe so that the hole could not relieve the sicke; the disease was so vile that men grew loathsome unto themselves, franticke and desperately raving, among whom our good General's part was not the least; for his disease was vehement, the grief of his mind, the lamentation of his men, and the loss of those whom he loved, were to him torments more than durable; all which with patience and humility in prayer he humbled himself unto. But had not his mind been invincible and his desires above the ordinary course of men, it had been impossible that life should now have rested in him: but God I hope hath preserved him to some exceeding good purpose."

At Dominica the crews found great benefit from the natural hot baths, and obtaining rest and fresh provisions, recovered their

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health. Marguerita was visited in a bootless search for the pearl dredgers, thence they sailed along the coast of Terra firma, landed at St. Martha, and subsequently bore up for Jamaica,—of which they took possession,—thence to Cuba and over to the Bay of Honduras, intending to surprise the Town of Truxillo, where however, they found the enemy prepared. Upon this they shaped their course to the Rio Dolce, up which they proceeded thirty leagues, and then steered for Newfoundland. In these wanderings one vessel had been lost and another had deserted, but now the rest of the fleet was scattered, and Sir Anthony with his own vessel, the *Bevis*, alone reached Newfoundland on the 15th June, 1597, after many severe hardships and privations. Here he refitted and then turned his face for England again, where he arrived in the autumn of the same year, after a fruitless voyage as regards actual results, but one that tended fully to maintain the English reputation for daring courage, and manly fortitude and determination.

On his arrival he found his old friend the Earl of Essex appointed Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, whither he accompanied him.

In 1598, the Duke of Ferrara died, leaving no legitimate children, but only a natural son named Don Cesare d'Este, who laid claim to the Duchy which was disputed by the Pope. Of course the claimant carried all Protestant sympathies with him, and an opportunity thus offering of striking a blow at the Vatican was too tempting to be neglected by an adventurous spirit like Sir Anthony. Accordingly in the end of the year 1598 he embarked under the auspices of the Earl of Essex to lend his aid to Don Cesare, accompanied by his younger brother Robert, then little more than seventeen years of age, and five and twenty other followers, either young men of good family serving their military apprenticeship under so adventurous a knight, or old retainers. He says in his narrative, "I had my brother with me, a young gentleman whose affection to me had onely led him to that disaster, and the working of his owne vertue, desiring in the beginning of his best years to inable himself to those things which his good mind raised his thoughts unto. I had also five and twentie others; gentlemen for the most part, the rest such as had served me long; only carried with their loves to me into the course of my fortune." Amongst his followers we trace the names of Thomas Powel, and John Morris, both afterwards knighted; George Manwaring and William Parry, both of whom wrote brief notices of the expedition. John Ward, Thomas Davis, John Parrot, Gabriel Brookes, and Abel Pinzon Sir Anthony's Steward, as also Arnold Roldcraft a Gunner, and Edward Vanthiever a Dutch founder of cannon.

From England he sailed to Flushing whence he proceeded to

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Douay, to concert measures with Count Maurice the General of the States Army, who gave him a welcome entertainment and attached a troop of horse under Sir Nicholas Parker to his party as an escort. From thence he proceeded via Cologne and Nuremburg to Augusta, where he received intelligence that Don Cesare d'Este had made terms with the Pope, relinquishing his claim to Ferrara, and receiving the Duchy of Modena in return. His object being thus defeated, Sir Anthony repaired to Venice, apparently with the idea of undertaking some expedition into Turkey, as he represents himself "not willing to returne and turne such a voyce as was raised at my going to nothing."

Here he obtained information that the Shah Abbas then seated on the throne of Persia was extremely jealous of the power of Turkey, and well inclined to enter upon hostilities with his rival; and also hearing that the Persian monarch was of a gallant and liberal disposition, he determined to proceed to that country, and endeavour to induce Shah Abbas to enter into a combination with the Emperor of Germany against Turkey, and to join him in the campaign. This plan he laid before the Earl of Essex, who gave him warm support and encouragement: accordingly on the 24th of May, 1599, he started from Venice with his little party in a vessel named the *Morizel* bound for Aleppo, taking with him as guide and interpreter, a Christian trader named Angelo, of Italian parentage but born in Turkey, and who had passed several years in Persia whence he had recently returned. In the present day when a journey to Persia is little more than a holiday trip, this undertaking may appear nothing extraordinary; but it must be borne in mind that at the period of Sir Anthony's expedition, Persia was nearly a terra incognita, and the intervening territory even more so, and what was of still greater importance, the whole route lay through a hostile and barbarous country.

They had a tedious and troublesome passage to Zante of five and twenty days, during which time the English party became embroiled with the crew and passengers. One of the latter, a passenger to Cyprus, made use of disrespectful language regarding Queen Elizabeth, which being reported to Sir Anthony, "not only moved with the dutiful zeal which a subject oweth to his Prince, but even with that respect which every gentlemen oweth to a lady," ordered one of the meanest of his men to give him the bastinado, which he did right soundly; the result was a general outbreak, which was with difficulty appeased for the time, through the intervention of some Armenian merchants on board. A Portuguese factor, named Hugo de Potso, took a leading part against the English, and when on arrival at Zante, the latter went on shore, he persuaded the Captain of the vessel to send their baggage after them and refuse them re-admission on board. This mea-

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sure compelled Sir Anthony to hire a small craft, in which he embarked his suite and sailed to Candia and Cyprus, and from thence to Tripoli on the Syrian coast. Here they found the *Morizel* at anchor, and their old enemy Hugo de Potso went immediately to the Pacha, and represented the party as notorious and desperate pirates but well laden with booty, thus exciting both the anger and the avarice of the Turk. Sir Anthony receiving intimation from his old friends and fellow passengers, the Armenian merchants, of this "scelerat treason conspired against him," had just time to put to sea and escape, although he was chased until dark by a Turkish frigate which gave them several rounds without effect. Thence sailing southward to the gulf of Scanderoon, he entered the mouth of the *Aaszi*, the ancient Orontes, and proceeded to Antioch. Being now in Turkish territory, their military character was of necessity laid aside and that of merchants adopted, which does not appear to have set easily on them, for their bold and martial bearing, the fashion of their arms and a certain readiness to handle them, appear to have constantly excited suspicions during their journey, whilst the national insolence of the Turks as conquerors, their hatred to Christians generally, and the idea that the party possessed considerable wealth, laid the latter open to continual insult, annoyance, and oppression which it was dangerous to resent, as the Turkish law ordained that if a Christian struck a true believer, no matter what provocation he received, he must either embrace Mahometanism or lose his right hand. Fortunately, they found here two Hungarian renegades amongst the Janisaries, who greatly befriended them, and with the assistance of their comrades, though in opposition to the wishes and orders of the Kadi, finally got them clear of the place. Joining a caravan they proceeded to Aleppo, where they were kindly entertained by Mr. Coulthurst the British Consul. Here they were detained six weeks, and Sir Anthony having letters of credit on the merchants, laid in a stock of merchandize the better to support his character as a trader, including a quantity of cloth of gold and "twelve cups set with emeralds and jewels of great worth."

Here again they were thrown into a state of great alarm by the intelligence that the *Morizel* had arrived on the coast and that their determined enemy Hugo de Potso was on his way to Aleppo; but fortunately for them he died on the journey. At length they joined a caravan bound for Bagdad, and proceeded to Bir on the Euphrates, whence they all descended the river in boats to Felujah; here they disembarked and marched across to Bagdad. On their route Sir Anthony paid a visit to one of the principal Bedouin chiefs whom he styles the King of the Arabs, and his description of the interview shows that

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little change has taken place amongst those wild tribes since that date.

At Bagdad the whole party experienced better treatment at the hands of the people, whom the valuable European trade with Ormuz had accustomed to the sight and toleration of Christians; but the Pacha viewed them with a jealous and suspicious eye, and seized upon Sir Anthony's baggage with a great part of his merchandize, including the much valued jewelled cups. Fortunately Sir Anthony found friends even here: a Turkish officer who had come on a mission from Constantinople, and accompanied the caravan, warned him of the Pacha's suspicions and rapacity; and offered to take charge of any valuables that might be confided to him, a duty which he faithfully performed. An Armenian attached to the Pacha's household also did him good service: but his greatest support was from a Florentine merchant, Signior Victorio Speciera, who had been his fellow traveller from Aleppo, and who appears to have very soon discovered the real objects and condition of the pretended merchant and his followers. To blind the Pacha, Sir Anthony had given out that he had a large quantity of merchandize coming in the next caravan, and pending this expected arrival all violent measures or restraint were suspended. When the caravan was reported close at hand, Signior Victorio warned Sir Anthony than on its coming he would be imprisoned, until the receipt of orders from Constantinople, to which a reference had been made regarding him. He therefore urged immediate departure with a small caravan just about to start for Persia, and further made all arrangements for this plan, providing carriage and provisions, and supplying Sir Anthony with a most liberal sum of money; who thus relates this generous conduct: "When I came there he brought me a *Vittarin* of whom he had already hired horses, camels and mules for me, and I found a tent pitched by his servants: and then opening his gowne he delivered me a bag of chequins with these very words: "The God of Heaven bless you and your whole companie and your enterprise, which I will no further desire to know than in my hope, which persuadeth me that it is good. My selfe am going to China, whence if I returne I shall little neede the repayment of this courtesie, which I have done you with a most free heart; if I die by the waye, I shall lesse need it: but if it please God to direct both our safeties with good providence, that we may meet againe, I assure myself that you will remember me to be your friend, which is enough, for all that I can say to a man of your rank." And almost without giving me leisure to yield him condigne thanks (if any thankes could be condigne) for so great and so noble a benefit, he departed from me."

After Sir Anthony's escape, the better to conceal it as long as

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possible Signior Victorio moved into his late quarters, reporting that the English merchant was very sick, and boldly asked the Kadi to send his *Hakeem* or physician to attand upon him, well knowing that the request would not be complied with; in this mode the departure of the party was unknown for several days, and when finally discovered, a party of Janizaries were sent in pursuit of them, the leader of which was bribed to take the wrong road, and thus they were enabled to escape. Signior Victorio however got into trouble for the assistance thus generously afforded, which the more enraged the Pacha as an order arrived from Constantinople to seize the whole party and send them prisoners to that city. After a short imprisonment he was released on payment of a fine of four hundred crowns. Sir Anthony and his suite appear to have taken the route by Mendell and Samara, which latter they confounded with the *Samaria* of Palestine, thence over the Dertung Pass to Kermanshah, and by Hamadan towards Kasbeen where they resolved to await the arrival of Shah Abbas.

That monarch, who twenty years before whilst still a child, had been proclaimed king by the nobles of Khorassan during the life time of his father Mahommed Khoda-bandah, had during the earlier years of his nominal reign, been a mere tool and pageant in the hands of the powerful chiefs who had put him forward for their own purposes. One by one, however, these had fallen, either by mutual hostilities or intrigue, or before the growing power of Abbas, who gradually asserted his rights and authority until 1597, when he gained a great victory of the Usbegs near Herat, the eclat of which enabled him to execute Ferhad Khan the last of his powerful king-making barons, who was accused of holding back in the action from motives of treachery. A short time previous Abbas' elder brother and rival, Humza Meerza, who had long and gallantly sustained the father's broken fortunes, fell by the hands of an assassin, and Shah Abbas found himself undisputed monarch of Persia, the limits of which had been sadly curtailed during a long series of civil wars; the Turks having wrested all the north-western and western provinces from the empire, whilst the Usbegs pressed upon the north east; and Kurdistan with all the south eastern districts were in a state of open rebellion or actual independence. With equal prudence, skill, and courage, Shah Abbas had gradually restored order in his dominions; Kurdistan had been reduced to a certain degree of subjection, a serious rebellion in Fars had been suppressed, Laristan and Kerman had been reconquered and annexed to the empire, and Khorassan finally cleared from the Usbegs, who had been driven back over the Murghab towards Balkh. It was during a successful expedition of the Shah in this quarter that Sir Anthony entered his country.

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When fairly passed the Turkish frontier and clear of the predatory tribes of Kurds, Sir Anthony's first act was to assemble his followers to prayer, when on their knees they returned thanks to God who had protected them through all their straits and perils, and safely brought them to their destination, "although," in the words of George Manwaring, "we were sometime before past hope of our lives, but that we had so worthy a leader, which in the greatest of our extremities never made any show of despair, but with a gallant spirit did encourage us not to take any fear, for he would engage his life for us."

As they approached Kasbin, Sir Anthony sent forward John Ward and Angelo the interpreter, to provide a lodging and make arrangements, in order that the whole party, timing their arrival in the evening, might enter the city quietly without attracting public attention "in regard that we were unprovided with apparel and other necessaries by reason of our long travel." But the near approach of so remarkable and novel a cavalcade could not be kept a secret, and preparations were made for their reception, which by arriving at night they avoided, to the great discontent of the sightloving populace.

Notwithstanding this, they were well received by all classes, but as Sir Anthony states "more by the opinion which they had that the King would take satisfaction by us, than by their own humours, being an ill people in themselves, being only good by the example of their King, and their exceeding obedience unto him." The day after their arrival Morganna Beg, *(Margannabeague,)* the Master of the Royal Household, visited Sir Anthony in state, and welcomed him to Persia in the Shah's name, when laying "twenty pounds in gold" at his feet, he announced that the same sum would be forwarded daily for his expenses, until the receipt of the Shah's orders, who doubtless would increase the amount. Sir Anthony, "according to his princely mind," turning the money over with his foot, replied—"Know this brave Persian, that I come not a begging to the King, but hearing of his great fame and worthiness, thought I could not spend my time better than come to see him and kiss his hand, and with the adventures of my body to second him in his princely wars." The Persian official astonished at what probably he had never experienced before, the refusal of a present, expressed his conviction that Sir Anthony must be a Prince himself. "No," was the reply, "I am the second son to an English Knight, but I have been trained up in martial affairs, and well esteemed of in my Prince's court, and for this cause do I come to do thy King the best office I can, if it please his Highness to accept of me." The result was a most liberal entertainment of the whole party, a visit in state from the governor of the city, and the constant at-

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tentions of Morganna Beg, whom Sir Anthony conciliated by liberal presents, and who, as he observes, "being more inwardly acquainted with the King's inclination, fitted himself to that than others did which knew it less."

At length the Shah approached and made a triumphal entry into the city in honor of his recent successes over the Usbegs. Manwaring thus describes the equipment of the English party. First, Sir Anthony himself in rich cloth of gold, his gown and his undercoat, and sword hanging in a rich scarf to the worth of a thousand pounds, being set with pearl and diamonds; and on his head a turban according, to the worth of two hundred dollars, his boots embroidered with pearls and rubies; his brother Mr. Robert Sherley likewise in cloth of gold, his gown and undercoat, with a rich turban on his head; his interpreter, Angelo, in cloth of silver, gown and under coat; four in cloth of silver gowns with under coats of silk damask; four in crimson velvet gowns with damask under coats; four in blue damask gowns with taffety under coats; four in yellow damask with their under coats of a Persian stuff; his page in cloth of gold; his four footmen in carnation taffety." Manwaring himself heading the party, acted as Marshal.

The details of the Shah's procession are fully set forth by Sir Anthony in his narrative, who proceeding to meet him with his brother and followers in the above mentioned order and escorted by Morganna Beg, thus describes the interview:—

"When we came to the King we alighted and kissed his stirop, my speech was short unto him, the time being fit for no other, "that the fame of his royal virtues had brought me from a far country to be a present spectator of them, as I had been a wonderer at the report of them affare off; if there was any thing of worth in me, I presented it with myself, to his Majestie's service. Of what I was, I submitted the considerations to his Majesty's judgment, which he should make upon the length, the danger and the expence of my voyage only to see him of whom I had received such magnificent and glorious relations." The King's answer unto me was infinite affable. "That his country whilst I should stay there should be freely commanded by me; as a gentleman, that I had done him infinite honour to make such a journey for his sake; only he bid me beware that I was not deceived by rumours, which had peradventure made him other than I should finde him: it was true that God had given him both power and minde to answer to the largest reports which might be made good of him, which if he erred in the use of, he would aske counsell of me, who must needs have much vertue in myselfe that could move me to undergo so much and so many perils to know that of another."

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Sir Anthony and his brother were then directed to mount and placed between Ala-u-din Beg (*Haldenbeagan)* the Vazier and Aliverdi Khan *(Oliver di Can)* the Commander-in-Chief, when following the Shah they thus entered Kasbin.

At night they were invited to dine with the Shah and the next morning Sir Anthony sent him a present consisting of "sixe paire of pendants of exceeding faire emeralds and mavellous artificially cut; and two other jewels of topasses excellent well cut also. One cup of three pieces set together with gold inamalled; the other a salt; and a very faire ewer of crystall, covered with a kind of cut work of silver and gilt, the shape of a dragon;"

Sir Anthony's narrative as also that of Manwaring are filled with details of the official and private interviews with the Shah, who appears to have been exceedingly flattered by the compliment of Sir Anthony's visit, and to have taken a great fancy to himself and his followers, about whom there was for him so much novelty, and whose blunt English manners probably furnished a striking and for a time at least, an acceptable contrast to the servility and sycophancy he had heretofore only been accustomed to. His conversation, Sir Anthony says, "was not of our apparell, building, beautie of our women, or such vainties; but of our proceeding in our warres, of our usual arms, of the commoditie and discommoditie of fortresses, of the use of Artillerie and of the orders of our Government." He also carefully inspected and perfectly understood certain plans of fortification which Sir Anthony had brought with him.

After remaining six weeks at Kasbin they proceeded to Kassan and thence to Ispahan, on which occasion Sir Anthony informs us that the Shah conferred on him the rank of *Mirza* or Prince, "telling me that he would provide condignely for me; and the next morning sent a thousand tomans, which is sixteen thousand duckets of our money; fortie horses all furnished; two with exceeding rich saddles plated with gold and set with rubies and turkesess, the rest either plated with silver or velvet embroidered and gilt; sixteen mules, twelve camels laden with tents and all furniture both for my house and voyage; telling me withall that this was but a small demonstration of his favour, by which I might (notwithstanding) conceive what better hopes I might gather; that it was his Majestie's pleasure I should follow him to Kassan; in the house where I was, that I should leave a keeper, it being his Majestie's pleasure to bestow it on me; and that there were ten *Courchies* who should attend me the next morning to serve me in my journey."

Thus honoured and *fêted* Sir Anthony naturally speaks in the highest terms of the Shah's character and abilities, but both he and Mahwaring mention numerous incidents and traits of despotic conduct and caprice which scarcely bear out these general eulo-

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giums. That Shah Abbas was active, energetic and brave there is no reason to doubt, and that he possessed considerable ability is equally evident, but although bred up in the school of early trial and adversity, he exhibited little consideration for the lives of his subjects, and had a strong tincture of ferocious cruelty in his disposition, which long exercise of despotic power fostered and drew out to a frightful extent in his later years. At this period he was young, gay and flushed with the first taste of conquest and absolute power; apparently too he was desirous of earning the name of a just as well as of a strict monarch. Many of the anecdotes related savour strongly of certain points in the character of Haroun-Al-Raschid, in the Arabian Nights, but only of the more unamiable and sterner or more capricious traits of the latter sovereign. Roughs, practical jokes, a wild, summary justice and severe punishments are the chief features of these details.

For some time Sir Anthony carefully avoided the important topic which constituted the main cause of his visit, viz. the advantage to be gained by entering upon a war with Turkey, and the advisability of forming a league for that purpose with the Christian powers of Europe; but before long the Shah gradually broached the subject himself, and afforded the English Knight an opportunity for fully bringing forward his whole array of arguments and advice.

The Porte had taken ample advantage of the recent domestic troubles and had gradually seized upon some of the most valuable provinces of Persia, including part of Armenia, Georgia, Azerbijan and Tabriz on the north west and the whole Pachalic of Bagdad on the south west, including the holy town of Kerbila, so dear to all orthodox Sheahs. The recovery of these conquests was a tempting object, and Abbas himself with many of his ablest officers longed for a fair opportunity to make the attempt. Sir Anthony appealed to the royal pride and national vanity, descanted on the innate weakness of Turkey and the facilities attendant on an union with the Western nations, the Emperor of Germany, Rodolph the Second, being at that time actually at war with the Porte. Above all he urged upon the Shah the great military principle that a small disciplined force well equipped and capable of rapid moment, was far more efficient than a cumbrous, ill organized rabble, however strong in numbers. Or as he expresses it himself, that it is the opinion "of the best experienced Captains that multitudes are confusions of orders, and divisions of time, and of those memoirs which naurrish the warres, and are good for no other use but to make warres, soon break off and to consume the world." In these views he found staunch supporters in Ali Verdi Khan, Morganna Beg, and Shah Tamasp Kuli Beg;

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but he experienced equal opposition from a strong Turkish party in the Durbar, headed by Ala-u-din Beg, Bostan Aga and Kurshed Pacha. The war party were gradually obtaining the ascendancy, their views being more in accordance with the Shah's own wishes, when intelligence was received of the approach of a complimentary Embassy from the Porte, headed by Mahommud Aga, the General of the Janisaries, and at the same time, reports arrived of the Portuguese having seized upon some presents, including sixteen Kashmir slave girls, forwarded for the Shah by Akbar the Emperor of Hindustan. These two occurrences gave the Turkish party a temporary advantage, which was at first apparently increased by Sir Anthony falling sick; but during his severe indisposition the Shah was a constant attendant by his sick bed, and in these friendly visits Sir Anthony was probably enabled to bring forward arguments and inducements that it might not have been so prudent or so easy to have dwelt upon publicly. The result of these conferences was, that after a time, the Turkish Ambassador was dismissed with a haughty intimation of the Shah's intention to resume possession of his rightful territories, whilst preparations were made for sending Sir Anthony as Envoy extraordinary from the Shah to the Pope, the Emperor of Germany, and the King of Spain, proposing a league against the general enemy.

Previous to his departure Sir Anthony strongly urged upon the Shah the necessity for establishing a permanent regular force belonging exclusively to the Crown,—similar to, and fitted to cope with, the Turkish force of Janizaries,—instead of being entirely dependent on the irregular levies of the tribes and provincial nobility. He also recommended the Shah to afford, not only protection and commercial privileges towards Christians, but also religious toleration, a measure certain to redound to his credit amongst all the nations of Europe, and likewise calculated to increase the trade and prosperity of the country by the introduction of foreign wealth and energy, and especially as tending to attract a class of persons able to add to the military resources of the State, "as founders of ordnance, and makers of all sorts of arms and munition." All these suggestions the Shah acted upon. He organized a regular force of soldiers of the crown, about twenty thousand strong, under the general title of *Ghulams* or *Kurchis*, composed both of Cavalry and Infantry; the latter, from their being all equipped with fire arms, were specially termed *Tufangchis*. He likewise granted a most liberal firman or charter of liberty to all Christians within his territories, in which it is set forth—"our absolute commandment will and pleasure is that our countries and dominions shall be from this day open to all Christian people and to their reli-

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gion; and in such sort that none of ours of any condition shall presume to give them any evil word." "Neyther shall our religious men of whatsover sect they be, dare disturbe them, or speake in matters of faith. Neyther shall any of our justices have power over their persoons or goodes, for any cause or act whatsover." "That none shall presume to aske them for what occasion they are heere."

But the most extraordinary document is the commission or patent given to Sir Anthony himself, which although lengthy, is too remarkable to be omitted.

"There is come unto me in this good time a principall gentleman, (Sir Anthony Sherlie,) of his owne free will, out of Europe into these parts: and all you Princes yt. believe in Jesus Christ, know you that he hath made friendship betweene you and me; which desire we had also heretofore graunted, but there was none that came to make the way and to remove the vaile that was betweene us and you, but only this gentleman; who as he came of his owne free will, so also upon his desire I have sent with him a chiefe man of mine. The entertainment which that principall gentleman hath had with me is that daylie whilst he hath bin in thiese partes we have eaten together of one dysh and drunke of one cup like two breethren. Therefore, when this gentleman comes unto you Christian Princes, you shall credite him in whatsever he shall demaunde, or he shall say, as mine owne person; and when this gentleman shall have passed the sea and is entred into the countrey of the great King of Muscovie, (with whom we are in friendshippe as breethren) all his governors, both great and small, shall accompany him and use him with all favour unto Mosco: and because there is great love between you, the King of Mosco, and mee, that we are like two breethren, I have sent this gentleman through your countrey and desire you to favour his passage without any hindrance."

But however great the regard and confidence felt by the Shah for and in Sir Anthony, he appears to have thought it advisable to retain some pledge for his good faith, and accordingly suggested that the younger brother Robert should remain in Persia with him, observing as stated in the Knight's narrative "that my absence from him would exceedingly grieve him, his affection to me being true and his hopes of me many. If he had bin furnished of any fit to have undergone the management of this affaire, hee would never have enjoined me to so much travaile and so many perils, but that I knew his Court to bee ignorant of the language and properties of our partes, and since he was provoked by me to send thither, he knew that I would bee contented with my labour to keep him and his from all sorts of scorne. That my brother was young and therefore the more to be tendered, and not every day to be exposed to new laboures; his love to us both

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made him carefull in that point, but more particularly his infinite desire of my returne, which he thought would be more assured by so deare a pawne; and by daily relation which I should receive of his royal usage I should also be daily invited to returne. Howsoever if I met with such fortunes as would be worthy to make mee stay from him, or such accidents as had power to hinder me by their necessitie, the company of my brother should give him great satisfaction in my absence. And if the worst should be happen unto me, he did desire ever to have a subject so neere unto me, upon whom he might make a declaration unto the world, both of what qualitie his owne mind was, and of what condition his true and royall affection towards me was."

Young Robert Sherley supported this plan and readily agreed to stay with the Shah; five of the party also remained with him.

It was at first arranged that a young Persian noble, friendly to Sir Anthony, named Assan Khan should accompany him, but this plan was interrupted by the young man's marriage to a relative of the Shah; "None others of the great ones having a spirit to apprehend only such a voyage, much less a heart to perform it." Sir Anthony was consequently constrained to put up with a man of inferior rank, named Hussein Ali Beg *(Seine Olibig)* who was recommended by his opponents the Vuzier and Bostan Aga, and who subsequently gave him much trouble. But the greatest annoyance he experienced was from one Nichola di Meto, a Portuguese Dominican Friar, who had been Bishop of Ormus and Inquisitor General of the Indies; and being now on his return to Spain, applied to Sir Anthony for permission to join his party and travel under his escort. This Sir Anthony not only readily acceded to, but went out to meet him on his arrival at Ispahan, and paid him every mark of attention and respect. But the Friar, who it was soon discovered had been recalled to Spain on account of gross misconduct, had scarcely joined when he commenced intriguing, and this conduct being commented on and checked by Sir Anthony, a feeling of hatred and a desire of vengeance sprung up in his mind, which he subsequently missed no opportunity of giving vent to.

In the beginning of 1601, Sir Anthony and his suite took their final departure after above a year's residence in Persia. The Shah himself accompanied them several miles out of Ispahan, and at parting gave Sir Anthony a golden seal, saying at the same time, "Brother, whatever thou dost seal unto, be it to the worth of my kingdom, I will see it paid." He likewise renewed his promise of regard and protection to Robert Sherley, whom he vowed he would treat as his son, and thus in the concluding words of the Knight's narrative "after some teares on all parts, we all parted; they for the Court, myself for my journey, having left with my brother my

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heart certainly, not only for the conjunction which nature had made betweene us, but also for those worthy sparkes which I found in him likely to be brought to great perfection by his virtue, which cannot leave working in any which will give them way, much more in him who will make way for them."

Sir Anthony and his party marched to the southern shore of the Caspian, where they embarked, probably at Ashraff, for Astrakan which port, owing to bad weather, they did not reach for nearly two months; from thence they proceeded by boat up the Volga to Kazan and Negson where they were delayed nearly a month, waiting for a deputation and escort from Moscow. Here the conduct of the Friar Nichola de Meto was such that Sir Anthony was compelled to place him in confinement.

Boris Godenow was at that time Czar of Russia, and he appears from the first to have received Sir Anthony and his mission with a suspicious eye, and to have entertained a personal dislike towards the Knight himself, which the proud and independent bearing of the latter was not calculated to remove or to conciliate.

The Czar markedly treated the Persian Envoy as the head of the Mission, a position which the latter was quite ready to assume, and assisted by Nichola the Friar lost no opportunity to foster the ill-feeling of the Czar towards the English Knight. Each day new indignities were offered to Sir Anthony, who with his suite was placed in actual durance, and the English merchants at Moscow forbidden to hold any communication with them, whilst their papers were seized and ransacked. At length Sir Anthony was dragged before a Royal Commission appointed to investigate certain absurd charges brought against him by Father Nichola; on which occasion he boldly denounced the conduct of the Czar, which he declared he would proclaim all over Europe. The Friar imagining himself secure under the protection of the Court, ventured to indulge in further insolence and abuse, when Sir Anthony, "whose blood" in the words of Parry's Narrative, "already boyled with the excesse of his choler's heat, which as then abounded, and being by that gracelesse and ungratefull Friar further provoked, he not able, (though instantly he should have died for it,) to suppresse his heat, gave the fat Friar such a sound box on the face, (his double cause of choler redoubling his might, desires of revenge with all augmenting the same,) that down falls the Friar as if he had been strucke with a thunder bolt. Which being done, (with that courage and high resolution which well appeared in his lookes, words and deeds,) they forthwith gave over examination, because they had too examined Sir Anthony's patience, which well they, with feare (as I thinke) saw, and the Friar (almost past feare) did far better feel."

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This ebullition of temper, instead of ruining his cause as might have been expected, proved favorable in the long run; for the Czar thus convinced of the nature of the man he had to deal with, ordered his release and permitted his departure in a few days; after which the Friar fell into disgrace, when he was punished for his false accusations, and as Parry relates—"all his substance that he had deceitfully and lewdly gotten many years before in the Indies, taken from him, leaving him not so much as his friar's weed, and whether they caused his throat to be cut it was uncertain, but not unlike."

From Moscow Sir Anthony proceeded into Germany, where the treatment he experienced offered a remarkable contrast to what he had recently been subjected to. At Prague he met with the greatest respect and honour from the emperor Radolph the Second, by whom he was created a Knight of the Holy Roman Empire, and at whose Court he remained six months, receiving royal entertainment. But we find no trace of any effectual league being arranged with Persia. Thence he proceeded via Munich, Inspruck, and Trent to Rome, at all which places he was received with great honors. Here he came to an open rupture with Hussein Ali Beg, the Persian Envoy, whose conduct from the first had been a continued source of annoyance and trouble. The latter now returned to Persia where he arrived after a long journey, bringing a whole series of false accusations against Sir Anthony. But Sir Robert being at the time in favour with the Shah, called for an investigation, and so clearly proved the falsity of the charges against his brother, that the unfortunate Envoy was proved guilty and sentenced to have his hands cut off, and his tongue torn out, which was done in the presence of Robert Sherley, who being asked if he required any further revenge of his brother's wrong, replied "that he took no delight in his torment, and that which was already done was more thus he was willing or consenting to, but that now he would entreat in behalf of the miserable Persian, for that he supposed there could not be in his case a greater pleasure done unto him than to have his head follow the fortune of his tongue and hands."

From Rome where he was made a Knight and Earl of the Sacred Palace of the Lateran, Sir Anthony proceeded into Spain, where as usual he appears to have gained the regard of the reigning monarch, Philip the Second, who not only gave him a most honorable reception and installed him a Knight of St. Jago, but finally took him permanently into his service, and conferred on him the rank of grand Admiral, with a pension of two thousand ducats per annum. In 1604 he was sent as Ambassador to Morroco and shortly after commanded a naval expedition against the Turks. After this he appears to have relinquished all further efforts in favor of

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Persia, whether occupied by matters of greater personal interest to himself, or convinced of the impossibility of uniting such incongruous elements as the European and Persian polities of that period.

His connection with Spain aroused the jealousy of his own sovereign, James 1st, who summoned him to return to England; an order which he did not consider it advisable to obey. From thenceforward he appears to have connected himself entirely with Spain, in the service of whose monarch he remained until his death in 1630.

He is described as a man of noble presence, indomitable courage and energy, generous to prodigality, deeply imbued with the chivalrous principles of that romantic period, somewhat pompous in manner and conversation, but still possessing great tact, and in an eminent degree, the talent of winning the regards of all with whom he came in contact, whether sovereign princes or his most humble followers.

But a bold restless spirit of this stamp was specially distastful to the craven monarch, James 1st, and to this dislike, maintained throughout a long reign, may probably be attributed the little mention made of him in contemporary history after the accession of that prince to the throne.

We now return to notice the fortunes of the younger brother, Robert Sherley, who had been left at Ispahan with Shah Abbas. The party that remained with him included Captain, afterward Sir Thomas Powell, John Ward, John Parrot who some years after accompanied Mr. Mildenhal to Lahore where he died; Gabriel Brookes, who also subsequently went to the East Indies, Arnold Roldcraft the Gunner who was some years later assassinated by an Italian when detached into Khorassan, and Vanthievier the Dutch cannon-founder. Shah Abbas was true to his word and treated them all with extreme kindness and liberality, notwithstanding his disappointment at the fruitless results of Sir Anthony's mission. All were employed in commanding and disciplining his new force of regular troops, which appear to have been brought to a considerable state of perfection, as they were enabled to cope with much larger forces of the Turks. Regarding the result of these measures Purchas observes,—"The mightie Ottoman, terror of the Christian world, quaketh of a Sherly-fever and gives hopes of approaching fates. The prevailing Persian hath learned Sherleian arts of war, and he which before knew not the use of ordnance hath now 500 pieces of brasse and 60,000 Musketiers; so that they which at hand with the sword were before dreadfull to the Turkes, now also in remoter blowes and sulfurian arts are grown terrible."

Although they may not have had cannon prior to the arrival of the Sherleys, the Persians were well acquainted with

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the use of fire arms, for Manwaring distinctly states in his Narrative that "they are very expert with their pieces or muskets, for although there are some which have written now of late, that they had not the use of pieces until our coming into the country, this much I must write to their praise that I did never see better barrels of muskets than I did see there; and the King hath hard by his court at Ispahan about two hundred men at work, only making of pieces, bows and arrows, swords and targets." The Rev. John Cartwright who was in Persia whilst Robert Sherley was there, and published an acount of his voyage under the title of "the Preacher's Travels," speaks of the Persian troops as very superior to the Turks, and "by good right very highly to be esteemed." For the Turkish horseman is not to be compared with with the Persian man at arms, who comes into the field armed with a strong cuirasse, a sure head-piece and a good target." Again, "the Persian horseman weareth his pauldrones and gauntlets, and beareth a staff of good ash armed at both ends."

Shah Abbas commenced his long meditated hostile operations against the Turks in 1602-3, by the assault and capture of Nahavend; he then marched into Azerbijan, and overran that province with great rapidity. Ali Pacha, the Turkish General, was at this time absent in Kurdistan, but hearing of these successes he hastened to oppose the Shah, and a battle ensued near Tabriz in June 1603, in which the Turks were defeated with great loss, and Ali Pacha himself made prisoner. Robert Sherley, who was appointed *Topchi Bachi* or Master General of the Ordnance, accompanied the Shah throughout these campaigns and it was probably in this action that he "so valiantly besterred himself that the Persians gave him a crown of laurel for the victory; for being armed and made ready for fight, taking a pole-axe in his hand, he himself give first such an honourable attempt, and so amazed and repulsed the enemie, that his soldiers, imitating his courage put all the foes to the edge of the sword." We are further informed that he offered to exchange thirty Turkish prisoners for his elder brother Thomas, with whose misfortunes and imprisonment at Constantinople he had been made acquainted; which offer being refused, he is reported to have struck off their heads "and according to the custom of Persia commanded them to be carried in triumph about the market place on the top of his soldier's pikes." This proceeding we would fain hope is an exaggeration.

The fall of Tabriz was the result of this victory, and the Shah following up his successes laid seige to Erivan and despatched Ali Verdi Khan to invest Bagdad. Erivan surrendered the following year after a long siege. But the Turks were now assembling an immense force under the command of Jaghah-aghli

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Pacha, which compelled Shah Abbas to recall Ali Verdi Khan from Bagdad and concentrate all his forces to meet the impending attack. At length the two armies met to decide the fate of the campaign on the 24th August, 1605. The Persian army amounted to 62,000 men, that of the enemy by the lowest computation exceeded 100,000. Most of the Shah's officers advised him to avoid an action with such unequal forces, but Robert Sherley appears to have given the bolder counsel, and to have rendered good service in the field, where he received three wounds "as a triple testimony of his love and service to Christendome." An old MSS. in the British museum puts an oration to the troops into his mouth quite in the Cambyses vein; after which "catching a strong staff, pulling down his beaver, and putting spurs to his horse, he furiously rushed upon the enemy, his soldiers followed with such a desperate resolution that the Turks were amazed at his valour, for he ran without stop through the troops, and like a lion, massacred whom he met; which the enemy perceiving, and what a great slaughter he had made amongst them, many of them fled, many laid down their weapons and yielded, the rest he put to the sword without partiality or favour."

Certain it is that the victory was most complete, and the Turks, who fought bravely, experienced an immense loss in killed and prisoners. Twenty five thousand five hundred and forty-five heads were brought to the Shah after the action. A curious incident illustrative of the character of the monarch is recorded. Amongst the captures was a Kurdish chief of the tribe of Mookree whom the Shah ordered to be made over to one of his officers who was at feud with that tribe; Roostum Beg, the officer in question, objected, saying that he could not take advantage of an enemy bound and in distress. The Shah irritated by a remark that appeared to reflect on his own conduct, ordered the prisoner's head to be struck off, upon which the Kurd, a man of gigantic strength, broke from his guards and drawing his dagger rushed upon Abbas. This occurred in the royal tent, it was already night, and in the scuffle and confusion the lights were all extinguished, and none dared to strike in the dark. After a few minutes of horrible suspense the Shah exclaimed "I have seized his hand," lights were brought in instantly, and the Kurd fell under a hundred weapons, when the Shah coolly seated himself and "continued to drink goblets of pure wine and received the heads of his enemies till midnight."

Robert Sherley's conduct was fully appreciated. The Shah, according to Purchas, (who states that he received the account from Sir Robert himself and saw the firman,) "gratified him not in titles of honour and honourable employments alone, but in rewards. *This man's bread is baked for sixtie years*, being the formall words of

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his Royal Charter to him, (which he that understandeth the Easterne phrase of "*daily bread*" in his *Pater Noster* knows how to interpret,) with an explication added of the allowance to him and his assigns for that space whether he liveth himself or leaveth it to others enjoying." He also gave him in marriage a daughter of a Circassian Chief, named Ismail Khan, a relative of his own wife. This lady who was a Christian and bore the name of Theresa, appears to have been a most estimable person, to have made him an excellent and most faithful wife. The following year they had a child to which Shah Abbas, though a Mahomedan, was god-father, but this child apparently did not survive.

In 1608, not discouraged by Sir Anthony's failure, Shah Abbas sent the younger brother on a similar mission to the Christian potentates, announcing his recent successes and proposing a general confederation against Turkey.

Robert and his followers embarked at Derbent and crossed the Caspian to Astrakan, whence passing though southern Russsian he proceeded to Poland, where he was warmly received and entertioned at Cracow by King Sigismund the third. From thence he proceeded to Prague when he met with a reception from the Emperor Rodolph the second, similar to that accorded eight years previously to his brother. He also was made a Knight of the Roman Empire and Earl Palatine, the deed bearing date the 2nd June 1609. From Germany he passed over into Italy and arrived in Rome in September of that year, where he met with a most gratifying reception from Pope Clement. His wife, lady Theresa, was here an object of great interest, as a Christian coming from so remote a part of the world. From Rome he went to Spain where he must have met his brother Anthony after so long on absence. From thence he went over to his native country, where he arrived in 1611 and was well received at the Court of King James, but could get no promise of assistance to the Shah from that monarch, whilst from the Directors of the East India Company, who viewed him with great suspicion, he experienced much active though covert opposition.

Whilst in London, lady Theresa was delivered of a son to whom tho Queen and the Prince of Wales stood sponsors, the boy being christened Henry after his Royall Godfather.

At this time he received Knighthood from James 1st, together with his faithful friend Thomas Powell—who married during this visit,—The Court of Directors were likewise ordered to furnish one of the Company's vessels to carry him and his party to Persia; and they were further directed to supply him with £500 to defray the remainder of his journey by land.

On the 7th January 1612 he sailed from Gravesend in the

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good ship *The Expedition*, of London of 260 tons, commanded by Captain Christopher Newport. His suite consisted of himself and Lady Theresa; Sir Thomas and Lady Powell; Morgan Powell, a younger brother of Sir Thomas; Captain John Ward one of his old companions, Mr. Francis Bubb his secretary; John Barber, apothecary; John Gregson, a Dutch goldsmith; John Harriot and several other musicians, Lielah a Persian female and one Armenian and three Persian male attendants.

After touching at the Canaries, the Cape of Good Hope, Madagascar, Mohelia and other places, they made the coast of Cutch Mekran *(Getch Macquerona)* in the begining of September, and anchored in the port of Guadel. Here they found Malik Mirza, the ruler of the country, who professed himself the humble servant of Shah Abbas, and proffered every assistance to his Ambassador, Sir Robert Sherley, and his party, promising them an escort to Seistan or Kerman, from either of which they could easily proceed to Ispahan. Arrangements were made accordingly; the Belooch Chief prepared tents for Sir Robert and his suite, who sent most of his property and baggage on shore, together with some of his followers to take charge of them. Fortunately one of his Persian attendants understood the Belooch dialect, and overhead the guard at the tent discussing their treacherous plan, which was to entice Sir Robert and all his party on shore, and to persuade Captain Newport and some of the officers of the vessel to accompany them to a farewell entertainment; then to murder the whole, seize the property, and if possible, take possession of the ship in the confusion attendant on this massacre. The Persian hearing this plan, quietly returned on board and gave Sir Robert information of their designs. He, in concert with his friends, remained perfectly quiet, but pretending indisposition retired to rest and postponed his departure for another day, sending for one or two attendants then on shore and some of his more valuable packages, on the plea that they contained his and Lady Sherley's night cloths, medicines, &c. A further portion of his goods he rescued by filling some empty cases with ballast and other heavy rubbish and sending them on shore carefully packed up, getting back others which it was represented belonged to the vessel and had been landed by mistake. Finally, after thus recovering all his more valuable property, he announced his intention of landing the following morning, but recalled his remaining attendants alleging that he required them to attend upon him as musicians when he went on shore in state. He further sent word to Malik Mirza that in consideration of the Shah's honour whose representative he was, he expected a deputation of the principal men to receive him. The Beluchis fell into their own snare and complied, when

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the whole party arriving on board were seized and disarmed, and the restoration of the remainder of the property made the condition of their release.

From this port they steered for Diu in Guzerat, where Sir Robert and his party disembarked and proceeded by land to Agra. Here they were most hospitably and liberally entertained by the Emperor, Jehangir, who tried very hard to persuade Sir Robert to enter his service, but in vain, notwithstanding the most tempting offers. Sir Thomas Powell however appears to have been induced to remain at Agra. This refusal on the part of Sir Robert appears to have wounded the pride of Jehangir, who was farther annoyed by his candid and spirited defence of Shah Abbas in reply to some disparaging remarks of the Indian monarch. But this manly independence and *truth to his salt* were appreciated in the long run, and Jehangir finally dismissed him on his return to Persia, liberally supplied with elephants, camels tents and all the requisites for his march, together with money and jewels to the value of eight or nine thousand pounds sterling. They took the route by Scinde and Kandahar, and in the Bolan Pass they met Thomas Corryat, the English pedestrian traveller, then on his way from Persia to Lahore, who speaks highly of their kindness to him. From Kandahar by Ferrah and Herat they reached Kasbin in 1614.

Four or five years later Sir Robert was again dispatched by Shah Abbas as Ambassador to the several European sovereigns, and he appears to have followed nearly the same route as on the previous occasion, only lingering longer in Rome and at Madrid, where—probably supported by his brother's influence—he persuaded the Spanish monarch to consent to send four vessels to cruize against the Turks in the Red Sea. But the news of the capture of Ormuz by the joint forces of the Shah and the English East India Company, caused a complete change in Spanish policy, and put an end to all hopes of aid from that quarter. From Spain he passed into Holland, and finally reached England in 1623.

Here he found the Directors of the East India Company more opposed to him than ever. They had all along viewed his influence at the Persian Court with great suspicion and distrust, and regarded him as an interloper in their particular field of operations; but their disappointment at the results of the Ormuz expedition, from which they had expected great commercial and political advantages, together with Shah Abbas' refusal to allow them any establishment in the Gulf, made them doubly inveterate against one whom they looked upon as the Shah's adviser. They combatted his aaguments for a Persian alliance, they denounced his statements of the power and wealth of Shah Abbas as gross exaggerations, and accused him of being in the interests

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of Spain and desirous to throw the Persian commerce into the hands of that nation.

Two years after this,—Sir Robert having them been absent from Persia several years,—the Shah sent a Persian named Nogdi Beg as Ambassador to King James. On the intelligence of his reaching England the Directors hastened to welcome him and pay him every attention, and they found little difficulty in gaining him over to their views and enlisting him as an active opponent of Sir Robert Sherley. When brought to Court, Nogdi Beg coolly denied all knowledge of Sir Robert's mission as emanating from the Shah, boldly proclaimed him an imposter, and on being shown the Shah's letter, which Sir Robert had produced as his authority, he boldly pronounced it a forgery, tore it up, and even went so far as to strike Sir Robert in the face, pleading in excuse his anger at finding his master's name thus made use of by a scheming impostor.

The result was that King James appointed Sir Dodmore Cotton as his Ambassador to Shah Abbas, sending with him Sir Robert Sherley and Nogdi Beg in order to have the truth of the matter investigated. The account of this embassy has been given in detail by Sir Thomas Herbert. It is therefore sufficient to mention here that they sailed from Gravesend on Good Friday, 1626, with a fleet of six vessels, and reached Surat in November of that year, when Nogdi Beg found letters awaiting him mentioning that the Shah was greatly incensed against him for his conduct in England, of which intimation had been sent overland by Sir Robert Sherley via Aleppo. On receiving these tidings Nogdi Beg committed suicide by poisoning himself, not daring to face the Shah, and was buried on shore by his son Ibrahim Khan.

On the 10th of January 1627, they arrived at Gambroon where through the influence of Sir Robert Sherley, the English Ambassador was received with due respect, and furnished with carriage and all requisites for his journey to Ashraff, on the shores of the Caspian, where the Shah then was.

On arrival there in May, Sir Dodmore Cotton was most graciously received, and announced the objects of his embassy, which were the establishment of a commercial alliance and a league against Turkey, as also "to see Sir Robert Sherley purge himself from the imputations laid on him by Nogdi Beg, the king of Persia's late Ambassador." The Shah gave a very gracious reply and observed, Concerning Sir Robt. Sherley, he had been long of his acquaintance, and expressed as many considerable forms towards him, (though a stranger and a Christian) as to any of his born subjects. That if Nogdi Beg had aspersed him unjustly he should have satisfaction: it argued indeed Nogdi Beg was guilty, in that he rather chose to destroy himself by the way, than adventure a purgation. In some sort he hath presaged my rigor, for had he come

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and been found faulty, by my head (an oath of no small force) he should have been cut in as many parts as there be days in the year and burnt in the open market with dog's turds."

But after this he took no further notice of Sir Robert Sherley. This ungracious and ungrateful conduct apparently was partly owing to the influence of the Vazir Mahomed Ali Beg, who was an old enemy of the Knight, partly to a change in the Shah's views in regard to European policy, partly to caprice, and above all to the fact that Sir Robert's work was now done; his campaigning, voyages and troubles had made him prematurely old and infirm, and his presence was a constant reminder of claims for past service, which Shah Abbas was desirous to get rid of. Sir Robert's pension was considerably reduced, himself treated with neglect by the Shah, and with insult by the Vazir, and all his demands for enquiry or justice disregarded. These causes coupled with a broken constitution and previous anxieties, brought him to his grave on the 13th July, 1927, at Kasbin,—and according to Herbert "wanting a fitter place of burial we laid him under the threshold of his own door, without further noise or ceremony." Thus passed away a brave and adventurous spirit, a victim to Royal ingratitude, and an instance of the precarious nature of worldly prosperity and reputation. His faithful wife, who had shared all his fortunes, attended him at his death. Even then her misfortunes did not end; a Dutch Jew painter and one Crole a Fleming, who had both been some years in Persia,—most probably introduced by Sir Robert—advanced claims against the estate; in which they were supported by the Vazir, and under his authority they seized the property of the deceased Knight. Through the friendly offices of some members of Sir Dodmore Catton's Embassy she saved some of her jewels. With the proceeds of these she was enabled to leave Persia with the remnant of the Embassy—Sir Dodmore Catton having followed Sir Robert to the grave within the year—and ultimately found her way to Rome, where she finally ended her days in a convent.

Thus ended the first English attempt to establish a military and political influence in Persia. Although the idea originated entirely with Sir Anthony, who fairly opened the way, the details, slight and incomplete as they may have been, were carried out during a quarter of a century by Sir Robert Sherley.

He appears to have possessed many of his brothers' good qualities, but to have lacked the knowledge of the world, the tact, and also the education and literary abilities which Sir Anthony possessed. Moreover, commencing his career in Persia at an early age, he seems to have imbibed many of the ideas and prejudices of his adopted country, which were not at that period understood in Europe.

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Perhaps a more appropriate summary of his career, wherewith to conclude our article, cannot be found than in the epitaph written at the time of his death by Sir Thomas Herbert:—

" Lo here, the limits to whose restless brain,
No travels set, this Urn doth now contain.
A German Count I was; the Papal State
Impower'd me th' Indians to legitimate.
Men, manners, countreys to observe and see
Was my ambition and felicitie.
The Persians last I viewed, with full desire
To purge my Fame, blurr'd by a Pagan's ire;
Which done, death stopt my passage. Thus the mind
Which reacht the poles, is by this porch confin'd.
Reader! live happy still in home contents,
Since outward hopes are but rich banishments.

After land-sweats and many a storm by sea,
This hillock aged Sherley's rest must be.
He well had viewed arms, men and fashions strange
In divers lands. Desire so makes us range.
Sad turning course, whilst the Persian tyrant he,
With well dispatched charge, hop'd glad would be.
See Fortune's scorn! Under this door he lies,
Who, living, had no place to rest his eyes.
With what sad thoughts man's mind long hopes do twine,
Learn by another's loss but not by thine."

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CONTENTS OF No. LIII.

SEPTEMBER—1856.

ART. I.—SANITARY REFORM.

1. Two Lectures on the laws of Public Health as applied to the Opinions of the People of India; delivered before the Bethune Society, Calcutta. By Norman Chevers, M. D., Bengal Medical Service. Calcutta.
2. Bombay Medical and Physical Society's Transactions.
3. Decennial Return of the Age, Caste, Country and Casualties of the Bombay Army. By Lieut. Col. Jameson, Military Auditor General. Bombay.
4. Abstract of the Strength, Admissions into Hospital, and Deaths among the Hon'ble Company's European and Native Troops at the different Stations in the Bombay Presidency.
5. Tables of Mortality in Bombay for six years, ... 1

ART. II.—JAIL DISCIPLINE IN THE N. W. P.

Report of the Inspector General of Prisons, N. W. Provinces for the year 1854, ... 17

ART. III.—INDIAN ENNUI.

1. General Orders of the Bengal Army.
2. Beaufort's Digest of the Criminal Law.
3. The Indian Newspapers for 1856, ... 42

ART. IV.—THE KHASIA HILLS.

1. The Geological Structure of part of the Khasia Hills, with Observations on the Meteorology and Ethnology of that District. By Thomas Oldham, F. R. S., G. S. &c., Superintendent of the Geological Survey of India. Calcutta, 1854.
2. An Introduction to the Khasia Language; comprising a Grammar, Selections for Reading, and a Vocabulary. By the Rev. W. Pryse. Calcutta, 1855,

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In this case the sanitary regulations effected far more than any medical treatment could have done. During the first period, the circumstances in which the regiments were placed, totally prevented the recovery of those attacked, or in other words, the constitutions of the patients were so much debilitated, deteriorated, and poisoned, that medical aid could be of little service.

Though late in the day, hygiene or the preservation of health is now allowed to be one of the most important subjects that can engage the attention of the philanthropist. For many years on the continent of Europe, Hygiene has formed a special branch of medical education. Attention to public health has been a part of the ordinary duty of the Government of the country. Comparatively lately in Great Britain a Board of Health has been appointed with a special medical office attached. Up to the present time, the only instruction on this subject for medical men, was the scanty portion of the lectures on medico-legal medicine, in which this wide and important branch could be cursorily discussed. It has been discovered, that it would be well for *all youths* to be made acquainted, with the first principles of public health. At a meeting of the Governors of George Heriot's Hospital, Edinburgh, it was proposed in February, 1855, "That a Committee be appointed to consider the propriety and practicability, of instructing the boys in the Hospital and the scholars in the Foundation School, in physiology, and the laws of health, and other matters connected with the physical well-being of the community." This was supported by certificates from most eminent medical and scientific men, and the Committee was appointed. The same course has been adopted in some parts of the United States.

Within the present century in England, mortality has decreased, and consequently life is lengthened. In France, almost year by year, the duration of life is increasing; but still in every country the mortality in towns is greater than in country districts. In towns the constant tendency of mortality is to increase. In the country districts round London, Birmingham, and Manchester, the mortality is little more than half what it is in those towns. In the various Metropolitan districts, the mortality varies from 17 to 33 per 1000 per annum;—the average being about 25 per 1000. Seventeen deaths in 1000 is about the normal rate, hence all above that proportion must be classed among the preventible deaths. Were we to calculate minutely the number of the deaths occurring from preventible causes, the loss of life, and, as a necessary consequence, the pecuniary loss both to individuals and to the state, would appear almost incredible. In addition to this the general constitution and bodily health of the masses of people, living in non-sanitary districts, is much deteriorated. Every recruiting Serjeant knows that re-

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cruits from the country are much more likely to make effective soldiers than those enlisted in towns.

On the approach or rather the advent of an epidemic into any district or town, sanitary measures are discussed and put in practice. Whitewashing, drainage, ventilation and cleansing of close streets and houses, and district visiting, are resorted to, and continued with great energy till the unwelcome visitant leaves the town, to attack some other place as dirty, and as well prepared to receive any noisome pestilence, and there puts the municipal authorities into a ferment, and induces for the time unwonted activity, till the danger has passed, when generally every thing sinks into its former state. We would fain hope, however, that in Britain these matters are now at least improving.

But to return to India, and the book the title of which is placed at the head of this article. It cannot be denied, that if England is decimated by deaths from preventible diseases, India is doubly so; for the disease, which was in former times the chief scourge of England, and is now almost unknown, is at the present day the chief cause of death among the natives of India. We refer to fevers of the intermittent and remittent type. That these are more virulent in India than they have been for several generations in England cannot be denied, but their marked decrease in many places, where sanitary measures have been adopted, proves that fevers and agues are scarcely more obstinate here, than history tells us they were a few generations ago in Britain.

The earlier of these lectures on the laws of public health gives a short, but vivid account of the sanitary or rather the non-sanitary history of England from the earliest date, and such as is well calculated to prove what has been done and also how much remains to be done. This is told in such a way that it must have been understood by Dr. Chever's hearers, and this abstract of our sanitary state ought to have fully impressed them with the vital importance of the subject. It is however the second portion, or "the leading desiderata in a system of public hygiene as applicable to the necessities, and to the opinions of this great country" that must occupy our attention. Perfectly agreeing with our author in the restrictions as to the general way in which sanitary measures must be applied in this country, so as not to offend the religious prejudices of either Hindoo or Mussulman, committed doubtless for a wise purpose to our rule, "the other and wiser and more humane plan has been gradually, and by the force of reason and example to disabuse the subjects of our teaching of those errors, which evidently militate against their spiritual and physical well-being, and that without in any way attempting to intermeddle with those of their customs, which upon close investigation, are found to be either useful or harmless." None can doubt that

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such should be our aim, and that in accordance with such a spirit, we should attempt the increased civilization of those whose country we inhabit. It is a glorious object that we have in view, that of increasing their "spiritual and physical well-being;" how much is contained in it? The lecturer then goes on to quote the rules for sanitary measures contained in the Koran and Shastras, "They embody in fact a system of public hygiene, which, if strictly adhered to and carried out to its fullest extent, would alone be barely sufficient to meet the requirements of the most exacting sanitary reformers of the present day." Here the small word "*if*" intervenes, and for all practical ends of sanitary reform, these Shastras and the Koran might never have been written. Still it is of great importance, that we have both the word and spirit of the religious tenets of those over whom we propose to exercise sanitary rule for our support in the matter, for this will doubtless conduce to our success, and facilitate our proceedings. The chief topics which are discussed in the concluding pages are—

The prevention of famine and pestilence.
Water supply.
Household and town drainage.
Disposal of the dead.
Personal habits.

In their abstract form, these include almost the whole of what is necessary for the well-being of a community, but do not go quite so far as a clerical lecturer in Edinburgh who stated that "the chief essentials to secure health among the working classes, were good food, cleanliness, comfortable clothing, dry and well aired houses, frugality, sobriety, and rational amusement." If he had added pure air, he would we think have said everything that could be included under the word hygiene, or public health; what he did say, though undoubtedly coming under that head in a very wide sense, comprises most of the political and social relations as well as those strictly coming under the term sanitary.

The 1st point named above, the "prevention of famine and pestilence." The first of these comes so much more under the political than under the purely sanitary aspect that we shall say but a few words on it. Pestilence always follows famine, hence a beneficent Government, in providing facilities for feeding the people, does much to prevent pestilence. The mode in which famine is prevented, viz., by bringing under cultivation marsh, waste, and jungly ground, is indirectly one of our best safeguards—with an abundance of food the human frame is made more capable of resisting pestilence when it approaches—and some of the great disease-promoting tracts of country done away with. We are also much more likely to succeed, in attempting to instil the principles of sanitary reform into a people, who

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have an abundance of the necessaries of life, than a people among whom the aim to exist must absorb the whole thought, care, and labour of the man.

With the prevention of pestilence we have much more to do, and how much has really been done? In addition to what we have alluded, as indirectly preventing pestilence, we shall find that vaccination has done much to confine the ravages of small-pox, but how much more remains to be done? Let us look again at Great Britain, while cultivation, drainage, and the vaccination have almost done away with the deadly and formerly endemic diseases, ague and small-pox, utter carelessness in the construction and cleansing of towns, and comparative apathy about the habits and dwellings of the poor, have rendered endemic in almost every large town typhus fever, and given a typhoid* tendency to many other diseases. At present in many large towns, as Liverpool, Manchester, Glasgow, Edinburgh, London, cum multis aliis, typhus fever walks almost as rampant as ever it did, and carries off month, by month, and year by year, its quota of victims. In many places, it is almost endemic; and is so common that it is not regarded as a pestilence; but any increased scarcity of provisions, a more than ordinarily severe winter, or even comparatively slight atmospheric changes convert it at once into an epidemic, and one generally destroying a vast number of lives, and yet this fever is regarded almost as a matter of course; an additional ward in a Hospital is set apart; ten or fifteen admissions in a day are thought little of; but if cholera, whose location depends on the same predisposing causes, or those which weaken the system and depress the vital powers, attacks half a dozen in a day, great are the fears, and at once for the time torpor is cast aside. So much does familiarity lessen our sense of danger. We shall find, that the vast majority of deaths in India among natives are due especially to diseases, the mortality of which is aggravated by the bad state of health of those who are attacked. Intermittent fevers induced by ordinary miasma, in natives in good health is generally easily subdued, and is of comparatively slight importance; but if it attacks the weak or debilitated it becomes of serious import, as by repeated recurrences it is specially liable to cause diseases of the stomach and bowels, and these latter are peculiarly fatal.

We consider every form of disease which has a tendency to become epidemic, a pestilence, and should adopt every means in our power to root it out and destroy every thing which fosters or disseminates it. The prevention of pestilence, will be best considered as a resumé, after touching upon the several points set forth to which Dr. Chevers proposed to direct attention.

* Or a condition attended with great prostration of vital power.

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Water supply is another most important element, appertaining rather to municipal powers than to the medical. It is however the duty of the medical jurist to see that water used for drinking contains, no "strange fish." Taste and appearance will usually indicate if water is fit for human use. If from wells, the strata from which it is drawn will generally give an accurate idea of the mineral substances which may be expected to be found in it. If any peculiarity in appearance or effect is noticed in drinking water, an accurate analysis should be obtained. The remarks made by Dr. Chevers on the necessity not only of digging wells and tanks, but also of keeping them pure, are valuable, and are worthy of far more attention than the subject usually receives. All large tanks should have trees planted round them, more especially on the side leeward to the prevailing winds. Fish should be placed in them as it is well known that by this means the salubrity of the water is preserved.

Next as to household and town drainage. In respect to these, Calcutta seems positively worse off than Bombay, and Bombay is in a very bad state indeed. Dr. Chevers very properly says, that bad drains are worse than none, for if a mass of decomposing filth is thrown into a badly constructed drain, which has not fall sufficient to induce its fluid contents to move on, there the filth remains and accumulates, unheeded by the sweeper or the resident, whose nose by custom has lost its aversion to foul air, and thus does not warn its possessor of the danger of the place. Custom, however, does not do away the danger, but as surely as any one lives for a long time in a noxious atmosphere, *so certainly is his health undermined, his constitution weakened, and he himself rendered specially susceptible to epidemic influences.* If there are no drains, it is possible that the solid parts of the filth may be carried away, and the fluid sink into the ground to some little distance, but drains which do not act, it is quite certain, form foci of disease, and assuredly help to localise any epidemic influence which may pass over the place. It is to the Civil Engineer that we must look for plans for draining—but drains should be as small as is consistent with the amount of fluid that they have to carry—the transverse section of the drain should be in the form of an egg with the small end downward, as this seems the best calculated to prevent deposition of solid matters. We protest most strongly against having, in any town any permanent cesspools. If these are allowed to be filled with the solid deposit from drainage, and then built up, we pity the inhabitants of the town, who may happen to live near this unmitigated scourge—for be the cesspool constructed in the most approved manner, and built up most carefully, mephitic gases will still permeate its walls and spread disease, and death around

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its margin. In Paris, the sudden deaths among the men who cleaned these horrible receptacles were years ago by no means infrequent. It must be our aim as much as possible, to separate the solid from the fluid portions of drainage. The former should never be permitted to be placed in a drain, but should be restored to the land, as the most proper of all nutriment for the crops, from the decomposition of which it is produced. The greatest chemist of the day remarked, when in England, that the English were a clean people, that they imported vast quantities of guano each year, and washed away in their rivers what was of far more value. The time undoubtedly will come, when science and mechanical chemistry shall have adapted some means successfully for making available the debris of large towns, rendering it easy of transport, without odour, and also quite harmless to the health of inhabitants. In China every particle of debris is made available for the purposes of cultivation, and why should it not be the same in Hindostan? Utopian as it may appear, we hope to see the day when every village and town in India will be rendered clean and wholesome, by taking some care to give to the land that which usually remains, almost at their very doors, and is a most intolerable nuisance, besides rendering every village liable to a pestilence.* District officers ought to have no difficulty in persuading the cultivators how absolutely it would be for their pecuniary advantage to use for their crops what is now only hurtful to their own and their children's health. For the crops of corn no manure could be more proper, and on light soils it would most probably enable the ryot to grow cotton; which requires a soil in many respects similar to the crops with which it is usually alternated.

In building new villages, bazaars, cantonments, jails, &c., and Oude might furnish a place for trying this advantageously. Great attention should be paid to the following :—

1st. That the site selected should admit of easy drainage.

2nd. That good water should be easily procurable.

3rd. That the village should be constructed in such a way that the wind which usually blows, should pass along the directions of the main streets.

4th. That the floors of the houses should be considerably raised above the level of the ground.

5th. And that the houses should either be built adjoining each other, or a space of eight or ten feet *at least* left between them.

The necessity of the first four of these points, no one can for a moment question—as to the fifth we hold that it also is of very great importance, for if between village houses small spaces are

* We are quite aware that a suburb of London is now proposing to pay nearly a million of money to get rid of what might enrich its neighbourhood.

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left, they become filled with every species of dirt, they prevent the free circulation of air, and thus produce foci for engendering disease. It will be difficult, perhaps, to persuade mofussilites how much it is for their advantage, that their houses should not only adjoin, but be under the same roof as that of their neighbours, as by this means only two sets of drains are required, houses are much drier in the rains, and more cheaply built. Were villages built on some such plan as this, ventilation and drainage would both be comparatively easy. Bad drainage is doubtless a cause both of dysentery and fever, and has also been proved in England to assist in propagating cholera.

As to the two last points alluded to, viz. personal cleanliness and the burial of the dead. The first must be accomplished by increase of general intelligence and moral causes—personal filth is by no means a characteristic of the natives of Hindostan—generally the lowest and those who are sunk in extreme poverty are the only people among natives who are essentially dirty.

For the removal of the dead we much prefer incremation under proper care to any other mode of disposal for India. Where burial must be practised, it should be at a distance from cities, and it should be made indispensable that charcoal should be placed in considerable quantities around the corpse, as experience has fully proved its efficacy in absorbing deleterious gases, to an extent almost inconceivable, and graves should also be required to be deep at least five or six feet. We shall conclude our slight notice of these lectures with a quotation, and one or two remarks upon it.

"I would only say a few words, in conclusion, to encourage you to believe that the adoption of a sanitary system throughout India must originate with the people themselves, and is neither beyond their means nor entirely apart from their inclinations: a great mercantile people like the Hindoos, cannot require a demonstration of the fixed principle in political economy—that *whenever an individual or a people is desirous to acquire certain personal or national advantages, those advantages must be fully paid for out of that individual's or that nation's purse.* Nothing in this world that requires the study or the manual labour of others can be obtained without a price. The question for our consideration therefore is, will the people of this country become convinced that it is as necessary to the salubrity and decency of a city, that its streets and its drains and its aqueducts should be carefully and cleanly preserved, as it is to the health of a man that his body should undergo daily purification? This being admitted will not many be willing to pay for the water and brushes? It has been alleged, I think rashly and unkindly, that the rich natives of India give only out of ostentation and for a name. Among mankind few virtues can be found untainted with selfishness; let us welcome and honor the good, where we find it, without searching too deeply for

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the venial weaknesses which leaven it; while the love of power is allowed to the honest statesman; while the thirst of glory is not denied to the humane general; while fame is given to the devotee of science; while the honors of temporal dignity are accorded to the holiest and most learned in the ranks of the servants of the church; let not due respect be denied to those citizens whose generosity shall first bestow the blessing of *health* upon this land."

Now while fully agreeing with the principle, that whatever we have must be paid for, and "fully paid for," we are certain that in a pecuniary point of view health will be found much more for the advantage of the pocket, than we should from this quotation be led to expect. In one large town in Scotland the street sweepings sell for more than the whole expense of collecting them. But though it should be somewhat costly at first, are life and health to be outweighed by the petty sum that it would be necessary to collect, to make Calcutta or Bombay or any other large town, healthy? It is simply selling the general health for a small addition to each person's purse. We most decidedly disagree with our author when he implies that it is to private generosity we must look for the accomplishment of sanitary reform in this land. In England we find Parliament making laws for sanitary matters. In every civilized country, where sanitary reform is in progress, we find that it is the Government of the country, or the municipal authorities who bear the charge and carry out, as far as it *is* carried out, sanitary reform. How then, can we expect that in this country, where nothing has hitherto been done except by Government, private generosity should carry out great measures of reform? Government has provided law officers and Courts of Justice to see that violence is not done, and if murder is committed on a single individual, every effort is made to find out the perpetrator, and he is punished as a warning. Is it too much to expect or insist, that our rulers should be as much interested in saving the lives of those who are yearly sacrificed by the demons of filth and pestilence as in tracing out one who has poisoned a fellow creature? It is from the power which rules throughout the length and breadth of the land, that we ought to expect some attempts at sanitary reform, which shall as much embrace the dirtiest and most foul-smelling villages of the country generally, as the seat of Government in each Presidency. We hold that, circumstanced as is the British Government in India, with full access to the experience of Europe and America, and having, where it chooses to exert its influence, more than the powers of Mogul or Russian despotism, it is our *sacred duty* to originate sanitary measures; to point out what is most urgently required, and to carry into effect measures which are quite as much for the well-being of the State, as of

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individuals. The cost compared to the benefits will be as nothing. Whatever they may be they must be borne, as a general rule, by localities where these sanitary measures are put in force. Economy will thus be secured, or at least lavish expenditure checked.

The statistics for determining the average duration of life among the native population are very limited; so that we are quite unable to determine accurately, the comparative state of town and country, and to see what forms of disease are specially fatal in each. Opinions of medical men differ as to the native, compared with the European constitution. We think that natives generally bear up better under severe operations and injuries than do our own countrymen. The professor of Surgery in the Grant College, Bombay, has stated it as his opinion, that natives do not bear up so well under operations as Europeans; this is stated with the reservation, that it is founded on the experience of the Jamsetjee Hospital, Bombay. The reservation is very important, as the majority of cases at that Hospital are generally taken from the most indigent classes in Bombay, and Bombay itself is more unhealthy than any other station of the army in the Western Presidency. This is proved by a reference to the abstract by the Bombay Medical Board the title of which is placed in the list, for we find that, with the exception of Kurrachee, Bombay is the most unhealthy station for the army. Kurrachee presents a high rate of mortality chiefly on two accounts; one the epidemic of cholera of 1846, and the other that it has invariably been found that newly settled stations are more unhealthy, for the first few years than afterwards. The mortality in Kurrachee for the 12 years in the tables is 26·81 per 1,000 men per annum inclusive of 1846. If that year is excluded, the mortality is not more than about 18 per 1,000. The average mortality of the last 5 years up to the end of 1851 at Kurrachee among the native troops did not exceed 14·2 per 1,000. If we subject Bombay to the same test we find a similar result, but one that still stamps Bombay as more unhealthy than any other military station in that Presidency. But let us subject Dr. Peet's assertion to the test of well known statistics, and they will prove that his opinion, if correct, only shows that the Hindoo or Mussulman living in towns is more unhealthy than the European. Applying statistics to compare the healthiness of Europeans and natives, we find that in one of the well known operations in Surgery, the mortality averages, for all ages, one in 6·93 in England, one in 5·7 in France, and one in 5·14 in Europe generally.* In India the mortality is some-

* Article Lithotomy, Erichsen's Surgery.

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what less than one in twenty.* This alone speaks volumes in favor of the powers of natives in bearing well the depressing effects of operations—and this operation in all countries is generally performed on persons scattered widely through the country. Thus it will be evident from the opinion above quoted that the inhabitants of Bombay are much less healthy than natives of Hindostan generally.

The duration of life in Bombay† averages about 23½ years as deduced from Dr. Leith's Mortuary reports for six years. For the years 1848-49, and '50 it was 23·5 and for the years 1851-52, and 53 it was 23·3. This age does not however correctly express the value of life in Bombay, for the immigration is much greater than the emigration from it. And by far the largest portion of immigrants have escaped the dangers of infancy, hence this number 23·5 represents the average as too favorable for those born in Bombay. Even taking 23·5 years as the average duration of life it is much less than might be expected. Referring to the causes of death, we find that cholera, small-pox, measles, fevers and some diseases of the alimentary canal cause upwards of 9000 out of the 13,000 annual deaths in Bombay. From the returns for 12 years of the native army of Bombay, it appears that the average deaths per 1000 throughout the Presidency are 11·9, whereas in Bombay they reach 24·66 or rather more than double. This is most melancholy. That Bombay should be the most unhealthy place in Western India,—being as it is the oldest settlement, and the seat of Government—and having a large, wealthy, and intelligent body of European inhabitants—must be matter for deep regret, and the feeling must arise that all has not been done that could be done, for its sanitary state. During this period, there does not appear to have been much improvement, as the last three years record of deaths reaches nearly 20 per 1000 per annum. It may be urged that the extra duties that have to be performed by the sepoys in Bombay may account for some extra mortality. Certainly, but not for the whole. What is the cause? Innate badness of site, or epidemics produced by miasma and general impurity of air. These miasmas and general impurity exist in spite of police, Board of Conservancy, and all other municipal arrangements. Does not the unhealthy state of Bombay come under the term preventible? Most assuredly: but the difficulty is how to apply the remedy.

* We have carefully examined *all* of the fully reported cases of operators at our disposal, and in upwards of 400 cases reported they give the small mortality quoted above.

† We have taken the statistics of Bombay for quotation as they extend over a greater period of years than any of Calcutta or Madras to which we have access. Doubtless the statistics of other large towns, more especially the Presidency towns, will furnish data of very similar import.

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It is not alone in Bombay that this state obtains—Calcutta is as bad or worse. Cholera prevails almost as extensively as in Bombay, and remittent fever of a far worse type is endemic along the whole Valley of the Ganges. The plague or Mahamurree fastens itself in the dirtiest and closest spots of the dirtiest villages—as it did in 1665-66 in "the close and tortuous lanes, in which poisonous exhalations had gathered, and concentrated for centuries," and in old London before the great fire, which was the great sanitary reformer of that day.

What has been done, and is now being done to increase the sanitary state of our Jails in every part of Hindostan, is as absolutely required, and would be as worthily bestowed on the poor, but honest ryot, and on those who dwell in the immense and almost numberless towns of India.

As yet, it is only in the prevention of small-pox, that the Government of India has directly taken a decided part in the attempt to extirpate pestilence. Different methods for spreading vaccination prevail in each of the Presidencies, but in Bombay it is far more systematically carried out, and though at the same time more money is expended, such expenditure is real economy even of money, as assuredly it is of human life.

The Medical Board of Bombay has published the results of the operations of the seven Superintendents of vaccination for the official year 1854-55, and these show in the most favorable light when we find 1st that the number vaccinated in the various divisions, and by the Civil Surgeons, &c. is 2,33,368, and of these, 2,05,455 successfully.

2*nd*. That the total number of cases of small-pox treated in ALL THE HOSPITALS for that year was 234, and the mortality only 48. Only 2 cases of small-pox occurred among 5756 prisoners.

3*rd*. That the opposition to vaccination is gradually decreasing.

4*th*. That although it is impossible to state with certainty to what extent small-pox has prevailed in the various divisions, only in two are epidemics spoken of as being at all severe, and in those two, epidemics of small-pox have been almost of annual occurrence.

Nothing can however be more satisfactory than the fact, that the total number of cases of small-pox treated is so small, and that the deaths are much below the average number that would have occurred in the absence of vaccination. The resolution of the Government to whom this Report was addressed evinces a highly creditable interest in the matter.

Para. 4 of that Resolution is as follows:—"Government hope that the approaching census will enable the Medical Board to show, in future vaccination Reports, what proportion the num-

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ber of persons vaccinated in each district bears to the total population, and number of births, and that it will be possible to define more accurately the area and population of each Superintendent's charge. In future reports also it would be well, if possible, to show the age of persons vaccinated, so far at least as to distinguish those under and above one year of age, and those vaccinated as children and adults." The *total* cost of vaccinating to the State, only counting successful cases, is Rs. 32-0-5 for every hundred persons. In England the cost is Rs. 50-0-0 per 100 cases exclusive of the cost of the Central Board in London.

By what means can sanitory reform be most successfully introduced? In our opinion, the first step to be taken is to ascertain, as correctly as possible, the average duration of life in India; next, to find out the causes which shorten life in one place, and lengthen it in another; then to find out the cause of, and weave our meshes round epidemics, wherever they may arise, and prevent their spread; to root out endemics, when they are influenced by causes under our control; and lastly, to endeavour to strengthen the human frame, so that it may resist the epidemic influence, which may, at any time, be abroad.

We are quite aware that even to attempt these objects at present, throughout the country, will be most difficult, and certainly to carry them out successfully a very different system must obtain, for the presidency town with its numerous staff and European inhabitants, for the cantonment, and for the purely native city and village. Sanitary measures are usually more attended to in cantonments and more practically useful than in other place. A new cantonment is always more unhealthy than one which has been for several years established. Cantonments, though often badly selected, generally have advantages over other localities. Military discipline has also greatly assisted to effect something in this way. The sepoys' huts and lines are far more cleanly than those of the class from which the regiments derive their strength.

Then bearing in mind the objects set forth, as those to which special attention must be paid, we would give the outlines of an improved system of sanitary measures 1st for presidency towns—2nd for cantonments, and 3rd for the Mofussil generally.

Within the last 18 months, the Secretary of the Bombay Medical and Physical Society has compiled from the records of the Bombay Medical Board, a monthly epitome of the state of health, admissions to Hospitals and deaths with a few remarks on each division of the army. This has generally been published in the third or fourth month afterwards. This though a considerable stride in the right direction, is not all that is wanted. And thus much has not as yet been done in Bengal. We are not aware whether anything similar has appeared in Madras. In No. VI. of the In-

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dian Annals of Medicine is a most carefully drawn up statistical paper of the sickness and death among the troops in the Bombay Presidency for a period of 51 years. No one can glance at this table without perceiving its immense value. As far as it goes, it is perfect, but a table of this kind should be published monthly or quarterly. For past periods the materials are now ready, and only require collation in the office of each Superintending Surgeon. In place of the year as it now stands in that table we would insert the station and give the particulars of each corps as follows: Strength; Number of sick remaining from last month; Number admitted; Discharged; Died, and those at present in Hospital. The causes of deaths should be stated next, and then the daily average number of sick per cent. This should be done, not only for European corps, but for native corps, police prisoners, &c. with a notice of vaccination. This would entail little or no trouble as all the particulars are now regularly furnished to Superintending Surgeons. It would be of use not only with reference to India generally, but would give a full and particular topographical sanitary report. In Scotland, monthly mortuary returns are published with remarks by the Medical Superintendent of Statistics, and a quotation from remarks accompanying his Report for August last, will shew that even now an immense number of human beings are hurried out of the world by preventible or zymotic diseases. "Of the various classes of disease, the zymotic class (epidemic and contagious diseases) usually cuts off the greatest number of victims. In healthy seasons, about 22 per cent. of the total mortality is caused by this class of diseases in towns; but during the autumn this proportion is often exceeded from the prevalence of autumnal diarrhœa and bowel complaints. In Edinburgh, the zymotic diseases constituted 16 per cent. of the total mortality; in Leith 23 per cent.; in Aberdeen 24; in Perth 27; in Glasgow 33; in Paisley 33; and in Dundee and Greenock 87 per cent. of the total mortality." Now such a Superintendent is precisely what we want. The cities of Calcutta, Bombay, and Madras would surely each furnish work for such a Superintendent of Public Health; but we would give him a more extended and at the same time a more defined object for his labour.

An Officer of Public Health should be appointed for each of the five Presidency towns. Means of tracing out disease somewhat like the following should be placed at their disposal: Weekly, or even oftener in times when epidemics are rife, *every* medical practitioner should be required to state, in a short written form, what diseases prevail in the district in which he practises, and what quarters or streets have furnished the greatest number of patients; he should also state if he is aware of any cause for their prevalence. The Superintendent of Health should as early as possible visit these places, and always within 48 hours those places

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which might seem most urgently to demand it. He should then furnish an emergent requisition on the Executive Engineer to *enforce* attention to any matters which seem urgently demanded, to mitigate or prevent the spread of the disease.

The duties of this Officer of Health should also extend to a surveillance of the places in which new houses are being built. It should be imperative that every house should be numbered, and every street also numbered, or named, and the town should be mapped out into quarters so as to facilitate reference. The municipal authorities, where such exist, should be made responsible that all removable dirt and filth is removed : if no municipal authorities exist, it should be peremptory that every householder be responsible for the effectual cleansing of the portion of street appertaining to his house. Public latrines should be established and kept clean at the expense of the quarter in which they are placed. These should be purified by a quantity of chloride of lime, or by the cheapest materials that can be procured, which answer the purpose ; of these are lime, charcoal, charred saw dust, burnt gypsum, &c., which are of more or less benefit for the same purpose. Small quantities of sulphur burnt in these receptacles would also assist in the decomposition of gases producing effluvia, and carrying infection. The contents of each of these receptacles should be removed during the night, and the deodorising and disinfecting materials should then be freely used. Facts recorded lately in England by Dr. Budd, and others, seem completely to prove that cholera has been in many instances propagated from the latrines used by those affected, and nothing can excuse the culpability of those who allow any probable means of disseminating disease to remain in operation, after it has been proved distinctly, that cholera has been spread by means of causes, so completely under our control.

Places where animals are kept should also be subjected to visits and should be in such a state of cleanliness, as is requisite for health, or their removal enforced. As far as consistent with Hindoo prejudices no animals should be allowed to remain in dwelling houses. Such are the additional matters to those which are universally allowed as causes of disease to which attention should be specially directed. Those causes of disease which all allow to be such, as insufficient drainage, stagnant water, and filth, should not be tolerated for an hour.

The surveillance of these matters in each Presidency town should be specially entrusted to a medical officer to be called the Superintendent of Public Health. He should also be required to lecture on the subject to the students of educational establishments, where the scholars are sufficiently advanced in English to comprehend the scope of such a subject.

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The public health of cantonments and towns adjoining should be made a matter of duty for a selected medical officer at each station, and Monthly Reports, embracing the topics previously alluded to, should be required. Regimental bazars should be made, as much as possible, patterns for surrounding villages and towns.

In the mofussil generally, a far harder task awaits our attempts to systematize sanitary reform. It would seem that the Civil powers in the various districts are the channels through whom such attempts should be made. What is chiefly required is information on the following points—Population of the various Collectorates, whether increasing or decreasing, migratory or settled. A monthly return should be required from the head of each village, of births and deaths, with the causes assigned for the latter, and the age of each inhabitant who has died.

Collectors, Vaccinators, and Police Officers should be directed, while on their tours, to inspect and furnish short reports on the state of the various villages in their districts. Plain instructions in the vernacular, should be distributed to the headman in every village, and these instructions should urge upon every cultivator of the soil the benefit he would derive from restoring to the land which he cultivates the debris of the village. Upon the villagers it should be urged how much themselves and their families would benefit by the removal of every nuisance, and the obstacles to a pure atmosphere.

These are the chief present desiderata. None are very costly. What is chiefly wanted to enable a good system to be devised is knowledge of the vital statistics of the land, as then plans might be arranged which should have special reference to these requirements. If the difficulties in the way of our scheme are great, the benefits are greater. The object is grand and philanthropic, and will amply repay all the time, trouble, and expense, that can be expended on it. But in this, as in all other reforms, what is wanted more than information, system or ought else, is a man of energy, and purpose, with Dictator's powers to root out mischief, and carry out his own views. Many fitting men are in the ranks of the Indian Medical Service. What Walker and Hansbrow have done for the Agra Jail, Hathaway for the Punjab prisons, and Mouat is now doing for Bengal may be done for the country at large. They have more than earned their salaries. A Sanitary Inspector would soon save his a hundred times over.

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ART. II.—*Report of the Inspector General of Prisons, N. W. Provinces for the year* 1854.

MANY are the devices which have been adopted by various nations, creeds, and governments, in different ages, for the treatment and management of their criminal population, and it has been and is still a vexed question in England, what is the best way in which to deal with our convicts. Not many years ago, sheep-stealing was deemed a crime only to be expiated on the gallows; now it is considered doubtful whether any advantage is gained by capital punishments, even in the case of murderers; transportation is looked upon with no favourable eye, and the only means of punishment left to us, is an increased discipline in our Jails. To effect this, many plans have been proposed. Sometimes all the convicts have been promiscuously herded together, the hardened robber with the poor wretch whom sheer hunger had driven to steal a piece of bread, and the deliberate murderer with him, who, under the most exasperating provocations, had dealt a blow resulting in death; whilst in other cases each convict has been consigned to a separate cell with no one, not even his keeper, with whom to converse, and no occupation with which to employ his mind, and divert his thoughts, till a few short months have left him a drivelling idiot or raging maniac.

The period has not long elapsed since our Home Prisons were simple hells on earth, dens full of every iniquity, whose walls rang to blasphemous and indecent songs, whose chambers witnessed daily and nightly scenes of debauchery, where decency was mocked, and religion scoffed at, where the practised villain instructed the novice in crime, and women cast aside what modesty their former criminal life had left to them; in short, so far from acting to society as preservatives from crime, her Jails were rather hotbeds, in which the seeds of villainy and iniquity of every kind were sedulously forced, and cultivated, ready, on being planted out in society, to bear a double abundance of their bitter fruits. On this dark scene, philanthropy entered, and proceeded at once, though at first with feeble and single efforts, to do battle for right and justice, and by introducing order, and arrangement into the Jails, to gain alike some amelioration for their inmates, and security for society. John Howard was the first to withdraw the veil from these dark scenes of iniquity, and since that time England surprized and horrified at the disclosure, has roused herself to action. Much attention has, of late years, been given to the subject of Jail discipline and management, Committees have been formed, investigations and researches have

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been made, experiments entered upon, and various systems discussed. Reports have also been issued full of valuable information, and essayists and reviewers have taken up the theme, upholding various systems, and propounding new ideas of their own; all which shows that the public mind has been roused to a thorough consideration of the importance of the subject under review.

In this country, too, the subject of Jail discipline and management has lately been receiving the attention which is due to so important a subject. Experiments have been carefully made, many of the principles sanctioned by the authorities at home have been adopted, others have been rejected as useless in themselves, or impracticable from the difference in the people with whom we have to deal, and the climate in which we have to work, nor have the warnings given by the failures at home been neglected. To the Jails of the N. W. Provinces Mr. Woodcook has been the great benefactor. To him we owe the first steps towards improvement, the grand principles on which Jails are now to be established in these Provinces, and the first attempts to break through the existing system by carrying his theories into practice. No hasty steps have been taken, gradually and slowly the new system has been developing itself, and the old one crumbling away. Year after year has seen some fresh additions, some new improvements, and the experiment has been found practically to answer so well, that the system, the leading principles of which Mr. Woodcock laid down, is now to be carried out to its fullest extent. On Mr. Woodcock's steps Mr. Thornhill has followed, and has matured and carried out his predecessor's plans to the fullest extent, seconded and supported as he has been by the Local Government.

We have before us the Report on the Jails of the North West Provinces for the year 1854. It contains an excellent defence of the system of establishing large Central Jails, with intramural labour and partial separation. The theories propounded in the body of the Report are shown to be practicable by the results shown in the tables and Appendices, which contain much valuable information. The grand experiment attempted on this system at Agra has been pronounced eminently successful, and it has been resolved to carry it out to its full extent in other Jails. The system has already begun to work. Out of the thirty-four Jails under the charge of the Inspector General of the North West Provinces, six are to be established as large Central Jails, namely, those of Agra, Allahabad, Bareilly, Benares, Jubbulpoor, and Meerut. In these six vast repositories of crime all the long-term prisoners, (*i. e.* whose terms of imprisonment exceed six months) are to be concentrated from the neighbouring districts.

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The building of the additions and alterations in these Jails, necessary from the great influx of prisoners, has been begun, and already they have begun to absorb convicts from the smaller Jails. Statement No. I. shows us that the Jails of Allygurh, Muttra, and Hummeerpoor have been broken up, and since the date of the report Budaon and other districts have suffered the same fate.

At this change many Magistrates rejoice, as it removes an onerous, and, to some, a disagreeable charge from their shoulders. Others again repel the withdrawal of their prisoners, as of so much capital available for roads and other public works. It is true that compensation is granted to district officers for the prisoners of which they are thus deprived, but we very much doubt whether the grants at present made fully compensate for the loss occasioned. The calculation is, we believe, made at the rate of a rupee a month for each prisoner. Now, little as we believe in the efficiency of out-door convict labour, we do not feel inclined to rate it, on the average, at considerably less than half that of a common coolie. Even taking their earnings to be at the rate of nine pie per diem, (Vide para. 44 of Report) each man will be found to have earned a good deal more than a rupee at the end of the month, so that, when it comes to be a question of three or 400 men, the deduction of two or three annas from each man's monthly earnings entails a considerable loss at the end of the year on the local authorities. Thus, three annas a man per month, less compensation than is due, will make the Magistrate a loser at the rate of 225 per hundred men in the year, which is scarcely a fair arrangement. We do hope that Government will reconsider these grants, and make them more liberal, especially when by this new arrangement the expenses of the establishment are vastly curtailed, and a great saving is obtained for Government. This however we look upon as a mere error in detail, and in no way affecting the general principles of the system, nor must it be considered as an argument against it; on the other hand indeed, the mere fact, that different Magistrates do look upon their convicts with different eyes, and treat them in different ways, is in itself a strong argument for the establishment of large Jails under special supervision, and upon fixed principles.

It is not our purpose now to enter into a minute examination of the tables, and statements furnished in the Report before us, regarding the comparative healthiness or otherwise of the Jails of the N. W. Provinces, or the manner in which expenses have been curtailed, (and certainly the expenses of the establishment have been most wonderfully cut down since the appointment of the Inspector General) but we propose considering the system of Central Jails with intramural labour and partial separation, as laid down by Mr. Thornhill with the view of ascertaining whe-

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ther it contains those principles, which are, in our opinion, essential to the success of our Jails and the security of society.

There are two principles which we consider necessary to the usefulness of our Jails, and without which, we think, the imprisonment of our convicts is worse than useless: 1st "That the Jail be a place of real punishment to offenders, so as to make them unwilling to do anything which will lead to their being again incarcerated," and also to deter others from the commission of crimes; and 2ndly. That an attempt should be made to reform the convicts. In short, our two principles are deterring punishment, and reformation.

We will not stop here to discuss these two points, for they are generally allowed on all hands to be the main objects of imprisonment, and by the attainment or non-attainment of which our judgment regarding any system of Jail management must be guided. On the first object no one will, we venture to think, raise a doubt, whatever may be said to the second; but, if means be not taken to attempt the reform of convicts, if some endeavour be not made to give them tastes superior to those with which they enter Jail, and also if some means of earning an honest livelihood when they leave its walls be not placed at their disposal, in short, if they be not given at least the chance of reformation, we maintain that Government falls short of its duty to society. Convicts under a non-reformatory system are returned to society in as bad, if not in a worse, state than when they left it, whereas their time might be employed in learning useful handicrafts, and receiving instruction in reading and writing, so that they might have at least the chance of making themselves useful members of, instead of burdens to society. Punishment is excellent as a deterring influence from crime, but if some means be not placed at the disposal of the convict, by which he may earn an honest livelihood on his release, we fear much that the consequence will be a return to crime. The ground may be prepared to receive the good seed, but if the good seed be not sown, what is the use of the prepared ground? But we must not delay longer in discussing points, the advantages of which must be so patent to all, but will proceed at once to bring Mr. Thornhill's system to the prescribed tests, and see whether the two great objects of imprisonment are attained thereby.

First, if the system of Central Jails, with intramural labour, and partial separation, provides such punishment as shall be a terror to evil doers; will it act influentially in deterring others from the commission of crime; and will it inspire the convict himself with such disgust, as to make him avoid any act, when he returns to society, which will render him liable to be again incarcerated?

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Under the present system, where prisoners are employed on the roads and on large public works beyond the limits of the Jail walls, this great object is not, and cannot be attained. It is simply impossible for the Magistrate, be he ever so zealous and interested in the subject, to visit all the gangs of convicts which are scattered over the station, and in many cases even over the District. How can any one, with the load of work on his shoulders, which a Magistrate and Collector of the N. W. Provinces has to bear, pretend to be able to visit, even once a month, gangs situated 30 or 40 miles from the Sudder Station? The native Jail Darogah has his own special duties to perform at home, and is no more gifted with omnipresence than his superior, even had he leisure to make frequent descents upon outlying gangs. The convicts are thus, necessarily, left in many places exclusively to the care of underpaid Burkundazes under an illpaid Jemadar. By any one, who knows the light in which natives regard bribery, the result may be imagined. Any convict who can afford to give a rupee (the scale is, we presume, graduated according to the victim's means) sees his friends as often as he pleases, and receives all kinds of forbidden luxuries, such as tobacco, sweetmeats, &c., and we doubt not, that often might a wealthy convict and his faithful keeper be seen squatting together, during work hours, under some shady-tree, indulging in a friendly gossip, and taking alternate whiffs from the same "CHILLUM" whilst another favourite holds happy intercourse with various members of his own family, from whom he has been supposed, in a legal point of view, to have been exiled perhaps for many a long year.

Nor are those who labour outside the walls the only convicts, who profit by this open-handed leniency on the part of the guards. Those few who never leave the Jail, have their share of the luxuries thus clandestinely introduced, and we have very little doubt that, could some energetic Magistrate suddenly transport himself to a ward of his Jail about 8 or 9 o'clock at night, he would find that there are more things done therein than were ever dreamt of in his philosophy. With a strict supervision, and supposing the native Darogah, and his immediate subordinates in charge of the Jail itself to be above corruption (though of how few could this be truly said) such a breach of Jail discipline within the walls might be avoided, but we take it, that nothing save far higher pay will ever keep a native Burkundaz from allowing the convicts under his charge to see their friends, and obtain what forbidden luxuries they may desire, provided the request be accompanied with an ample donation, to say nothing of his not exacting the same amount of labour from those whose hands are most freely opened to him, as he does from the unfortunate wretch who has not the wherewithal to win his fa-

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vour. This readiness to receive douceurs is no ways diminished by the knowledge that the chances of detection are ninety-nine to one in his favour.

This is one of the many causes which render arguments, which hold good at home, valueless out here. In England, we fancy, it could scarcely be affirmed, as a general rule, that every guard, in charge of working convicts, takes bribes. There the exceptions are those who do so; in this country, alas! where could a single Jail Burkundaz be found, who has not taken money from men under his charge at some time or another, at home we may depend upon the honesty of the employees, here the honesty of men on four rupees a month is but a broken reed to lean upon.

It is a well known fact that prisoners working on the roads never get through nearly the same amount of work as an equal number of common workmen. Their earnings are set down by the Inspector General at nine pie a day, whilst the day labourers get two and sometimes three annas. Why should this be so? The fault does not lie in the thews and sinews of the convicts themselves, for many of them are fine powerful men. The fault lies in the system. Setting aside the matter of bribery, and supposing the Burkundazes to be above taking money, their very laziness would prevent them from taking the necessary trouble to urge on the work in the same way as an interested agent, or overseer. They have no interest in the work, no pride in seeing it quickly finished, no object in short in getting more work out of their gangs. The consequence is they lay themselves down in the shade, which may, or may not, be close to the spot where the prisoners are at work, and half, and sometimes quite asleep, they let events take their course with calm indifference as to all other results, provided they can bring in their gang complete at night to the Jail. How escapes from outlying gangs are not of more frequent occurrence, we confess that we are somewhat puzzled to say. There must, we are sure, be some understanding between the guards and convicts, that the former are not to drive the latter to do a large amount of work, and that the latter in return are not to attempt to escape. If escapes were made in proportion to the opportunities given for effecting them, we fancy they would be of almost daily occurrence, and again were the guards more honest and more exacting we have little doubt that the number of escapes would be vastly increased. Give us better paid, and consequently more trustworthy and efficient guards, and the objections to extra-mural labour would, in a great measure fall to the ground, though at an enormous additional outlay. Still, could no better arrangement be desired, the additional expense ought not to be

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grudged when the weal of society is so deeply concerned. But even granting that our Jail Burkundaz was a very Cerberus, a perfect Egyptian task-master, still we would maintain that the extramural is not nearly so punitive a system as the intramural for the following reasons. As we before observed, we consider that were the guards more exacting and honest, the prisoners would oftener effect their escape. As it is, they have every thing they wish for, and so have no inducement to attempt to escape, but were these privileges curtailed, we suspect the convicts would much oftener prefer the chance of recapture, and longer imprisonment to their present discomfort, and drudgery, and one guard to every five convicts would not be sufficient for resistance, were the gang suddenly to rise "en masse," and free themselves. This very chance of escape by raising the convict's hopes, lightens his punishment, and further, we look upon the prisoner shut up within the Jail walls, with no hope of escape, and no expectation of seeing the outer world again, till the day when his term of imprisonment shall elapse, is much more to be pitied than he, who daily leaves the prison walls behind him and sees and hears what is going on in the outer world. The latter must feel the freer man, and thus the punitive effect of his imprisonment is decreased. Ask a convict which he prefers, and we have little doubt that he would give his vote unreservedly for extramural labour.

Again, the utter impossibility for the local authorities to exercise a thorough supervision over the Jails under their charge, is, in itself a strong argument against the small district jails. Where a sufficient European control is not kept up, disorders of every kind are sure to creep in. The distribution of the prisoners to the different kinds of labour, and numerous other points of great importance, are left entirely to the discretion of the native officials, and the amount of punishment is thus rendered uncertain, and dependent on bribery. Small though these things may seem, they ought all to be carefully looked into and decided upon by the European superior. Nor is this all; granting that the Magistrates had the leisure to spare to examine into all the details, yet the different opinions held by the different Magistrates on the subject of Jail discipline also renders the punishment uncertain, and thus takes away from its punitive effects. Mr. Thornhill's remarks on this subject are excellent. (Vide Report, paras. 71, &c.)

"Even among those officers, who take a lively interest in the subject, wide differences of opinion prevail, which necessarily influence their management upon points, which must be left to the discretion of each. In one district, for example, the sentence of imprisonment may be carried out in the strictest sense, no convict being allowed to

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leave the precincts during the term of his punishment. The inmates of the jail are classified according to the nature of their offences, and engaged in a variety of productive labours, which, while they relieve the state from some portion of the expense incurred on their account, enable the Magistrate to assign to the several classes such employment, as may involve a degree of physical exertion proportionate to their criminality, or to the bodily strength of each individual. In the adjoining district, on the other hand, the Magistrate may regard the prisoners committed to his custody, as so many labourers to assist in the execution of public works. The walls of the Jail are consequently abandoned, and the convicts are scattered all over the country in detached gangs, herded indiscriminately together, and their conduct little regarded on other points, if they accomplish a certain amount of daily work. Now it requires but little reflection to admit that the former of these systems inflicts a far greater degree of punishment, in a given time, than the latter. * * * * It needs no argument to prove that the deterring effect of punishment must be greatly diminished, where so much uncertainty as to its nature is permitted to exist, for it must be borne in mind that the prison in which the strictest discipline is now in force, may, by the removal of the present Magistrate, become an example of the least rigorous mode, in which sentence of imprisonment can be carried into execution."

These remarks show in a strong light some of the causes which render the local district Jails inefficient, and prove still more clearly how much the punitive principle is wanting in the old system of Jail management.

Seeing then that the old system fails in attaining, to a sufficient degree, the first object laid down before as necessary to the excellence of any system of Jail management, the question arises, can any other system be devised by which that object may be better attained, and at an equal cost? Looking at the old system even in its best (a theoretical) light, we find much wanting, but when we see how it is carried out in practice, it must need but a small amount of consideration to perceive how merely nominal, and entirely subject to the caprice of the native officials, its punishments are. We must now turn and see whether the punitive principle is more fully developed in the new system as laid down by Mr. Thornhill.

What then is Mr. Thornhill's system? It is simply this: all long term prisoners, (*i. e.* whose terms of imprisonment exceed six months), are sent in from the neighbouring districts to one of the Central Jails before mentioned. Here they suffer imprisonment in the true sense of the word—when they enter the prison gates, they are doomed to entire seclusion from the outer world for the period of their imprisonment, and, till the day of their release or death, they have no hope of again emerging from them, except under peculiar circumstances. Ample employment is

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given them during this period of seclusion. They are at once set to work to learn useful trades, suited, in the amount of labour they require, to the strength or criminality of the convicts. A graduated scale of punishments has been drawn up by Dr. Walker, Superintendent of the Agra Jail, showing the different kinds of labour to which convicts may be subjected under the three heads of hardest, medium, and light labour, and ranging in degrees of severity from oil pressing and corn grinding, to barber's work and sizing paper. A strict regularity in hours is enforced, certain hours are fixed and adhered to for rising, for meals, for labour, &c. When the physical labours of the day are completed, the convicts are all assembled for instruction, and lastly, when the system has been fully carried out, we may hope to see a separate sleeping cell assigned to each convict to which he shall retire for the night, but the expense and delay consequent on so extensive an improvement prevent it from being carried out at once. Last, but not least, the whole is to be under the direct supervision of European officials, appointed for the sole purpose of superintending all the arrangements, in general and also in detail, of discipline, economy and general management, so that, their minds not being distracted by other employments, they will be able to give themselves wholly to the improvement, each of his own Jail and department; and these officials being all guided by one set of rules and principles, the great discrepancy, which at present exists in the treatment of the convicts of two separate districts, will with all its disadvantages be done away with. It requires but little logic, we should think, to prove whether or no, such a system, as detailed above, contains more of the punitive principle than the old system, nor do we find from the statistics that the new system is, in any way, prejudicial to the health of the convicts.

We would not have it thought that we do advocate harsh and excessively severe treatment of the convicts, except in a few cases this is unnecessary. Still a Jail may be made a terrible place to a convict without the assistance of corporal punishment. Nor would we show them any tenderness, or be too gentle with them. At home the lenient and the excessively stringent systems have both been tried. The former drew down the satire of Sydney Smith in no measured terms.

"But" says he "if men can live idly and live luxuriously" in a clean, well aired, well warmed, spacious habitation, is it any wonder "that they set the law at defiance, and brave that Magistrate who restores them to their former luxury and ease." And again: "It is mere mockery of punishment to say that such a man shall spend his money on luxurious viands, and sit down to dinner with fetters on his feet, and fried pork in his stomach."

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The solitary, silent system is a specimen of a system where the punitive principle exists to too great a degree. Under such a system our prisons would simply be hotbeds in which to rear victims for Bedlam more numerous than even those which Chancery supplies. The system to be, for the future, in force in the North West Provinces, seems to us to fall between the two extremes, avoiding the excessive severity of the one by only separating the convicts for the night in distinct cells, and escaping the charge of over leniency by allowing the convicts no luxuries, and making them work hard, and keep to regular hours.

But we must now examine more in detail the manner in which the system under review, provides for the punishment of convicts. First then we have the removal of the convicts from a locality where they are known, and near which all their friends and relations reside. This remark applies only to those districts in which no Central Jail is established. The convicts are thus, in point of fact, nearly debarred from all communication with their friends. In the Jail of their own district they would be frequently visited, but, if removed to a distance of one hundred miles or more, their friends' visits would, we suspect, be much fewer. As the present practice stands, we must say, that we consider that permission to see their friends and relatives is granted a great deal too often to convicts. If a prisoner sees his mother, or brother, once a week he might just as well be at home. We think that such interviews ought not to be granted oftener than once a month at the very most, and that, for the first three months of their term, long term prisoners ought not to be granted permission to see any one, special and necessary occasions being of course excepted.

Secondly, the convicts are well worked. They spend the greater part of the day in some laborious occupation suited to their crime, age, and strength. The list of different kinds of labour before referred to, amply provide for every stage of strength, and every degree of criminality. None are tasked above their strength, else their health would fail, whilst at the same time care is taken not to demand an equal degree of labour from all shades of criminals. Those guilty of the most heinous crimes against society should suffer most, on the professional villain the punishment should fall heavier than on the accomplice in an affray. Whilst we would be glad to see the notorious BUDMASH expending his superfluous energies on the oil press, we think that for the man who has illegally stood up in defence of his rights, or who, under circumstances the most exasperating, under which a man can be laid, has imbrued his hands in blood, for him we think the Dhurree weaving and paper making would be adequate punishment. Be this as it may, all convicts are to be made to labour diligently and constantly. They have no relaxation from their daily toil, but day

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after day they have to engage in the same monotonous work, at the same hours, and with no prospect of any pecuniary advantage accruing to them therefrom. We think that it must be a no small aggravation to the punitive effects of the labour that it brings the labourer nothing in return. We see that a writer in the *Edinburgh Review* writing on the management and disposal of our criminal population, (E. R. No. 204. October, 1854), strongly advocates the plan of giving the prisoners a certain percentage on their earnings while under discipline. To this we must object. He advocates it on the plea that money thus accumulated for the convict, will enable him when released to carry out the reformation for himself which has been begun in Jail. In our opinion this is to sacrifice a sure means of punishment to the chance of reformation, and, much as we admire the latter, we think that ought in no way to be allowed to interfere with the more important object of punishment. The very idea that he is being fed and educated at the expense of the State, whilst besides there is a store of money being accumulated for him against his release must make the convict too comfortable, and, in this country would we think, put a premium on crime. Every pice which the convict produces ought to go to repay the State in part, for the vast expense she is put to by his villainy. We agree with the writer above referred to " that no man leading a life of honest though severe toil was ever yet tempted into crime by a belief that the position of the convict, in a model prison, was really more enviable, or less wretched than his own." Still to those, who do not lead an honest life, we fear that food, clothes, education and accumulated earnings on release, will not hold out so disagreeable a prospect as to induce him to quit his evil ways. In this point we tend to Sydney Smith's principles, where he recommends.

" Some species of labour, where the labourer could not see the results of his toil,—where it was as monotonous, irksome and dull as possible—pulling and pushing, instead of reading and writing—no share of the profits—not a single shilling."

We object to the non-reading and writing clause, of which more hereafter. We have observed that the Punjaub authorities give rewards to well behaved and hard working convicts, but we trust this system will not hold good in the Jails of the North West Provinces, but the inmates will be compelled to work hard to order, not with the prospect of reward.

Thirdly—the watch and guard will be kept up very strictly. When once the prisoner enters the Jail gates, he must consider himself as doomed to be its constant inmate for the term of his imprisonment. Where two guards were formerly employed on the roads, one is sufficient within the Jail walls. Only one-half the number formerly employed will therefore now be requisite,

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and from the savings hereby effected, the new guards are to be better paid, and more carefully selected. This increase of pay, and the consequent increase of respectability, together with the hope of promotion, and the greater chance of detection within the Jail walls, will, we should think, combine to diminish the inducements to dishonesty. The lofty walls and iron bars of his prison, added to the honesty of his guards, may well cast a damp on the most daring spirit, and obliterate all hope of escape. Where the possibility of escape remains, the punishment must be less felt, where it is practically impossible the hope of effecting it cannot gild the monotony of the convict's life. With such an improved guard too, there will be less shirking of labour,—fewer payments to purchase leniency—no exaction of double work to pay off a grudge.

Fourthly—the amount of punishment will be much more certain. Formerly the caprice of the Magistrate, and the dishonesty of the officials rendered any such certainty out of the question. One Jail might be governed on lax principles, another on the very strictest, so that the prisoners who were incarcerated in the former would laugh at their punishment, whilst those in the latter would dread a repetition of theirs. Under the new system, no prisoner will be able to congratulate himself on escaping one Jail, and getting into another, for the punishments in all will be regulated by fixed rules, and no favour will be shown,—no interest will procure immunity from them. The certainty in the amount and quality of the punishment must act in no small degree influentially in creating a dislike to the Jail and its discipline, which will in its turn act as a deterring influence from crime.

Fifthly—the strict regularity of prison hours and diet must be distasteful and wearisome to men accustomed to loose and irregular methods of living. Almost all criminals live most irregular and disorderly lives, their passions and lusts being under no restraint. To them the regularity of Jail life will be, naturally, most noxious, and as they are the persons whom society most dreads, it is well that there should be this ingredient added to their cup of discomforts. To the less morally criminal it is probable that the restrictions to regular hours and diet will prove less irksome. The writer in the *Edinburgh Review*, before referred to, says well:—

"Those acquainted with the habits, tastes, dispositions and desires of the criminal classes are well aware that the ensemble of prison regulations, and several even of those items, which Mr. Carlyle describes with such envious gusto, are far from being matters of enjoyment, or attraction to the prisoners themselves. They are benefits unquestionably, but as unquestionably no temptations. * * * * It is true they have a sufficiency of wholesome food, but they are debarred

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from what they value beyond everything—luxuries and stimulants. Accustomed for years to place their chief enjoyment in dainties and extravagancies, in exciting banquets, in smoking, chewing tobacco, and in drinking, in wasteful excess of every feverish, and unwholesome sort, they feel severely the confinement to a simple diet, and the rigid denial of tobacco, and intoxicating liquors. * * * * The mere system of restraint, the enforced regularity of a prison life is an hourly penalty to men to whom licence of every kind has become a passion, and almost a disease, and to be compelled to observe certain hours, to conform to certain rules, to do certain things at fixed times, is to them of itself a galling punishment, the hatefulness of which is scarcely conceivable to those brought up in habits of regular industry, and unceasing, though, perhaps, unconscious self-control."

Of these facts there can be no doubt, and the same remarks apply to criminals in this country. Sydney Smith says (page 323) :—

"The fact is, that a thief is a very dainty gentleman. '*Male parta cito dilabuntur.*' He does not rob to lead a life of mortification and self-denial. The difficulty of controlling his appetites, in all probability, first led him to expenses which made him a thief to support them. Having lost character, and become desperate, he orders crab, and lobster, and veal-cutlets at a public house, while a poor labourer is refreshing himself with bread and cheese. The most vulnerable part of a thief is his belly, and there is nothing he feels more bitterly in confinement than a long course of water-gruel, and flour puddings."

We have not the smallest doubt that the thieves in this country are equally vulnerable in their bellies, and feel a long course of restricted diet as much if not more than labour. It cannot but be that prisons in this country be more comfortable than the usual dwelling places of the natives, but even that comfort may be rendered distasteful by a strict conformity to regular hours, a simple but wholesome diet, and a strict embargo on tobacco and chillums. His hookah is to a Hindoo his inseparable friend and comforter, without which he is miserable. It is well then that it is prohibited. The prohibition of smoking is, we think, the greatest discomfort we can inflict on them, consistent with their health, and it ought to be rigorously enforced. This may be effected with ease under the intramural system, but is merely a nominal restriction where the convicts are employed outside the Jail walls. The introduction of the messing system is also viewed in no pleasing light by the natives. The outbreaks which followed in some places the prohibition of tobacco, and the introduction of the messing system are alone sufficient to show with what distaste these regulations were viewed by the convicts, and consequently how punitive their effects were likely to be on them.

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Sixthly—the almost entire separation of the convicts will act, we think, not only as a reformatory, but also as a punitive measure. Whilst it separates the bad from the worse, the scarcely criminal from the heinous offender it will prove a discomfort and an annoyance to all. It may be said that the convicts are brought together in the workshops, but it is not there that the conversation flows most freely—it is not when the hands are busy that the tongue finds most time for conversation. It is in the wards at night that the most evil is done, and we are convinced, that these nightly assemblies of choice spirits are anything but disagreeable and distasteful to the convicts. The moral advantages of solitary sleeping cells are incalculable, setting their punitive effects out of the question. We trust therefore that no consideration of expense will hinder Government from carrying out the plan fully, and assigning to each convict a separate sleeping cell. No plea of expense ought for a moment, to be urged, no consideration of the outlay ought to be made an excuse. Where the benefit and comfort of society is so much at stake, all such pleas should be set aside. By all means let us have solitary sleeping cells. We do not ask to have them all built at once, let it be done by degrees—let a few be built this year for the benefit of the worst characters, and a few more be added year by year until the required number have been built. The effect will be to produce a still greater dread of the prison discipline, and it will further act as a preventative to the spread of crime by contamination in the Jail, and whatever may be the outlay now made, it will, we are sure, be repaid with interest in a few years by the diminution in committals to Jail, and the consequent lightening of the expense; to say nothing of the additional comfort and security gained for society.

Lastly—we will have, what is of incalculable importance in this country,—a strict European supervision. To any one acquainted with natives, the advantages to be derived from such a supervision will be at once understood. Without it bribery from without, and promises from within, would speedily do away with many of the advantages enumerated above. Discipline would become lax, the wealthy would not get their fair quantum of labour, and luxuries and comforts would find their way in where they ought to be strictly prohibited. This may happen even now, but the chances of detection being raised 10 per cent., we may safely say the chances of any infringement of the rules will be reduced 50 per cent. We need hardly say that where a strict supervision by a covenanted officer exists, there bribery will find it difficult to effect an entrance. We trust that the officers who obtain charge of these Central Jails, will not merely look to general principles, but will satisfy themselves by a constant and searching supervision that the native officials under them do their duty faithfully.

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We have thus endeavoured to give a sketch of the working of the old and new—the extramural and the intramural—systems as regards the punitive principle, and we think no further commentary is required to prove which system contains to the greatest extent the means of inflicting regular and systematic punishment, or which convicts are likely to look upon with the greatest dislike, and dread. We will accordingly not delay longer to prove what is self evident, but, leaving the above facts to speak for themselves, we will proceed at once to consider which system contains the largest share of the Reformatory principle. And here as before we think there can be no comparison between the two systems. We are totally at a loss to discover any reformatory principle whatever in the old system. The gangs of out labourers cannot well be classified and selected, the nightly assemblies for at least twelve hours out of the twenty-four afford abundant opportunities for propagating the seeds of crime, a seed, which flourishes too readily, and bears fruit too abundantly in this world naturally, and which requires no hotbed to force it into full bloom. The convicts are given no chance of improving themselves either by learning some useful trade, or by being instructed in the common rudiments of literature, and thus they are not given the means whereby to raise themselves from their degraded position, when again let loose on society.

The new system, however, presents a far different picture, and, we think, a more pleasing one to our view. First of all we have it in our power effectually to classify the convicts, to separate those who have been guilty of '*mala in se*' from those who have only been guilty of '*mala prohibita*,' the criminal from the merely culpable, the novice from the adept. The moral advantages gained by this arrangement it is almost impossible to overestimate. The real villain cannot decoy the less morally guilty, nor by holding out prospects of gain induce him when released to enter on a career of crime similar to his own; nor has the adept at rascality now any opportunity of pouring his insidious stories into the too willing ear of the novice, and by gilded tales of his own exploits, and the number of times he has succeeded in eluding justice, to tempt him to continue to tread the path of crime on which he has just entered. These results will be still better attained when the solitary sleeping cells are established. As we remarked before, a workshop is not the place, where communication can be freely carried on, through of course to a certain extent it cannot be prevented, still the object of separation which is in our opinion so important cannot be gained unless each prisoner has a separate sleeping cell of his own, and though the evil effects of the assemblage of a number of convicts in one ward at night may be in part avoided by a careful

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classification, still all contamination will be more effectually provided against by entire separation at night, the assembling during the day being in a great measure unavoidable, and not attended with very bad results. Thus far the attempt is made, not to return our convicts into society, worse than when they came under our charge.

But can we not make them better? If evil is kept at a distance from them, can we not bring in good to fill up the blank? We think that this, too, may be effected even in this country, where we cannot bring the great engine of religious instruction to bear upon the minds and hearts of our convicts. We therefore would not say decidedly that we can make them better, but this much we affirm can be done,—we can place means at their disposal which will give them the chance of bettering themselves should they feel inclined so to do, we can give them a fair opportunity of raising themselves from the disgraceful position to which their crimes have brought them. We think that the trades which the prisoners are to be taught, and the education they are to receive, will prove a great means to this end. They enter the Jail ignorant, idle, dissipated, and often without a knowledge of any handicraft by which they might gain their livelihood. To dispel this ignorance, to arouse from the torpor of idleness, to overcome the dissipation, and supply the lacking knowledge are amongst the objects proposed in the new system, so that whilst they are compelled to labour as a punishment, aye, and made to labour hard too, they may all the while be learning some trade to which, on their release, they may turn their attention, and by means of which they may have the opportunity of gaining an honest livelihood. We contend earnestly that a mere dread of the punishment inflicted by six months' imprisonment will not be, in itself, sufficient to deter from crime those who know no trade but villainy; but if it be put in their power to live honestly, and the dread of the punishment, and distaste of the discipline of the Jail, be superadded, we think that end will be still better gained. Not that we would spare the convict from his labour, for punishment is the first object, and the reformation must follow as it can best be carried out, and we do hope that the punitive will never be sacrificed to the reformatory principle in these Jails.

Besides learning some handicraft which they may pursue with advantage to themselves and their neighbours, when released, the convicts will receive regular instruction in the rudiments of education, suited to their stations in life and periods of imprisonment. A certain number, principally life prisoners who have been for a long time in Jail, or weakly men who are unfit for hard labour, and have shown a turn for teaching, are employed as

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monitors. Every evening after the labours of the day are finished, all the convicts are assembled for instruction. The rules which have been laid down regarding the kind of instruction which is to be given to the convicts, appear to us to be excellent, because practical. (Page 72 of Report.)

"The character of the instruction imparted should be as far as possible, suited to the particular class of society to which the prisoner belongs. Those of the agricultural rank, possessing interests in the soil, who are under term sentences, should be made proficient in reading and writing, in village measurements, in the principles and details of village administration and in village accounts. Prisoners, under the like sentences, confined for the more ignominious classes of offences, should be taught to read and write, with the addition of such means as may be available for conducing to better habits, and to the practice of industrial arts, such as may aid in their procuring employment and subsistence when set free. Persons, confined for life after undergoing the necessary period of protracted, severe labour, should be so taught as to improve, as far as practicable, their moral sense, and to secure for them a capacity for the most useful employments, both as teachers, and artizans within the Jail."

These rules seem to us thoroughly practical. That class of offenders whose crime against society is less morally heinous, (only '*mala prohibita*'), will receive a good education, and one suited to their wants, and by means of which they will be able to look after their own interests, check the Putwaree's papers and accounts, and see that he does not impose on them; whilst those, guilty of the more heinous crimes, will receive such instruction, as shall, added to the handicrafts they may have learnt, give them a great chance of bettering themselves, and of mending their ways when they leave the Jail walls. In this country we cannot use the most powerful of all means for reforming our convicts. We allude of course to religious instruction: without which no reformation is sure. Expediency, and a thorough fear of and dislike to the Jail and its arrangements may drive the released convict to practise some trade which he has learnt within its walls, but we have no guarantee that he may not, after a short period, return to his evil ways. We must then, under the circumstances, make use of the means placed in our power, and by working on the prisoner's moral feelings as well as by exciting a hatred to the inside of the Jail walls, attempt to induce him to enter on an honester path in life. We have passed the age when prisoners were looked upon as scapegoats against whom the whole vengeance of society was to be launched; when they were treated brutally in Jail, and naturally returned to society brutalized, and more dangerous than before their imprisonment. Treat them as rational and moral creatures, and you will unbru-

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talize them, and render them, perhaps, useful, instead of burdensome, to society. We were rather surprized to find Sidney Smith decrying instruction in Jail. In remarking upon some work whose author upheld the system of instructing our convicts, he says, (Page 350,) :—

"We object to the reading and writing class. A poor man who is lucky enough to have his son committed for a felony, educates him under such a system for nothing; whilst the virtuous simpleton on the other side of the wall is paying by the quarter for these attainments. He sees clergymen and ladies busy with the larcenous pupil, while the poor lad, who respects the eighth commandment, is consigned in some dark alley to the frowns and blows of a ragged pedagogue."

These remarks do not apply to this country where Government are now endeavouring to establish village schools all over the country; when to cultivators of the soil instruction will be given gratis, to others at a very low rate. But it is against the principle that we would raise an objection. We maintain as before that no honest man, gaining an honest livelihood with hard and severe labour would ever take to dishonest ways merely because of the advantages and comforts of the Jail. For ourselves, we confess, the simpleton who respects the eighth commandment and gets kicks and cuffs from the ragged pedagogue is much more to be envied than the larcenous pupil, regarding whose instruction the clergyman and ladies take so much interest. The former, when released from the presence of his master may disport himself in the gutter, or where else he pleases, with his ragged companions, whereas the latter returns from the presence of his instructors to his solitary cell, or weary monotonous labour. The former if he indulge his natural propensity to mischief receives a few strokes from the birch, forgotten half an hour after infliction, whereas the latter, if he infringe on the Jail discipline, is doomed to solitary confinement, additional labour, or bread and water. There is a light side, and a dark side in each picture, but the dark side of the honest boy's picture is a perfect blaze of light compared with the dark side of the other. The one seems to us a perfect prince when compared with the other, and we have very little doubts that the virtuous simpleton, and the larcenous pupil too, would come to the same decision. A system of Jail discipline containing the punitive, but lacking the reformatory principle, would be like a plan for raising a scuttled vessel by machinery, without making any provision for stopping the leaks; so that when the machinery was withdrawn, the vessel would again sink to the bottom; so if we make the prison appear in the eyes of the convict a place full of terrors,

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discomforts, and troubles we raise the vessel to the surface, we give the convict the inclination to avoid reincarceration, but if we do not stop the leaks, if we not give him some means of following out his inclination by earning an honest livelihood, we shall have the vessel settle gradually down again to the bottom.

It seems pretty clearly to be the intention of Government not to sacrifice the punitive to the reformatory principle. The hours set apart for study are not to be deducted from their working hours, but from their leisure hours, from the time they used to spend in idleness and mischievous gossip, and thus the school by curtailing their idle hours enhances their punishment. The ignorant, dissipated vagabond is not likely to approve of his leisure there being curtailed in any way, and least of all that a large portion of it should be devoted to instruction. The very regularity of the hours, the monotonous study against the will is enough to disgust him with the whole affair. The writer in the *Edinburgh Review* before quoted says very truly—

"It is true they have their lessons and their schoolmaster; but it is not to men accustomed to the wild reckless life of a social outlaw, that education can ever be other than intolerably irksome."

To a certain class of convicts the labours of the schoolroom will prove highly advantageous. Those who have been guilty merely of *mala prohibita*, and whose general course of life has not been such as to deaden their moral perceptions, and give them depraved and ill regulated tastes, will not be sorry we should think to spend an hour or two a day in learning what may stand them in good stead on future occasions when released. Further, such instructions as this class of convicts will receive will tend, we should fancy, to do away in a great measure with the causes which lead to their imprisonment. If both parties could look for themselves into the village accounts, and thoroughly understand what their shares of the village were, and how the subject of dispute could be best settled, in Court, or by a jury of their neighbours, we think the affrays regarding land &c. would decrease. The hardened old dacoit and practised robber will, we should think, look forward with anything but pleasure to the school hours at the end of his day's toil, and will feel the irksomeness and tedium of the school room more than his less felon school fellows. Thus a sort of sliding scale, which rectifies itself, has been established—those whose crimes are not such as to call for extra punishment, are just the men who will value the instruction given, and to whom consequently the school room will be less a punishment, whilst the felon, whom society has more cause to fear, looks upon instruc-

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tion as an irksome punishment. In short, the educational system will be less punitive to those to whom it is reformatory, and less reformatory to those to whom it is punitive.

The plan appears to us to be eminently practical. Time only, of course, can show the result. One or two years must elapse ere the results of the reformatory principle can begin to show themselves. The convicts at present under instruction must be given time to return to their homes, and it will then remain to be seen, whether the instruction they may have received is productive of any good results. The attention of district officers will doubtless be soon drawn particularly to this point, and we shall look with curiosity and interest for any Report which may be published on the subject. (Page 71 of Report.) The Secretary to Government writing to Mr. Thornhill says:—

"The Lieutenant Governor remarks that it is an object of very great practical importance and interest to ascertain what degree of moral improvement may, subsequently, be the effect of the education imparted, as well to male as to female convicts, and, that this can but be known by observing the subsequent history, and conduct of some of the best educated, and most steadily conducted prisoners after their return to their homes. In the present early stage of prison education, it is probable that means do not yet exist for obtaining this information, but the Lieutenant Governor desires that you will keep your attention directed to the subject, and that you will take every opportunity for recording any particulars of the Jail training which may come to your knowledge, and that you will submit the result of such enquiries from time to time for the information of the Government."

The attention of District officers should also be drawn to the same subject. We are much afraid that where a moral reformation is most required, in cases of hardened villains, and veteran rascals, a mere secular education which is all that can be given in this country, will not avail much towards achieving that reformation; still we have the consolation left, that their education has given them a vast amount of discomfort and trouble, and has tended to make their prison anything but a pleasant and agreeable place of abode for them, a return to which will be hailed with pleasure. We must not however prejudge of the results of the system; they will show themselves in the course of a year or two, meanwhile we may repeat our conviction that the system of instruction to be introduced will prove highly reformatory and advantageous to many convicts.

The great difficulty to be overcome in laying down any system of Jail discipline and management, seems to us to lie in the proper balancing of the two principles, the punitive and the reformatory. The one should never be allowed in the least degree to usurp

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the place of the other, and we would rather see the reformatory suffer, in this country at least, to the advantage of the punitive, than that the punitive should suffer for the sake of the reformatory; for this reason, that the punitive is likely to affect much the greater number of our convicts, as a deterring influence, more especially in this country where we are so much more limited in the means placed at our disposal for effecting reformation, than they are at home. Owing to the absence of religious instruction in this country, the fear of punishment must be much more looked to as the foundations on which to build our hopes for reformation than in England. The convict feels the discomforts, the monotonous weariness of prison life, and he naturally would wish to shun exposing himself to such evils for the future. But how is he, a reprobate and an outcast, to hope to gain his livelihood honestly when he has no means or knowledge to enable him to do so. For this difficulty the reformatory principle provides, by not only giving the convict a good secular education, but also by teaching him various trades and handicrafts which they can, when released, follow. As far as we are able to judge from the working of Mr. Thornhill's system, we conceive that by care and attention both principles may be fully carried into practice without any collision.

It would be needless for us, we conceive, to advance more arguments to show what vast advantages this new system possesses over that which has hitherto been in vogue. In the latter the punishment was left to the caprice, of illpaid and untrustworthy Burkundazes, and the reformation of the convicts was totally neglected. In the former all means, not injurious to the health of the convicts, or which might deaden their moral senses, are used to add to the discomforts, the monotony, and the irksomeness of prison life; whilst at the same time all means, which do not diminish the deterring effects of the punitive principle, are adopted to effect the reformation of the convicts, and to place it in their power to elevate themselves, when restored to society, from the low estate to which their crimes have brought them.

But besides these advantages of the new over the old system, we have yet another to urge, and that is that the former is much the cheaper system. Under the old plan of out-door labour one Burkundaz was set over every five prisoners, and now that the chances of escape are so much diminished by constant confinement, one Burkundaz is considered sufficient to guard ten convicts. It is true that guards under the new system are better paid, but they do not receive double the pay of the former guards. Here there is one-fourth at least of one great item of expense swept away. Add to this the produce of prison labour, which will now form a very considerable item to the credit of Government,

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the cuttings from the pay of the Jail Darogahs and others in those Jails which have been broken up, and the sum saved will be found to be very large. We have heard it urged that it is not fair on the general market to introduce the produce of convict labour, which can, without loss to Government, be supplied at so much lower rates than that which is produced by private enterprize. If advantage be taken of this we admit it is not fair to general dealers, but if the articles are sold at the usual market rate, and fetch a readier sale from their superior manufacture, the fault, we maintain lies with the dealers, not with Government. Very frequently in this country certain trades are entirely monopolized by one or two individuals, whose selfish interests lead them to manufacture inferior articles, selling them at the prices properly. demandable for good articles. Surely under such circumstances Government may step forward, and drive the rascally monopolists out of the field, not by under-selling them, but by selling good articles. A case of this kind occurred not long since at Alipore, where the bakers were half poisoning the residents with dear, but execrably bad, bread, till a bake-house was established in the Alipore Jail, and good bread supplied at moderate prices. The argument adduced by Mr. Thornhill in his Report, seems to us conclusive and unanswerable, by those who would argue that the sale of the produce of Jail labour injures the trade of the native producers. He says:—

"The most complete reply to this objection has been lately given by an able writer in one of the standard periodicals, who argues with great force that the wealth of a community must be increased when those who formerly existed by preying upon it are themselves converted into producers, and made to add to the common resources."

If the argument of such objectors were fully carried out, we would have our convicts lying idle on our hands, for if the sale of their produce injure the market, not less does their employment on the roads and public works prevent many common labourers from obtaining work. We certainly do not see any valid objection to Government, in part, repaying itself from the produce of convict labour for the immense expense to which those convicts put it. Perhaps the best plan would be for the Jails to take contracts either from Government or private concerns, for the supply of cloth, and other such articles which are generally manufactured in Jails, and are sure to meet with a large demand. We feel sure that any of the large tent manufacturers at Jubbulpore and Futtehgurh would willingly give large contracts for the supply of ropes, and other materials, or, as is suggested in the Report, communications might be made with the Commissariat Department signifying the readiness of Government to

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enter upon contracts for the supply of the above or other similar articles.

Although we can scarcely venture to hope for so great a reduction in the duration of sentences as Mr. Thornhill holds out, still we have not the least doubt that the sentences will be greatly reduced in duration, and thus a saving to a considerable amount will be effected. This object will be effected by the severity of the punishment under the new system making a term of six months, equal, in the amount of discomfort and punishment inflicted, to one of nine months under the old system. This much we would venture to suggest, that, if, after one period of imprisonment, an offender again appears at the bar, no mercy be shown him, but that he be given a double share of punishment as well in quality as in quantity. We would also beg to call the particular attention of Government to the last paragraph of the Report. We fully concur in the propriety of Mr. Thornhill's suggestion. Were the ten lakhs saved or a portion of them at least laid out in the erection of separate sleeping cells, we could almost warrant the repayment of the sum disbursed, with interest, in a few years from the savings effected by the reduction of the duration of sentences, and other causes arising from the increased deterring effects of the punishment. The advantages to society would be incalculable, by the greater security given to life and property. Looking at the new system in a financial point of view then, we submit, that it is a vast improvement upon the old system, and will, after a time, be the means of effecting a vast saving to Government.

In the sister Province of Bengal, the first step towards the improvement of the Jails has been taken by the appointment of an Inspector General of Prisons. Dr. Mouat's racy and sound good common sense fit him admirably for the post he holds. We do hope that a newspaper report is true that he proposes to introduce intramural labour into the Jails, and do away with the extramural *labour* (?) But equally do we hope that another newspaper report is not true, that Deputy Inspectors are to be appointed, each having under him three or four District Jails. The introduction of such an officer can, we are sure, do no good, and the amount expended in their salaries would suffice, after a few years, to build a number of Central Jails. We do not see of what use they could be. They could not be a sufficient check on the dishonesty of the native officials, and could scarcely be given any authority over the Magistrates, with whom there would be a great chance of their clashing. It would be alike more expedient and more economical to build Central Jails at once, and we do hope, now that an Inspector General has been appointed, to see the same system which is springing rapidly into existence in these

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Provinces, spread also over Bengal; we hope to see extramural labour abolished, and intermural employment substituted and we hope too, that the same care for the moral improvement of their convicts may mark the Bengal prison discipline, as appears in that of these provinces.

Before quitting this subject however, we would wish to make a few remarks on a matter closely allied to Jail management and discipline, we allude to the treatment of prisoners under trial, a subject which does not however seem to engage the attention in this country which it deserves. No regular system seems to be followed with regard to these individuals. Sometimes a building is erected close to the Cutcherry for their reception, which plan has the double advantage of keeping those under trial separate from those on whom sentence has been passed, and also of having them always close at hand and under shelter should their presence be required in Court. In some districts the unfortunate men have daily to walk some two or three miles to and from the Jail, chained together, in order to be ready at Cutcherry should their case be called for. Sometimes they are domiciled in the same ward with sentenced offenders. We may be mistaken, but we are not aware that any definite rules have ever been drawn up regarding the treatment of people under trial. We strongly object to their being kept within the Jail walls at all, and still more so to their being confined in the same ward with sentenced convicts. They have not been convicted of guilt, and are in a legal point of view innocent, and sometimes are so in reality; why then should they be herded with the guilty? To say the least of it, those who are innocent will not be improved by followship with convicted felons; and those who are really guilty are better kept apart from their compeers in iniquity. Again, in many districts the Jail is at some distance from the Magistrate's Court, and these unfortunates have accordingly to be dragged, innocent and guilty all together, from the Jail to the Cutcherry and back every day, and there sit under a tree in fine weather, or under what shelter they can find should rain fall.

Now these evils might be easily avoided by having a separate building erected close to every Cutcherry, capable of containing the average number of prisoners under trial in the district. The cost would not be very great, for the building might be made of unburnt bricks with a good high wall all round. Thus the great disadvantage of mixing with the convicts would be avoided, and the unfortunate men would be saved the weary trudge, in rain or sunshine, to and from the Cutcherry, to say nothing of avoiding the chances which are thus afforded them of effecting their escape in transit, or of meeting their friends, and making

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their own arrangements with them for getting up a defence. We do not see any objection to this plan, whilst the advantages to be gained seem to us of no small importance, and we trust that the attention of the authorities may be early drawn to the subject, and that the evils, above referred to, may be speedily remedied.

With this parting suggestion, we will take leave of the subject. We shall look anxiously for the results of the system during the next three or four years, when we have no doubts its good effects will begin to develop themselves, and we do earnestly hope that no consideration of expense may be allowed, for a moment, to stand in the way of real improvements, on the full carrying out and perfect organization of which the comfort and security of society so much depends. We hold out no Utopian schemes of perfect freedom from crime, but we cannot help thinking that it may be considerably reduced in amount, if a sufficient dread of the punishment inflicted, in the first place, be impressed upon the minds of evil doers; and, in the second place, if some means for raising themselves, in a way unknown to them before, be placed at their disposal. Meanwhile we must live in hope, and watch for the results, which we doubt not will appear in good season, and yield a plentiful return to Government, whose liberal and determined measures have been the means of bringing them about.

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ART. III.—1. *General Orders of the Bengal Army.*
2. *Beaufort's Digest of the Criminal Law.*
3. *The Indian Newspapers for* 1856.

THE hot season is nearly finished. We have by this time almost made an end of the long, dreary, weary days of languor, confinement, and suffering which so richly entitle those who can endure them to the comparatively high rate of Indian allowances. Perhaps in our joy that we have LIVED through another of those given periods we have a little lost sight of the fact that we are another year the nearer to the great ASSIZE. How have we spent the time? Has the silence of the house, only been broken by the chattering of the mynas over the water-pots in the verandah, the splashing of the tatty men, the whirr of the thermantidote, or the creak of the punkah press; has this stillness made audible been typical of an inner silence of the moral being; the silence not of growth, but of decay? Have we been merely playing the bird of passage; contributing indeed to the store of empty black bottles; otherwise leaving no traces in the desert to tell that we have passed another stage, and are still members of the caravan? *Mal de pays* is hard to bear; but man's mental well-being has of old been said to depend more on the soul than the sky: home is not our long home; as Sir Humphrey Gilbert said in the storm, "Heaven is as near from one place as another." If therefore we have been looking on this country *merely* in the light of a place where we are to spend certain painful years, and scrape together from the sweat of savages a miserable provision for a short period of retirement which may never come; or, coming, never satisfy; in such case, no wonder if the burthen of exile have been almost too much for us, if the undue light thrown over the distant view of our native land have been unduly taken out of our foreground, and if we, exemplifying the truth—

"Man never *is*, but always *to be*, blest,"

have sacrificed the available happiness of this country without being able to ensure the boon in any other.

The ordinary Anglo-Indian day perhaps passes in somewhat unedifying fashion. We will suppose that about half an hour before dawn, just as one's bed is becoming a little endurable, and just as we cease to notice with indignant remonstrance the sleep that has overtaken our punkah-puller (compensated for the monotonous flapping of that unsightly machine by the light breeze that belongs to the hour, and comes light but sweet through the open window); just at this calm period, custom, perhaps medical advice, forces us to rise and go forth to "eat the

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air." Our horse is at the door; he likewise enjoying the early freshness of the morning—too soon, as *we* know, to pass away. Returning from our ride, disappointed, streaming with perspiration, and not in the best of tempers, we proceed to lay the foundation of dyspepsia for the day, by a visit to "the Coffee-shop." Readers in Calcutta or in England may not be perfectly acquainted with the nature of this favorite institution of the Mofussil; those who are, will not perhaps object to being reminded of some of the pleasantest hours (such as they are) which the hot season has to yield. Drawn together by that true feeling of sociality and brotherhood, which is the cause of some of the best as of some of the worst characteristics of English society in India; at every Mess-house throughout the country, one is sure, on returning from the morning ride, to find a table spread with bread and fruit, tea, coffee, cigars, and the indispensable *ágdan*.* Here gradually present themselves the Civilian in his white jacket, the Soldier from parade, eager to throw off his uniform and follow the Civilian's cooler example; the letters and journals are distributed by the postman, the khidmutgars bustle about with the cups that 'cheer but not inebriate;' and sipping, smoke, and scandal succeed the previous silence of our lovely canter. Who was "pleasant" last night at Mess; what sort of a party there was at the Judge's; why the Collector's wife goes to the Hills; the prospect of the relief; these and the like innocent subjects of prattle occupy those honest fellows for the next hour or so. There is also the amused puzzlement over the letter in the "Dehli" from our station; who *can* be the correspondent, and what awful stuff he writes! Baggs, of the Cavalry would, pitch into him, "without mercy, by Jove, if he could find him out." And really, this excitement is, to a great extent, thrown away: the local correspondent *is* impertinent, but then, think, who reads his effusions—excepting always himself.

"SOORUJNUGGER, *12th June*. No news stirring here. Every one off to the Hills. By the bye, Mr. Editor, can you tell me the reason why B—gs gets a month when more than the number are away from his corps; while others can't get it, when there is *no reason they shouldn't?* But, *vogue la galere* as our French allies say—apropos des bottes I think Louis Napoleon is a *pukka eenth* — Our Judge gives a ball next week: I dare say it will be as dull an affair as the Collector's was the night before last. What *can* one expect from a man who wears shoe-strings? There was a murder, I hear, in the city last night; a *bunneea*, his wife and all the children (but a baby in arms,) found with their throats cut. *Kotwaljee* hurried to the spot as fast as his fat would let him. After being closeted for some time with

* A little stand, (often of elegant fancy,) for holding a fire-ball from which the cheroot is lighted.

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the actual murderer (a Mussulman gentleman) of great respectability (?) during which interview the clink of rupees was heard distinctly; he reported that suspicion attached to the baby, who had absconded; on which the Huzoor, with his heaven-born sagacity, issued a reward of 100 Rs. for his apprehension. Lots of sickness among the niggers. My *kit* fell down in a fit of apoplexy in bringing dinner across the compound. Very hot; rain much wanted. Nothing more from this at present, my dear Mr. Editor, but should I have, I will let you hear again.* So no more from your affectionate

FLICK."

Maddened by this tissue of inanity, conceit, bad feeling, worse taste, and disgraceful grammar, which we would fain hope was only admitted by the Editor under the sternest possible compulsion; we mount our Buggy (for the horse has long been sent to his stables on account of the sun), and hurry home. It is nearly eight in the morning, and it is already necessary to close the house! We have now ten or eleven hours before us of complete confinement how are they to be got through? In England at this time of the year we should have every Exhibition open, from the Vernon Gallery to the Crystal Palace; the thronging streets, the fragrant meadows, the river, the race course, the cricket-field; Rotten Row, Parliament, the Opera, *O, ubi Campi!* Look on the reverse. A couch is backed with matting, so as not to provoke undue perspiration; one room (that influenced by the thermantidote) is habitable, enjoying a temperature of 90° Fahrenheit. There we will lie extended, and read till breakfast time. If we are a military man we shall see the havildar of our Company and look over the order book; a careful housekeeper will perhaps order, in vague terms, the roughest possible sketch of a breakfast and dinner. The Civil officer, more fortunate, has his reports to hear from the Police and Revenue officials, the passing orders on which may save him from the tedium of the next two hours (indeed, so much is he saved from the vacuity of an Indian day that the succeeding description must be considered chiefly applicable to the military.) Dressing supervenes the cold bath, either plunge, shower, or with wholesale earthen vessels full dashed over the glowing frame, imparts at least a temporary vigor; the previous waste of the system and the present bracing combine to make us enjoy one's breakfast; and we prolong the meal by tea and cheroot as long as we possibly can—say till eleven. We shall probably now again undress; and, lying extended in some darkened room, one of Mr. Routledge's shilling volumes in hand, sleep till tiffin time. For that meal, fortunately perhaps for ourselves, we

* It is hardly necessary to say that no reflection is meant on this or that paper. The sort of correspondence adverted to is the part of all.

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have not much appetite; the iced-beer however is grateful, and we drink our *quantum sufficit*, which may vary from a pint to two quarts. Nothing now remains, from three to six, but more novels and more sleep; at the latter hour we dress again, and go forth in buggy for a languid drive through the evening air, hotter than we have yet felt it, even if we had been out during the day; for the radiation that has been going on all day seems to increase for some hours even after the sun has set. Those who have passed the day we have been describing under tatties and punkahs, feel it so much as to lose nearly all the pleasure of the drive; indeed some give up the practice in despair. Conceive the scene: Trees white with dust, bending before the tempest of furnace-wind that has ceased not blowing all day; barren, parched fields, miserable deserted looking bungalows, compounds surrounded with broken mud-walls, languid natives in bed out side their doors in the villages, used-up dogs sleeping in the street; and, as it grows darker, the skulking form of a wolf or jackal trotting across the road in search of prey in the form of a dead cow, or a native child. On our return once more to the hated bungalow or the scarcely less odious Mess-house, chairs are ordered into the verandah, or on to the *chubootra* in front; where, under the equivocal relief of a large hand-punka, we sit till summoned to dinner. Dinner ensues in due time, with its horrible steam and sparkle; a momentary excitement is perhaps created by the conversation and the wines; but even at best it is a wonder if some of the guests be not asleep before the removal of the cloth; and so more time is killed till nine o'clock. Cheroots are lighted the instant the cloth has been withdrawn, and an adjournment to the billiard-room shortly after follows for all those who can dispense with the eternal punkah. Now a feeble pool, a few mild bets, a conversation which in the total lack of topics is too likely to verge on the "idle word system," and is sometimes too ribald for description—prolong the weary evening for a few hours more, and we at length retire to our own house to spend a hot and probably sleepless night, and rise to a similar seventeen hours of dullness on the morrow. Those best acquainted with Mofussil life know best if we have exaggerated or set down in malice, any portion of this brief chronicle of sleep, meals, and novels, whether, on the contrary, we have not given the exile the benefit of a large European society and a good *hot wind*. Let us allow our imagination to dwell, if but for one second, on the condition of those who are secluded in a wilderness, perhaps without one companion to cheer the solitude, where the medical man and the clergyman come round four times in the year; and where the damp east wind blows for half the season, causing no evaporation on the tatties, and no kiln-drying,

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quasi-vigor to the frame. The hot winds' season, with all its miserable tedium and confinement, is not unhealthy; and such places as Agra and Meerut, are considered favorable to European life, as far as actual disease goes. But think of the waste of powers that must be going on, to speak only physically!

And yet physical exhaustion is not the worst; there have been instances of men who by imitating, in some degree, the more natural habits of the people of the country, have preserved their vigor to a great degree. A temperate diet; stimulating the system rather by spices than by alcohol; regular habits; and all the air and exercise consistent with comfort, may carry a person of good constitution with comparative impunity, through his Indian career. Still the waste of life is great, and few who have gone through thirty years of this country, even *with* the advantages we have noticed; a good constitution which is a rare gift, regular habits, which are not pleasant, and an adoption of a native mode of life, which is agreeable neither to our pride, our prejudices or our previous training; even so, he is an old man at fifty, and neither likely to live very long, nor greatly enjoy life in his own country.

But it is the ENNUI, the horrible boredom of such an existence as we have been looking at which is the real evil. A man may give his strength or even his life to ambition, or to avarice; but the starving of the moral and intellectual nature, the withdrawal of light from the æsthetic side of the character,—this is a horrible injury. Let us see if it be a necessity, or only an accident of our exiled life in India. Let us devote a few minutes to the enquiry how far we have the remedy for this trial in our own hands.

Manager Serlo in Wilhelm Meister, states (we quote from memory) that "no man who would wish to cultivate his character, would willingly pass a day without seeing a fine picture, hearing a beautiful piece of music, or letting his gaze rest on the face, and his mind enjoy the conversation of a good and lovely woman."

All these things may be done in this country; we may get water-color pictures, we may accumulate prints, we may practise painting ourselves; we may decorate our interior with tasteful furniture; or if we are rich, with artistic statuary and graceful ornaments. Why should the Anglo-Indian save himself a few, a very few rupees, and a little, a very little, trouble to live—between bare walls, with a few angular chairs, and with couches of penitential shape and hard outline? Any one can command the taste of others and educate his own. There may be flowers under the tatties, or, the hardier sorts, in the verandah; for the great heats only last two months, and then when the rains have once begun, the flowers may safely be put out into the verandah altogether. The garden may

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be tended. Many annuals may be sown towards the end of the hot weather; hedges may meanwhile be kept in order; fruit-trees be looked to; the summer-house kept in repair and beautified; creepers grown; terraces of masonry with steps and rough vases erected, to break the monotony of the surface—one of the minor evils of many parts of India: all furnishing a pleasant, natural, innocent and healthful occupation, connecting us with home, and with the great men of the past; many of whom have loved a garden. Captain Richardson, our oldest and truest literary man—for he is literary *pur et simple*—gives us a just and elegant *resumé* of the influence of this pursuit on various distinguished Englishmen. Thus then, in one way or another, with the paper produce of the draughtsman or the natural painting of creation managed by the hand of taste, the culture spoken of by Goethe is practicable, as far as the eye is concerned, though not with such advantage, or to such an extent as in Europe; still is practicable.

And so of the ear. Any man with a taste for music can save up a couple of hundred Rupees from less worthy sources of expense, and invest them in the purchase of a *Seraphine* or *Harmonium;* or whatever other name be given to those simple little organs, which though in a deal case, and with a limited key-board, produce under the least skilled hand, if only guided by an elemental knowledge of harmony, a richness of chords strongly tending to raise pure and devotional feeling in the minds of those who hear it, a command of time and the power of playing from notes would of course come in time. So much for the ear.

And the third, the noblest source of culture? Our fair countrywomen in this trying climate may not always shew that exquisite soundness of face and form which would have so delighted the Greek-minded old German if he could have paid a visit to British shores; the divine beauty of the Englishwoman renders her a rival to the finest sculpture of antiquity, amid the healthful breezes of her own country; still, wherever she wander the charm of expression is never lost, and the refinement and trace of languor lent by this climate are not unfavourable to *that* source of beauty at any rate. Almost every man in this country may *marry;* may light up and render happy his home with that loveliness of feature and form, born of loveliness of mind, which shall add the final crown and capital to his moral culture.

But superadded to the moral culture of art, or of association with female goodness and sweetness, must be much of a more practical character. The exclusive follower of Goethe culminates in the kind of character so wonderfully drawn by the author of "Bleak House." And assuredly, Harold Skimpole himself would find some difficulty in pursuing an entirely æsthetic course in such a country as this. But there is no one of us who has not some

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profession; the majority, it must be confessed, a not very engrossing calling; but surely even the officers attached to infantry or cavalry regiments may find in their profession something worth studying; may find in professional reading and writing some means of profitably passing a few of those spare half hours that are but too likely under ordinary circumstances to be spent in other and worse pursuits. Time and health are the stock in trade of the young Briton in India; and we must see that it is but a poor economy which would throw away one's sole capital in a manner that can bring no possible return. It is a common complaint, since the British army has been brought into comparison with those of the continent that while the material is the best in the world; while the soldiers who stood or fell through the deadly day of Inkermann, or the regimental officers who led on the desperate attack of the Redan, could nowhere be matched; that the leaders are deficient in strategic power as well as in administrative capacity; are little fitted either to manage an army in cantonments, or to handle it in the field. There is no reason, at any rate, why this reproach should attach to the army of India. Constantly assembled in brigades, often exposed to frontier fighting, sometimes exercised in difficult campaigns, with the posts of General and Regimental Staff, mostly thrown open to merit, (with the least little support of interest, but never to interest without merit), we think that there already exist considerable practical inducements to the young *militaire* to adopt our advice, and combat the enemy whose name heads this paper by studies and occupations which are not unlikely to have the farther advantage of yielding him professional advancement.

Think again of the temptations to useful employment that await the medical man. The "Lancet," the "Medico-Chirurgical Review," the numerous monographs that appear from time to time might be attentively studied; and keep the exiled doctor *au courant* with the theories of the day; as a careful study of the symptoms and treatment of his native and European patients would maintain the freshness and merit of his practice. It is true that this class of persons have much less actual inducement in the way of self-interest, to distinguish themselves in professional knowledge than the corresponding class at home; seeing that they belong to a strict seniority service, and that the number of their patients no more depends on their reputation than the general amount of their incomes depends on the number of their patients. A medical man is generally attached to a particular corps or civil station; and the whole of the persons thereto belonging are given over to him without choice. But we cannot think so ill of the doctors of the Bengal army, or of the Indian army in general, as to suppose that the mitigation of suffering, and the

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prolongation of life are not sufficient inducements to rouse them, were their attention once turned to the fact that so much of their time might be thus nobly employed.

That there are not a few of them who are already shining instances of all that we have said, and more, we know from experience; and have seen no later than this very year,* how any serious visitation finds them ready to devote energy and thought without grudging to the sacred duties of their calling. Let such exertion be general and continuous, and Ennui is banished from the doctors too.

Of the Clergy and their duties it is not the place to say much. There is an impression abroad, whether right or wrong, that these gentlemen are not as universally zealous as they should be. Possibly we are a little hard upon them. Not originally selected for the work as carefully as might be wished, they come to this country with their English tastes and habits formed and set; they find themselves suddenly deprived of all the suppports they had in England, isolated amongst a rough military population not over disposed to yield, it may be, the respect they have been used to; with no hope of preferment beyond the gradual rise of seniority, or the prospect of two years in a Hill station; it is not singular if some of them should slacken in the sober earnestness of the Christian teacher. To these also Ennui, the organized and strenuous indolence of a prison-life that pretends to be free, is a fatal rust, corroding the moral powers, and only to be dispelled by vigorous professional studies. When the attendance on the European hospital is over, (when such exists,) and the two sermons are written for the Sunday, there must still be many hours that might be devoted to the examination of contemporary controversy, of antient philosophy, of modern metaphysics. Works on the mental pathology of heathen Asiatics or hardened nominal Christians might be as appropriately expected from our clerical friends as works on similar physical subjects are welcomed when they are issued by the doctors.

The Civil Service—has been previously glanced at as being saved perforce from the worst attacks of our common foe. However languid or self-indulgent a person he be by nature, still he has, when young, his examinations, and afterwards his enormously responsible duties to occupy the greater part of his day. A man who is employed for from six to sixteen hours a day, in administering police and revenue, looking after Treasuries and Jails, laying out roads and building bridges, is not likely to have much time or inclination to bestow upon professional studies.

* Especial reference is here made to the singular prevalence of small-pox and cholera in many parts of Upper India.

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The Uncovenanted and Commercial classes still remain, and in them also the honest discharge of duty probably suffices to produce occupation for the greater part of the day. But man does not live by bread alone, and there still remain many hours and many faculties which they, which all of us, might devote to better occupation than eating or sleep. The hours of the evening for instance, instead of engrossing them with heating food and liquor, how much more comfortable as well as rational would be, in large stations, some kind of literary and scientific place of meeting, where, over the less absorbing excitements of tea, coffee, and the like, we might add to the knowledge and happiness of one another by lectures, experiments, reading, conversation and music? Why should not a club on these principles be founded at each station like Benares, Cawnpore, Agra or Meerut? Whereas in a more solemn place of meeting—high and low, rich and poor, might come together without reference to professional, social, or other than mere human considerations. Surely the concert,—the lecture, the conversazione, the amateur play open to respectable individuals of all classes would be more enjoyable even, to say nothing of the after benefits, than the formal dinners where we meet to exchange platitudes with people we see every day, and over whose minds, in Goldsmith's phrase, we have well nigh travelled.*

Every man too, might, in addition to the studies or the practical duties of his profession, keep up a subsidiary subject, not too widely disconnected from that profession; and on which to have the eye constantly fixed, would remove a great deal of that desultory character from our reading which renders so much of it a mere pass-time, leaving neither impression on the imagination nor facts in the memory. Say that a Civil officer proposes to himself, as an extra-professional subject of reading, the progress of nations from barbarism to civilization; from conquest to freedom; is it not obvious that in studying Hallam's History of Plantagenet England, or Schiller's Revolt of the Netherlands, he will equally *assimilate* facts bearing on the present and future of this country? So the doctors might study photography, the chaplains archæology; &c. &c.

Farther, there is the case of health, physical health without which no blessing can be fairly or fully enjoyed; of spiritual health, the greatest blessing of all. Due exercise, copious ablutions, moderate and interesting amusements; all these may be pursued, and will take up some time which otherwise might hang heavy on the hands of the most studious. We have said nothing of field sports, because, important as they are to the due develop-

* People in India seldom seem to *eat* at this meal. The tiffin is the usual meal, and the great "saddle and turkey" dinners are *put* on only to be taken off the table.

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ment of the manly character, they are chiefly available during the winter; when, combined with the shortness of the days they cause our enemy almost utterly to disappear and, for the time, to perish. But there are many sports and amusements to be enjoyed during the hottest weather; riding, swimming, quoits, pistol-practise in the day, the rubber of picquet in the evening, all come in to alleviate the monotony of pursuits all sedentary. The health of the soul is perhaps best maintained (as a general rule) by the discharge of duty. Still some time will generally be requisite for religious discipline, study and contemplation.

And the natives of the country; our liberal paymasters; can their claims not win us from some of our apathy, rewarding us in turn for the sacrifice by another deadly wound to the foe? Cannot the officer of the native army interest himself, and defeat ENNUI as in old days, by sharing in the habits, hopes, and fears of the sepoys of his company, a race certainly not *less* interesting than the somewhat stolid peasantry of his own country, whom it is now (happily) so much the fashion to help and comfort? We have heard of officers who did not know by name a single man in their company; we know others who have their men to their Bungalows every morning and evening *(out of uniform)* to see them wrestle, and throw quoits, and to listen to their little stories, or answer their questions, sometimes innocent, sometimes shrewd as with childish wonder they examine a scientific toy, or a large, bold drawing, (which alone they seem able to appreciate). And so the Civil officer need by no means content himself with the perfunctory intercourse with Omlah or native visitors which is necessary to his official prosperity; nothing flatters or interests these men more than a patient kindness, not necessarily involving any surrender of dignity; explaining the wonders of European civilization, and directing their minds beyond the petty objects of the place and hour. Natives, it is often said, are like children; there are indeed many and grievous differences between them and children; but it is true to say so if we imply thereby a handy statement of the difference between the Asiatic and European. The European *is* more of a *man* (according, at least, to European ways of judging; perhaps it is the difference between the man painting and the lion), but at any rate there seems about the people of this country a teachableness and a reverence which makes it pleasant to communicate information to them, and offers us a considerable opening for influencing their future destiny. Formerly it is true, there might have been some doubt as to the amount of credence they might bestow on the Englishman who enlarged on the marvels of science, and the achievements of his own countrymen; but the steam-boats, the railways, and above all, the Electric

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Telegraph speak in a language that admits of no sceptical interpretation, and leaves the objector no alternative but that adopted by the Pharisees; to attribute the wonderful works to Satanic Agency! It is also more than possible that the close kindred between our own race and many of the races indigenous (we deny the pun) to this country, may qualify its people to appreciate and to imitate the social institutions they would see, and the political ones of which they would hear, if they mingled more freely with their conquerors. The fault seems not to be altogether with the latter, that this intercourse is not more frequent and more free; still the extension of European society will account, to a great extent, for the fact that, in the larger stations at any rate, we see less of the natives than did our predecessors of fifty years ago. In a place where there is no European society at all, or scarcely any, the solitary stranger will be naturally driven more and more to seek solace in that of the natives; and well for him, and for them that it should be so; provided always that, from education or from natural strength of mind, he possess sufficient originality to keep alive the honor and the energy which are the privileges as well as causes of his superiority. Hence it has been said, by a patient observer* of Anglo-Indian society:—

"They," (the officers at an out-station where the writer halted), "Complained sadly of the solitude to which they were condemned, but admitted that they should not be able to get through half so much business were they placed at a large station, and exposed to all the temptation and distractions of a gay and extensive circle, nor feel the same interest in their duties or sympathy with the people as they do when thrown among them in this manner. To give young men good feelings towards the natives, the only good way is to throw them among them at those out-stations in the early part of their career, when all their feelings are fresh about them. This holds good, as well with the Military as the Civil officer, but more especially with the latter. A young officer at an outpost with his corps, or part of it, for the first season or two, commonly lays in a good store of feeling towards his men that lasts him for life; and a young gentleman of the Civil Service lays in, in the same manner, a good store of sympathy and fellow feeling with the natives in general."

It is not an uncommon thing to hear a young Englishman in this country say that he "detests the niggers." Now, not to consider too curiously the fact that the natives of India do not happen to be negroes either in color or race, let us for an instant pause to ask if this sort of language be kind, be even honest, towards the people from whom those who use it are deriving the means of living like gentlemen, marrying, and providing

* Sleeman. Rambles and Recollections. Hubbard. 1844, vol. ii. p. 209.

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for their families? Surely if a man really *hate* the people who thus patiently submit to be heavily vexed that he may reign over them in splendor and happiness, it is not too much to ask that he should dissolve the compact, and make way for some one who will do their work better for the money. The natives have their faults, and very serious ones; but you are sent here, we would suggest, purposely to eradicate those faults, and put them in the way to acquire those virtues that make you the ornament of your own country as well as the delight of foreign nations. *Quæ regio nostri non plena laboris?* Where is the part of the world that knows not, that loves not

'The oath of British Commerce
And the accents of Cockaigne?'

Have *we* then no faults of our own to correct, no example to hold up, no talent to employ, which, as Milton says, 'tis death to hide?

Lastly, there is the duty of disseminating a knowledge of India amongst our friends and countrymen at home; and the shewing in our lives and actions that we are not, as Lord Albemarle wantonly and wickedly said, barely superior in morals and intellect to the ryots we torture. Exile, we have said, is hard to bear, and ennui doubles the burthen. An officer stationed at Halifax or Quebec, at Hobart Town or Mauritius, has an English climate and an English society; can be out-of-doors all day; and returns to England as strong and healthy as he left it. The Indian's way of life we have attempted to display. But harder than exile and ennui is the feeling that all this time that we are bearing them, to the embitterment and shortening of life, we are being continually misrepresented by malice, and misunderstood by ignorant indolence. Dr. Johnson said of men that they were like slaves, "Condemned in Hope's delusive mine" but the ennui ridden exile of India has not even hope to sustain him; and whatever respect surrounds his labors must be drawn from himself,—for his countrymen at home will yield him none. A few men of statesmanlike mind or of long Indian experience may occasionally be found who understand the matter better, and who endeavor to stem the torrent of prejudice, or rouse the nation from their torpor of apathy. Lord Ellenborough (a Saul among the prophets) in opposing Lord Albemarle's attack on the Civil salaries, pointed out clearly the principle on which the high salaries rested.* It is only by raising the price of English labor that you can get it in India at all: and the class of men who once served here on low pay, indemnified themselves by oppression and malversation. Since the salaries have been raised we have had a class of men who will be honorable, brave and faithful wherever courage, faith, and honor

* See debate in House of Lords, May 26th.

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can be expected,—the sons of the upper, middle, and professional classes of Great Britain.

The worse it may be, for India, and for England too, if ever that should cease to be the case; if ever a horde of low bred, low paid *doctrinaires* should take the places of the present Military and Civil services of India. A day may come when with the United States Navy at Calcutta and their Russian allies at Peshawur, the utmost address may be required to conciliate native society and preserve the fidelity of the army. It was when France was much in the same condition that India is shewing now, when finances were growing worse, and worse; the people living no one knew how, under the domination of an alien and unsympathising aristocracy, and with a middle class* bringing up in infidel *philosophism*, intellectual without moral culture; that the upheaving masses rose in indiscriminate fury and hurled to the four winds of heaven both friend and foe.

This, at the end of a paper, is not the place for discussions of the kind; it would otherwise be easy to shew that there are many points of difference between the two states of society in regard to which we have been suggesting a parallel. The noblesse of France, less alien from their subjects than we may seem, yet cared far less for their welfare; and, on the other hand, those subjects were exposed to an increasing amount of physical misery to which the growing material prosperity of the people of this country furnishes no likeness. It will be enough to remind the reader that a "paper-age" of hope, doctrine, and retrenchment preceded the Deluge in the one case, and to record our sincere hope that it may not do so in the other.

* Robespierre has quite the *Kayuth* character.

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ART. IV.—1. *The Geological Structure of part of the Khasia Hills, with Observations on the Meteorology and Ethnology of that District.* By THOMAS OLDHAM, F. R. S., G. S. &c., *Superintendent of the Geological Survey of India.* Calcutta, 1854.

2. *An Introduction to the Khasia Language; comprising a Grammar, Selections for Reading, and a Vocabulary.* By the Rev. W. PRYSE. Calcutta, 1855.

THE Eastern portions of Bengal, though among the earliest acquisitions of the British in India, appear for a long time to have attracted but little public attention. The vast mountain regions that stretch along the frontier in that direction, formed a barrier that seemed a sufficient protection against the chances of any serious foreign invasions; while the occasional predatory incursions of the adjacent Hill tribes, produced effects of but limited interest, and were easily curbed by a few local troops retained chiefly for that purpose.

If Sylhet, therefore, and the adjacent districts, excited but little interest, it is no matter of surprise that the independent states in the neighbourhood were viewed with indifference. It was only after the Burmese had conquered Assam and Munnipore, that a wish seems to have arisen in the minds of our rulers for more accurate knowledge of the condition of the tribes on the North Eastern Frontier. But thirty years and more have passed away since then,—our boundary lines have been extended to include not only Assam, but a large tract of the adjacent hill country,—and even now, the amount of information possessed by the British public, regarding this portion of our Indian territories, is exceedingly meagre.

Though unknown, and unappreciated, there are probably few portions of the British dominions in India more important, whether considered in a commercial, a statistical, or a political point of view.

We purpose, therefore, on the present occasion, to lay before our readers all the information we can glean regarding one of these little known sections of British India—the KHASIA HILLS, —and to bring to notice such facts respecting their internal condition, resources, and traditional history as we trust will prove generally interesting.

The tract of country known under the above appellation, lies between 25° and 25° 40′ N. Lat. and 90° and 91° E. Long., forming an irregular parallelogram, the length of which from North to South may be assumed at about seventy miles, and its average breadth at fifty, giving an area of about three thousand

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five hundred square miles. On the North it is bounded by the plains of Assam; on the South by those of Sylhet; on the West by the Garro Hills; and on the East by the central portion of Kachar.

Viewed from the plains to the South, these hills have the appearance of a long table-topped range, running East and West, and rising abruptly to the height of from four to five thousand feet, with its upper crest straight sharp and almost perfectly horizontal. The numerous streams which drain this lofty ridge flow in deep and large glens which stretch for many miles into the hills, adding greatly to the variety and beauty of the scenery—and as the upper portion of these deeply excavated glens or river gorges are nearly perpendicular and precipitous faces of rock, resting on a rapidly inclined talus, a number of large waterfalls may be clearly seen even from the distance of many miles, precipitating themselves over the cliffs, into a bright green mass of foliage that seems to creep half way up their flanks. But when viewed from a distance the nearer and further cliffs being thrown by perspective into one range, there is an apparent tameness of feature in the general profile of the hills, which seem to rise out of the jheels of Sylhet so abruptly as to remind one of some precipitous islands of the ocean.

The scenery of very few spots in India, we believe, is comparable in beauty and luxuriance with the rich tropical vegetation induced by the damp, and insular climate of these perennially humid mountains. That of the sub-Himalayas is doubtless on a more gigantic scale, and the noble forest trees along their Southern slopes, appear from a distance as masses of dark gray foliage clothing mountains ten thousand feet high. Here the individual trees are smaller, and more varied in kind, and there is among the vegetation a marked prevalence of brilliant glossy-leaved evergreen tribes, which contrast beautifully with the gray limestone and red rocks and numerous silvery cataracts.

The ascent to the hills by the beaten road, is at first very gradual, along the sides of a sandstone spur—but at the height of 2,000 feet, the slope suddenly becomes steep and rocky, and the road mounts by bold staircases and zigzags to the table land above. In the first portion of the ascent the road is beautifully shaded by groves of the orange and citron, the jack and the betel-palm, mixed with stately forest trees, many of them entwined with *pawn* and here and there a gigantic banyan, or Caoutchouc tree—

> "Branching so broad and long, that in the ground
> The bending twigs take root, and daughters grow
> About the mother tree; a pillar'd shade,
> High over-arch'd, and echoing walks between."

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In their shade the pine-apple and plantains also grow in wild profusion; and all seem like the uncultivated gifts of the Creator; but here and there water-pipes of hollowed betel trunks, carrying a stream for several hundred yards along the hill side, show that they are not altogether untended.

The groves from which the whole of Bengal is supplied with oranges, occupy a belt of from one to two miles in breadth, at the sloping base of these mountains, and in a soil formed of the detritus of the limestone, which constitutes the principal rock on this side of the range. They seem to thrive luxuriantly to an elevation of nearly 2,000 feet above the plains, where the character of the vegetation indicates a change, from a tropical to a more temperate region, and the wild raspberry and strawberry are detected on the borders of the numerous small springs, which issue from fissures in the rocks.

At the height of 3,000 feet all tree vegetation suddenly disappears, and the scenery becomes barren and uninteresting. A few steps further on however, and we open a magnificent prospect of the upper scarped flank of the valley of Mansmai, along which we ascend by a gentle acclivity in view of four or five beautiful cascades rolling over the table top of the hills, broken into silvery foam as they leap from ledge to ledge of the horizontally stratified precipice, and throwing a veil of silver gauze over the gulf of emerald green vegetation, 2,000 feet below. Indeed the views of the many cataracts of the first class that are thus precipitated over the bare table land, on which the station of Cherra stands, into the valleys on either side, surpass any thing of the kind seen in any of the other mountain regions of India. Ascending to the table top near the village of Mansmai, we catch the first view of the station of Cherra, at an elevation above the sea of 4,120 feet. This elevated land, covered with naked undulating hills, and at intervals of a few miles interrupted by deep and sudden valleys is the general characteristic of the country as far North as Nongklaw, a direct distance of about thirty-five miles, when there is a sudden and almost precipitous fall to the level of the Borparri river, or more than two thousand feet, gradually dying away into the valley of the Brahmaputra, by a succession of sharply undulating hills and ridges which stretch to Gowhatti in Assam.

When the fate of war had transferred Assam to British rule, the expediency of endeavouring to open a direct communication between it and the more Southern provinces of Sylhet and Kachar presented itself to the attention of Mr. David Scott, then the Commissioner and Agent of the Governor General on the N. E. Frontier; but it was not till the year 1826 that negociations to effect this desirable object were entered upon by him with the Khasia chieftains.

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To enable the reader, however, better to understand our relative position in regard to these Hills, it will be necessary to trace back the history of our connection with the Khasias.

The first appearance of the English power in these hills appears to have occurred in 1774, when a detachment under Major Henniker was employed against the Raja of Jaintia, the Eastern section of the Khasia hills. Of the cause of this collision, there appears to have been no written records preserved, though as Jaintia was one of the most considerable of the Khasia states, it is not improbable that some aggressions against the inhabitants of the adjacent plains of Sylhet had rendered the chastisement necessary. The country was conquered; but afterwards restored on payment of a fine. From that period till 1821 the country seems to have remained unnoticed, when some emissaries from the same State were detected in an atrocious attempt to carry off certain British subjects from Sylhet for the purpose of immolating them. The circumstances were brought to the notice of the Supreme Government, and a solemn warning was given to the Raja that any repetition of an offence so heinous would be followed by an immediate confiscation of his territory.

The invasion of the adjacent territory of Kachar, by the forces of Ava early in 1824, and the information that they were preparing to march through Jaintia to Assam rendered it necessary for the British Government to take some precautionary measures to prevent the carrying out of such an intention. For if the Burmese had effected an entrance into Jaintia it was more than probable that the security of Sylhet would have been seriously comprised. Mr. Scott, therefore, proceeded at once to open a negociation with the Raja, proposing that he should enter into a treaty of alliance with the British Government. He was promised the assistance of the Government troops, if his own resources were actively employed in repulsing the enemy; and threatened with punishment if he admitted the Burmese into his territory. In February 1824 Mr. Scott felt it necessary to address a letter to the Commander of the Burmese forces in Kachar, prohibiting his entering the Jaintia territory, on the ground that the Raja's ancestor had received that country as a gift after conquest from the Hon'ble Company; that he had himself sought British protection; and that the Burmese having openly threatened war, they could not be permitted to occupy that or any other favorable position, for commencing hostilities. Notwithstanding these representations, the Burmese wrote to the Raja of Jaintia, requiring his presence in the Burmese camp, on the affirmed ground of his vassalage to the princes of Assam, which latter country had become tributary to Ava; and shortly after, a party of Burmese appearing near the Jaintia frontier, a detachment of a

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hundred and fifty men under a British officer was sent to reinforce the Raja's troops, which led to the withdrawal of the Burmese force.

The Raja of Jaintia having now been convinced that his procrastinating policy had well nigh compromised his independence, was glad to enter into a treaty with Mr. Scott, who, early in April, marched through his territory from Sylhet to Assam, with an escort of three Companies of the 23rd Regiment Native Infantry, under the command of Captain Horsburgh. In the treaty, the Raja formally acknowledged his dependence on the British Government, pledged himself to abstain from all independent negociations with any foreign power, and to aid the Government with a Military Contingent whenever called on to do so.

None of these conditions however did he fulfil with sincerity. During the war with Burmah, he was known in direct violation of the treaty which had preserved his country from the calamities that threatened it, to have permitted a Burmese detachment from Assam to occupy his territory. And during the unsettled state in which Assam continued for some time after the Burmese war, he is said to have appropriated considerable tracts of land which properly belonged to the former Province. In 1832 four subjects of the British Government were seized by the Raja of Goba, one of the petty chieftains dependent on Jaintia, and immediately bordering on the district of Nowgong in Assam. They were taken to a temple within the boundaries of Goba, where three were barbarously immolated at the shrine of Kali; the fourth made his escape to the British territories, and gave intimation of the horrible sacrifice which had been accomplished. A demand for the surrender of the culprits was immediately pressed by the British Government; but every minor expedient having been resorted to in vain, on the 15th of March, 1835, Captain Lister with two Companies of the Sylhet Light Infantry took possession of Jaintiapore, the capital of the country, and the determination of Government to annex the plains to the British territory was made known by proclamation. In the following month of April, the district of Goba, in which the sacrifice had been perpetrated, was taken possession of by a detachment of the Assam Light Infantry.

That portion of the Khasia hills which thus became annexed to the British territories, consists of three principal divisions. The first, or Southern division comprises a very fertile and well cultivated tract of civil country, extending from the foot of the hills to the North bank of the Soorma river; the central division includes all the hills bounded by Kachar on the East and the districts of various Khasia tribes on the West, embracing an area of about 500 square miles; and the Northern portion stretches from the foot of

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the inferior heights to the South bank of the Kullung in Assam, and is a tract of tolerably open level country by no means inferior in fertility to the Southern plains, which form by far the most valuable portion of the principality.

The other or Western section of the Khasia hills for the most remains still independent.

In 1826, as we have already observed, Mr. Scott for the first time entered into negociations with the Khasia chieftains for the purpose of opening a communication with Sylhet. But it is necessary here to premise that so far back as 1794 when the power of the Assam Kings had been very much diminished by internal dissensions and civil feuds, many of the tribes on the borders of the valley, taking advantage of their weakness, had gradually possessed themselves of tracts of country in the plains, from whence, the Assam Government, being unable to dispossess them, and being conscious at the same time of its own weakness, was glad to compound with them for an acknowledgment of supremacy, they holding these lands as fiefs of the kingdom.

In 1826, Teerut Sing, the Raja of Nongklaw, having expressed a desire to rent some lands in Assam which had once been held by his ancestors under the native princes of the country, Mr. Scott promised compliance with his request if he would endeavour to obtain from the other Khasia chieftains, permission for the unrestricted passage of British subjects through their territories. The Raja agreed to convene a meeting for the purpose of considering the subject at which Mr. Scott's presence was requested. The principal chieftains having assembled at Nongklaw, a debate which lasted for two days, was followed by a decision in favor of Mr. Scott's proposition, which resulted in a treaty with the British Government, the Khasias agreeing to aid in the construction of a road which was to pass through their country.

For eighteen months and more, after the ratification of this agreement, the most cordial understanding appeared to exist between the British authorities and their new friends. And Mr. Scott, naturally enough, forming a high opinion of the salubrity of the hills, contemplated the formation of a Sanatarium that might have been rendered accessible to the European inhabitants of Bengal. He accordingly had bungalows constructed at Nongklaw, an elevation estimated at about 4585 feet,—which for some time continued to be his favorite residence. A line of road had been marked out and cleared under his directions; improved systems of agriculture and gardening, with many new vegetable products had been introduced, and the most sanguine anticipations of the benevolent spirit which influenced every act of his life seemed likely to be realized.

On the 4th of April, 1829, however, these bright prospects were

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suddenly obscured by an act of the most atrocious cruelty on the part of the Khasia, which entirely changed the character of the existing intercourse, and converted their powerful friends into formidable and irresistible enemies.

The immediate cause that brought the Khasias into sanguinary collision with the officers of the British Government is unknown, but it has been supposed to have been the speech of a Bengalee Chaprassi, who in a dispute with some Khasias is said to have threatened them with Mr. Scott's vengeance, and told them that they were to be subjected to the same taxation as was levied on the inhabitants of the plains. Whatever it might have been, it served to fan the flame of dissatisfaction which had apparently been kindled by the insolent demeanor and abuse of the subordinate native agents who had accompanied Mr. Scott into the hills, and led to the formation of a confederacy for the extermination of the low-land strangers.

Lieut. Bedingfield, the first victim of this most atrocious conspiracy, had from the first hour of his intercourse with the Khasias evinced the liveliest interest in their welfare; he had studied their language as the best avenue to their affections, and the great aim of his residence among them, appeared to be an anxious desire to improve their condition, to instruct them in the arts of civilized life, and to create a relish for its humanizing enjoyments. So sensible did the Khasias appear of his kindness that an intercourse of the most friendly and intimate nature existed between them, to the very moment preceding that in which their guilty hands were imbrued in his blood. He was invited to attend a conference, and disregarding the prophetic warnings of his companion Burlton, who suspected treachery, he entered the assembly unarmed, and was barbarously slaughtered. Lieut. Burlton, with the aid of a small military guard, defended himself in his bungalow at Nongklaw against vastly superior numbers, and at night succeeded in effecting his retreat a considerable distance on the road towards Assam; his route was, however, discovered on the following morning, and he and his exhausted party rapidly overtaken by their blood-thirsty pursuers. Burlton fell covered with wounds, and the greater part of his party were butchered into the most aggravated circumstances of diabolical cruelty. A very few only survived to tell of the horrors that had been perpetrated by these misguided and infuriated savages.

Mr. Scott's sudden departure from Nongklaw for Cherra, alone saved him from the dreadful fate which befel his valued friends and faithful followers, and some time elapsed before he was made acquainted with the afflicting reality. Troops were immediately called up both from Sylhet and Assam to avenge the atrocious murders which had been committed, and a harassing warfare commenced in which many lives were sacrificed. The Khasias,

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conscious that they had violated every pledge, which even savages are accustomed to regard with superstitious reverence, viewed with suspicion every pacific overture, and, despairing of pardon, protracted a contest which their first skirmishes with our troops must have proved to be hopeless.

At length, however, the submission of Teerut Sing, the Raja of Nongklaw who had been the principal culprit, was soon followed by a general pacification. The other chiefs had, with few exceptions, prior to this, adopted the sagacious policy of withdrawing from an unprosperous cause; and the few who had supported him were glad to avail themselves of the opportunity afforded by his surrender to throw themselves on the clemency of the paramount power.

Teerut Sing, on his surrender on the 13th of January, 1833, was conveyed to Gowhati and eventually confined in the jail of Dacca, where he remained a state prisoner to the end of his life. But as there had been a marked difference in the conduct of the various chieftains, it became necessary to distinguish those who had been friendly, from the guilty participators in the crime of Teerut Sing, and measures were accordingly adopted for subjecting all those who were proved to have participated in the murders and plunderings which had been perpetrated, to the payment of pecuniary fines. All opposition having been finally overcome, and the principal chieftains having formally tendered their submission to the British Government, it was resolved to place the whole mountain tract under the superintendence of the officer whose skill and gallantry had so largely contributed to its pacification; and Colonel (then Captain) Lister, was shortly after appointed Political Agent for Khasia affairs. over which he exercised a general control.

Some time previous to this amicable settlement, however, the distinguished officer who had devoted all his energies to promote the welfare of the people placed under his official charge, was suddenly removed from the sphere of his labours. Mr. David Scott, died at Cherra on the 20th of August, 1831, and the Government he had served with such devotion, in order to mark the high estimation in which his services were held, caused a stone monument to be erected over his remains at Cherra with the following Inscription :—

In Memory of
DAVID SCOTT,
Agent to the Governor General of the
North East Frontier of Bengal,
and Commissioner of Revenue and Circuit in the District of Assam,
North Eastern part of Rungpore, Sherepore, and Sylhet.
Died 20th August, 1831,
Aged 45 years and 3 months.

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"This Monument is erected by order of the Supreme Government, as a public and lasting record of its consideration for the personal character of the deceased, and of its estimation of the eminent services rendered by him in the administration of the extensive territory committed to his charge. By his demise the Government has been deprived of a most zealous, able and intelligent servant, whose loss it deeply laments, while his name will long be held in grateful remembrance and veneration by the native population to whom he was justly endeared by his impartial dispensation of justice, his kind and conciliatory manners, and his constant and unwearied endeavours to promote their happiness and welfare."

His many acts of kindness and urbanity still live in the grateful remembrance of the people, among whom the name of "U Saheb Scott," continues to this day to be held in high veneration. Extensive schemes had been formed by him for the improvement of this Hygeian Land of Promise, and the civilization of its wild and independent tribes, and in losing him the Khasias felt they had lost a sincere and warm-hearted friend.

Partial as Mr. Scott had originally been to Nongklaw, as the site for a sanatory station, his favourable opinion of the place was greatly shaken by a prevalence of sickness during the months of May and June, 1827, which rendered the salubrity of Nongklaw more than questionable, and led to its relinquishment. Cherra appeared then likely to fulfil the conditions required for a Sanitarium, and as the Khasias themselves maintained the superior healthiness of the place, measures were accordingly adopted for experimentally proving the correctness of their opinion.

The excessive rain-fall at Cherra, however, is supposed to have been a great drawback to the salubrity of its climate for invalids, for whatever might be the advantages derivable by them, from a reduced temperature during the winter and summer months, the torrents of rain that fall there during the wet season, could not fail, it was said, to prove injurious to men, whose constitutions had already suffered from the effects of an Indian climate—and in 1834, the Government was led to order the removal of the detachment of European Invalids that had been temporarily stationed there. Others however have expressed themselves satisfied that bad accommodation, houses not water-tight, and almost below the level of the ground, coupled with the facility of obtaining the native spirits at an extremely low price, were tenfold more fruitful causes of illness among the troops, or of non-recovery, than any defect of climate.

The other European residents who had sought that station in search of health, were in consequence of this movement led to the apprehension that Government intended also to deprive them of the medical aid they had hitherto enjoyed, and under this im-

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pression they addressed the Governor General's Agent on the subject. As their letter contains a brief summary of the advantages derived from the continued possession of this tract, and an acknowledgment of the benefits they had individually experienced from a residence there, an extract from it may not be without effect, in counteracting a prejudice against the Khasia hills, which, if the opinions of men who speak experimentally be valid, is wholly unfounded:—

"It is in no sort intended to question the propriety of the decision of Government, for the removal of the European soldiers; but we consider that they are so differently placed, in regard to the accommodation and comfort which are required here, and are deprived of so many sources of amusement which may be enjoyed by the members of the community at large, that the failure of an experiment in regard to them, as inconsistent with the object of Government, is no satisfactory proof that other members of the community may not benefit by residence here. On the contrary we think that with the exception of some cases, to which the climate has been unsuited, (and these are cases unsuited to any climate in the known world,) the greater portion of those who have visited Cherra Poonjee have derived advantage; and we even know that some have enjoyed a more perfect state of health here than they have in England. We consider that Government even would obtain considerable advantage, by affording the opportunity to many of their public servants, of warding off, by a timely visit to Cherra Poonjee, the necessity of withdrawing themselves from public employ for two years, if not altogether to revisit England—and to other members of the community in Bengal, but especially in Calcutta, this is of incalculable advantage. These considerations have, in fact, already made this station a very common place of refuge for invalids of all classes; many houses have been built in consequence, suitable to the climate for their accommodation, and a considerable portion of the ground occupied here, pays a rent to Government annually. Even schools have been established here for children, for whose health it has been found that this climate is peculiarly favourable. Schools have also been established for the instruction of the natives themselves; and the population generally, have been both civilized and improved in circumstances, by their communication with the European residents."

The fears which had been excited were allayed by the subsequent establishment of the head quarters of the Sylhet Light Infantry at Cherra. But it was soon apparent that by the removal of the European Invalids detachment, the Government had virtually pronounced a sentence of condemnation against the Khasia hills, and Cherra very soon lost the prestige it once enjoyed.

Cherra's loss however has been a gain to Darjeeling, to which place the European invalid depôt has since been transferred, and which attracts to it the servants of Government, and all other

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European residents in Bengal, to whom ill health may render a change of climate desirable. It would be well therefore to institute a comparison between the two, with regard to the advantages and disadvantages of each as a sanatory station.

Darjeeling,* as is generally known, is situated on one of the lower and outlying ridges of the great Himalaya range, at an elevation, varying in different parts of the station, from 6,500 to 7,400, the mean height of the greater portion of the station being about 7,000 feet. It is a considerable distance within the hills—about 45 miles by the road, but in a direct line perhaps not more than 20. It is partially protected on the south by the higher ridge of Senchal and its spurs, while to the North it is freely open to the snowy range, of which it commands a magnificent view, extending for many miles East and West of the great culminating points of Kunchinjinga, the highest known summit on the earth's surface—28,177 feet. All round the station, the hills form a succession of remarkably steep and sharp saddle-backed ridges with deep glens, (from three to five thousand feet below the station,) and are covered with an almost uninterrupted and dense mass of forest trees, festooned with moss, and literally dripping with moisture.

Professor Oldham, the title page of whose work on the Khasia hills stands at the head of this article, observes, that comparing Darjeeling and Cherra as regards rain, it appears that the mean annual fall at Darjeeling is scarcely more than a quarter of the mean annual quantity at Cherra. For the years 1851 and 1852 the comparative rain-fall at the two stations stands thus:—

	1851.	1852.
Cherra	592.525	449.63
Darjeeling	126.500	104.70

The following table gives a comparison of the number of dry days at each station:—

	Days of no rain.	Days of less than 1.000 inch.	Total.
Cherra, in 1851	50	47	97
" 1852	55	44	99
Darjeeling 1851	102	61	163
" 1852	96	85	181

While therefore there is nearly four times the quantity of rain at Cherra than falls at Darjeeling, it is worthy of notice that the distribution of this amount of rain is far from being in the same proportion. Besides, at Cherra, where the fall is so excessive, a day with less than 1.000 inch of rain is actually a fine day, while at Darjeeling the same fall in the course of the 24 hours ge-

* In latitude 27° 3′ 0″ North, and longitude 88° 18′ 40″ East.

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nerally produces a wet day. The greatest fall at Darjeeling during the two years referred to by Professor Oldham, was in July 1852, when there were 35.40 inches recorded, or an average fall in the *twenty-four hours* of 1.15 inch.

"A fair estimate of the climatal condition of any locality", however, as Professor Oldham justly remarks, "can scarcely be formed merely from a consideration of the fall of rain; more especially as regards the comfort or convenience of residents. It is obvious that for most purposes of enjoyment a fall of rain of only 5 inches spread over the whole day, is much more objectionable than a fall of 15 inches, confined to 15 hours out of the 24; while the state of the atmosphere, amount of cloud, fog, wind, &c. are all equally important considerations." The mean humidity of the atmosphere therefore is, we presume, a much safer guide in estimating the conditions of any locality as to moisture, than the actual rain-fall. Professor Oldham it appears had not the means of comparing this at the two stations for the same year; but taking the results obtained by him at Cherra for four of the wettest months in 1851, and the corresponding result for the same in 1853 at Darjeling,—a comparison which by the way is decidedly in favor of Darjeeling, as the latter year was finer than 1851,—we have the following comparative table:—

	July	August	Sept.	October	Mean of 4 months.
Cherra in 1851,	.873	.960	.932	.916	.920
Darjeeling in 1853,	.917	.936	.928	.887	.917

We have here then, the very unexpected result, that the *mean humidity* of the wettest season of the year is within a small fraction (.003) *the same at both the stations*, although the actual fall of rain is four times greater at one place than at the other.

The remarkable *absence of wind* at Darjeeling is another circumstance that tells to its disadvantage. "During the whole of the present season" (1853) Professor Oldham observes "I find, on examining my daily records, only a single entry in which the force of the wind, stated according to Beaufort's scale, amounted to 4°; the large majority—four out of five days—giving nothing more than 0—1, or being nearly quite calm. I confess myself quite unable to explain the cause of this absence of wind, but it is an universally admitted fact." The consequence of this stagnation of the atmosphere, as might have been expected, is the almost constant presence of cloud and fog, which rise from the deep and humid glens around, and hang for days together unmoved over the station—engendering gloomy and oppressive feelings, which to invalids in particular must be extremely unpleasant.

The loftier position and more open aspect of the Jilla-pahar, however, where the convalescent depôt of Her Majesty's Troops is placed, render it much less liable to this covering of cloud, but the

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fall of rain is in consequence considerably greater there than it is in the civil station below.

The constant *uncertainty in the weather*, is more complained of at Darjeeling than at Cherra. This is doubtless partly owing to the greater elevation of the former place, and may in some measure also be attributable to certain local peculiarities of position. "Even when apparently most settled," Professor Oldham remarks, the weather at Darjeeling "cannot be depended upon for an hour, while in the Khasia hills, even during the height of the rains, there frequently occur breaks of the most lovely summer weather, continuing for several days."

The *mean temperature* of the two places is another point worthy of comparison. From the more Northerly latitude of Darjeeling, and its greater elevation, combined with its more remote position within the hills, it would naturally have been anticipated that the temperature there would have been much lower than at Cherra. But this anticipation is not altogether supported by the result of observations, as will be apparent from a reference to the following Table:

1851.	January.	February.	March.	April.	May.	June.
Cherra,	53.70	55.10	65.30	67.10	69.30	71.30
Darjeeling,	40.90	41.70	51.80	55.30	61.90	62.50
Difference,	12.80	13.40	13.50	11-80	7.40	8.80

1851.	July.	August.	September.	October.	November.	December.
Cherra,	71.80	72.40	72.40	68.20		
Darjeeling,	63.70	64.30	63.20	55.80	50.40	44.80
Difference,	8.10	8.10	9.20	12.40		

This would tend to show, that while there is during the winter months a very much lower temperature at Darjeeling than at Cherra, the difference is not by any means so marked during the summer months. But another inference drawn from the above Table is, that the difference between the extreme mean temperatures for the whole year is much greater at Darjeeling than at Cherra, being 23.40 at the former place, and only 18.70 at the latter; or in other words, the temperature at Cherra is *more equable* throughout the year, than it is at Darjeeling.

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One word more regarding the comparative advantages of situation between Darjeeling and Cherra. The latter decidedly possesses greater facilities of approach.

In the case of a traveller, from Calcutta for instance, proceeding to Darjeeling, the two nearest points of access to which he can get by water are *Nalagola* on the Purnababa (the Dinagepore river,) and *Dulalgunge* on the Mahanundo or Malda river. From Nalagola he has a land journey of 30 miles to make to Dinagepore, and thence 88 miles more to Siligooree at the foot of the hills, or 118 miles. From Dulalgunge the land journey to Titaliya is about 50 miles, and thence to Siligooree 16=66 miles. And from Siligooree to Darjeeling the distance by the road is 45 miles. That is, landing at Nalagola the traveller has to perform a long land journey of 163 miles, or, landing at Dulalgunge, a journey of 111 miles. While, proceeding to Cherra on the contrary, the traveller lands at Pandua at the very foot of the hills, and thence in one short march of 10 miles reaches the end of his journey. The Soorma, the Sylhet river, by which he proceeds to Pundua, is navigable at all seasons of the year, and as we understand it is the intention of Government to run their inland steamers to Sylhet and Kachar, the journey to Cherra may then be performed with perfect ease and facility.

The situation of Darjeeling relative to the neighbouring country, we must confess, is beautiful, standing on a ridge that juts out as it were into a vast basin in the very heart of the sub-Himalaya, and enclosed on every side by mountains generally higher than itself; except to the North and North-East, where the view is open, and exhibits range upon range, until the prospect terminates in the distant snowy mountain, the proper Him-alay. The ridge itself is, for the most part, narrow or hog-backed, with a steep descent on its Eastern side; while on the opposite or Western side, it declines in slightly gentler declivities. On this side most of the houses of the residents are built, with the exception of the Church, the Cutchery, and a few of the older houses, which have been constructed along or near the summit of the ridge. The building sites are mostly scarped and then superficially dressed and bound at the outer edge, either with a binding timber, fastened by stakes, or supported on a revetment of dry stone masonry. Cherra on the contrary stands on a flat table-land six or seven miles in circumference, with an aspect as bleak and inhospitable as can well be imagined; but surrounded at the same time with the most lovely scenery, and traversed by good buggy roads in almost every direction.

We now close this description of the comparative merits of the two Sanitaria of Bengal, with the following quotation from Professor Oldham's book:

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"I do not pretend," he says, "to offer any opinion on the choice of such places as a summer resort for invalids, or a temporary residence for persons who may be suffering from the intense heat of the plains of India, and from the diseases which so commonly affect Europeans there. But I would express my own personal feelings, (the feelings of one in good health and not long in a tropical clime,) that notwithstanding the enormous fall of rain, the climate of Cherra Poonjee is greatly to be preferred to that of Darjeeling. It is much more bracing, and less gloomy and depressing. The sensation there is that of an English summer (a wet summer certainly); the sensation at Darjeeling is that of a foggy English November."

We will not go so far as to presume that these remarks will cause the Government to adopt any changes at present, but as it is not improbable that when the Khasia hills come to be better known, Europeans may be induced to settle there in preference to Darjeeling, we cannot refrain from putting on record one or two more observations made by competent authorities regarding sites for a Sanatarium that might prove preferable to Cherra. Two of these have been thus described by the late Major Fisher:—

"Though many of the central parts of the hills are extremely well calculated for the purpose of cantoning three or four hundred European troops, there are two spots which appear to me, above all others, to deserve a preference. First, the fine plain extending from the hill Chilling-deo to Nong-kreem, which presents a surface of about four or five square miles, unbroken by any undulation, and which could easily be rendered practicable for wheeled carriages. The total absence of jungle might indicate a poor soil; but abundance of short rich grass proves, that it is very fit for the support of cattle. The altitude is probably about 6200 feet; in winter there are frosts, but it does not appear that snow ever falls.

"The second spot is the plain about three miles South of Nogundee; crossed by the road between that place and Surra-reem. This possesses all the advantages of the one before mentioned, but is probably a little lower, though not so much so as to be perceptibly warmer; and as the access from Pundua to this spot is easier than to the first, I incline to give it a decided preference."

Mr. Robertson, who succeeded Mr. Scott as Agent to the Governor General, after having made a tour in company with Col. Lister, for the express purpose of examining the various sites which had been proposed for a sanatarium, in a letter of the 23d July 1832, says:—

"As the site of any future establishment in the interior, I give the preference to Myrung. Nongklaw would perhaps be a better situation with reference to its bearing on Assam, but is liable to mists, does not appear to be very healthy, and is infested with annoying insects. There is a site to the Eastward of Mauleem, which possesses considerable advantages, both as to climate, and extent of table-

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ground; but it stands in a corner, and is therefore ill situated for a station for troops." This is Major Fisher's first site,—lying between Chilling-deo and Nongkreem. "Myrung seems to combine the advantages in which both of the other spots are wanting. It stands on the road leading from Cherra to Gowhati. Its climate is excellent, perfectly free from mist; and its salubrity is proved by the appearance of the sepoys and others, stationed at that post."

Referring to the above, Capt. R. B. Pemberton writes:—

"I should prefer the site pointed out by Major Fisher, near Nogundee, which possesses an elevation so great as to lead to no perceptible difference in temperature between it and the very highest known spot, near the Chilling-deo hill, and which can be reached by a line of road, where not a single river of any depth or magnitude is crossed; and from which, two easy marches would convey troops to Nurtung, on the best and most salubrious line of route, leading into Central Assam, or to Myrung, should their services be required in the vicinity of Gowhati."

The great objection to Cherra, as a station, is the heavy torrents of rain that fall there annually. But this heavy fall is very local, and a few miles inland the quantity that falls annually is not half so much as at Cherra. Its position at the top of a steep and precipitous ascent from the plains; the vast extent and size of the inundations and rivers which deluge those plains immediately below it; the general direction of the wind during the monsoon, and the altitude at which clouds generally float in the air, all tend to expose the place to a very heavy discharge of rain. Professor Oldham informs us that the fall during the year 1851 amounted to *five hundred and ninety-two inches*, or to EIGHT FATHOMS AND A QUARTER of water; for it seems absurd to use a smaller unit in treating of such a quantity.

The direct effect of this deluge, is to raise the little streams about Cherra fourteen feet in as many hours, and to inundate the whole flat; from which, however, the natural drainage is so complete, as to render a tract, which in such a climate and latitude should be clothed with exuberant forest, so sterile, that no tree finds support, and there is no soil for cultivation of any kind whatsoever. But owing to the hardness of the horizontally stratified sandstone, the streams have not cut any deep channels for themselves, nor have the cataracts worked far back into the cliffs.

The flat on which the station stands, may be about three miles long and two broad, dipping abruptly in front and on both sides, and rising behind towards the main range, of which it is a spur. The Western part is undulated and hilly, the Southern rises in rocky ridges of limestone and coal, and the Eastern is very flat and stony, broken only by low isolated conical mounds. The scenery varies extremely at different parts of the surface. To-

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wards the flat portion, occupied by the European residents, the aspect is black enough ; a thin stratum of marshy or sandy soil covers a tabular mass of cold red sandstone ; and there is not a tree and scarcely a shrub to be seen. The low white bungalows are few in number, and very scattered ; and a small white Church stands lonely in the centre of all.

But in the immediate neighborhood, and especially from the margins of this plateau, the views are magnificent. Four thousand feet below are bay-like valleys, carpeted as with green velvet, from which rise tall palms, tree-ferns with spreading crowns, and rattans shooting their pointed heads, surrounded with feathery foliage, as with ostrich plumes, far above the great trees. Beyond are the Jheels, looking like a broad shallow sea with the tide half out, bounded in the blue distance by the low hills of Tipperah. To the right and left are the scarped red rocks, and roaring waterfalls shooting far over the cliffs, and then arching their necks as they expand in feathery form, over which rainbows float, forming and dissolving as the wind sways the curtains of spray from side to side.

To the South, the lime and coal measures rise abruptly in flat topped craggy hills, covered with brushwood and small trees. Considerable caverns penetrate the limestone, the broken surfaces of the rock presenting many beautiful and picturesque spots. Westward, the plateau becomes very hilly, bare, and grassy, with the streams broad and full, but superficial and rocky, precipitating themselves in low cascades over tabular masses of sandstone.

On the heights to the North stands the extensive and populous native village, or Poonjee, the road to Assam running between it on the left, and a deep and richly wooded valley on the right. The country the traveller at first passes over is very open and bare, the ridges being so uniform and flat-topped, that the broad valleys they divide are hidden till their almost precipitous edges are reached ; and the eye wanders far East and West over a desolate-looking level grassy country, unbroken, save by the curious flat-topped hills. These features continue for eight miles, when passing the villages of Laitangkot and Surrareem, where the principal operations of the iron smelters are carried on, a sudden descent of six or seven hundred feet leads into the dark valley of the Kala-panee, or the black water river—near which stands a small staging bungalow. The almost perpendicular sides of the hills around, are clothed with the dark foliage of innumerable shrubs and creepers, indicating a soil more favourable to vegetable life than had been previously observed on the more Southern portion of the tract. Here in many places the sandstone alternates with alum shales, resting on a bed of quartz conglomerate, and the latter on black greenstone. In the bed of the river,

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whose waters are beautifully clear, are seen hornstone rocks, which give to the water flowing over them a darkish appearance, whence the origin of the name applied to the river.

Ascending from this chasm to the height of about 600 feet, the road enters a shallow, wild, and beautiful valley, through which it runs for several miles. The hills on either side are of greenstone capped by tabular sandstone, immense masses of which have been precipitated on the floor of the valley, producing a singularly wild and picturesque scene. Beyond this a high ridge is gained, above the valley of the Boga-panee, the largest river in the Khasia hills—from which the line of the Bhotan mountains may be seen in clear weather, at the astonishing distance of from 160 to 200 miles. The descent is very steep, and the road then follows a clear affluent of the Boga-panee, or the white water, and afterwards winds along the margin of that river, which is a rapid turbulent stream, very muddy, and hence contrasting remarkably with the Kala-panee. It derives its mud from the decomposition of granite which is washed by the natives for iron, and in which rock it rises to the Eastward.

An elegant iron suspension bridge was thrown across this stream, but in June 1851 a very heavy flood occurred which carried it all away, leaving scarcely a vestige behind. The greater proportion of the mischief resulted, not so much from the actual amount of rain that fell, and the rise of the waters consequent thereon, as from the waters being impeded in their course, and pounded back by numerous great slips of earth and stones, carrying down with them trees and underwood. The torrent, meeting with such obstacles, must have been restrained until its accumulated force burst through every barrier, and swept every thing before it. In certain parts of the river, the rise was not less than fifty feet, and the richly wooded slopes of that valley were next morning scored with innumerable gullies and deep ravines, extending frequently from the level of the water up to the very summit of the steep banks. From one of these deep cuts, in which a small stream usually found its course, a mass of rubbish consisting of stones of various sizes had been carried down, which on a rough calculation was estimated to amount to about five thousand tons of matter, the stones varying in size from one to twenty cubic feet. Not a vestige of the bridge was left; a single screw bolt, which had formed one of the fastenings of the wall-plates, alone indicated that such a structure had ever existed; and when the waters had subsided, one of the heavy cast-iron standards, which had supported the chains, was found about 250 yards down the stream, jammed between the huge blocks of stone in the river bed. A thick range of trees which formed a shady covering to the road for nearly a mile between it and the

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river, was entirely swept away, and with it the strongly formed revetment wall which supported the road. To such sudden rises, all mountain torrents must be more or less liable, but during previous years, the waters in this stream were never known to rise to much more than half the height they reached on the occasion now referred to.

Another bridge, on the suspension principle, now supplies the place of the iron one. Like many others seen in the hills, and erected by Khasia ingenuity, this is composed of long rattans stretched between two trees, at a height of about forty-five feet above low water mark. The footway consists of a bundle of small canes lashed together, and connected with two larger rattans forming hand-rails, but these are so low and so far apart that it must be difficult to grasp both together. The length of this bridge cannot be much under seventy feet between the points of suspension.

We will here just mention one other instance of Khasia ingenuity in the erection of bridges. In the valley of Mau-smai, on the top of a huge boulder by the river side, grows a magnificent Caoutchouc tree, clasping the stone in its multitude of roots. Two or three of the long pendent fibres, whilst still easily pliable, have been stretched across the stream, and their free ends fastened on the other bank. There they have struck firmly into the earth, and form a *living bridge* of great, and yearly increasing strength. Two great roots run directly one over the other, and the secondary shoots from the upper have been bound round, and have grown into the lower, so that the former affords at once a hand-rail and suspending chain, the latter a foot-way. Other roots have been laced and twisted into a sort of ladder as an ascent from the bank to the bridge. The greatest thickness of the upper root is a foot, from which it tapers to six or eight inches. The length of the bridge is above eighty feet, and its height about twenty above the water in the dry season.

But to return to the road; after crossing the Boga-panee we for the first time meet with groves of pine-trees, somewhat dwarfish and stunted in appearance, but giving a novel aspect to the scenery. A very steep ascent leads to the bungalow of Mauflong, on a broad bleak hill-top near the axis of the range, at an altitude of 6062 feet. The people in this neighbourhood grow a large quantity of potatoes, and also a species of Coix (Job's tears) for the grain it yields, which is very much used in the preparation of a fermented liquor. Though planted in drills and carefully used and weeded, it is after all but a ragged crop, and yields a very poor return.

The finest view in the Khasia mountains, and perhaps a more

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extensive one than has ever before been described, is that from Chillong hill, the culminant point of the range, about six miles North-East from the Mau-flong bungalow. This hill, 6,660 feet above the sea, rises from an undulating grassy country, covered with scattered trees and occasional clumps of wood; the whole scenery about being park-like, and as little like that of India at so low an elevation as it is possible to be.

Northward, beyond the rolling Khasia hills, may be seen the valley of Assam, seventy miles broad, with the Bruhmaputra winding through it, fifty miles distant, reduced to a thread. Beyond this, even in a clear day, banks of hazy vapour obscure all but the dark range of the lower Himalaya, crested by peaks of frosted silver seen at the distance of two hundred miles, occupying sixty degrees of the horizon, and comprising the greatest extent of snow visible from any known point in the world. Westward from Chillong, the most distant Garrow hills visible are about forty miles off; and Eastward, those of Kachar, which are loftier, are about seventy miles. To the South, the view is limited by the Tipperah hills, which where nearest are a hundred miles distant; while to the South-West lies the sea-like Gangetic delta, whose horizon, lifted by refraction, must be fully a hundred and twenty. The extent of this view is therefore upwards of *three hundred and forty miles* in one direction, and the visible horizon of the observer encircles an area of fully *thirty thousand* square miles, which is greater than that of Ireland!

Continuing Northward from Mau-flong, the road, after five miles, dips into a very broad and shallow flat-floored valley, fully a mile across, which resembles a lake-bed. It is bounded by low hills and is bare of aught but long grass and herbs. The road winds very prettily among these little elevations, and by a sudden descent of four hundred feet, leads to another broad flat valley called Sohiong,* where is another staging bungalow. This valley is grassy but otherwise bare and is supposed to be at an elevation of 5725 feet.

Beyond this, the road passes over low rocky hills, wooded only on their North or sheltered flanks, and dividing small flat-floored valleys, and extensive moors, till the descent to the valley of Mairung (Myrung), one of the most beautiful spots in the Khasia hills, 5650 feet above the sea. Here there is an excellent staging bungalow, situated on the North flank of a very shallow valley two miles broad, and full of rice cultivation. The hills on either side are some of them dotted with pine-woods, others are conical and bare, with small clumps of pines on the

* Sohiong signifies, the black plum, from Soh, a fruit. Thus the Khasias have Soh-mluh, the red plum; Soh-shan, the strawberry; Soh-runkham, the black currant; Soh-shia, the raspberry, &c. &c.

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summit only; while in other places are seen broad tracts, containing nothing but young trees resembling plantations, but not owing their existence to human industry. Wild apple and birch are common trees, but there is little jungle except in the hollows, and on the Northern slopes of the higher hills.

About ten or twelve miles South-West of Myrung, and conspicuous from all directions, there is a very remarkable hill, known by the name of Kollong, which rises as a dome of red granite to an elevation of 400 feet above the mean level of the surrounding ridges, and 700 above the bottom of the valleys. The South or steepest side is encumbered with enormous detached blocks, while the North is clothed with a dense forest containing oaks and rhododendrons. The view from the top of this rock Northwards is very extensive, commanding the Assam Valley, the Himalaya, and the hillowy range of undulating grassy Khasia mountains.

From Myrung to the next bungalow at Nongklaw* the distance is about ten miles, along an excellent road over an undulating country, the barrenness of which is greatly relieved by the presence of some noble firs, which crown the summit of the knolls, and are scattered over all the hollows which lie between the different heights.

Nongklaw stands at the Northern extremity of the broad plateau of the Khasia hills, and from thence the descent to the valley of the Brahmaputra is very rapid. None of the hills beyond it attain to an elevation of more than 1000 feet, and these are for the most part very thickly wooded. The view Northwards from Nongklaw, in the early morning, is like a scene in cloudland, with its mysteries of beauty that defy the skill of the painter. An ocean of mist, as smooth as a chalcedony, as soft and white as the down of the eider duck's breast, lies over the whole lower world, with only an occasional mountain top visible like a verdant wooded isle, rich in beauty and glory.

The elevation of the bungalow is 4688 feet, and by a rapid descent of a thousand feet the road leads down to a tropical forest rich in figs, birch, nutmegs, horse-chesnuts and oaks, with tall pines growing on the drier slopes and measuring from 80 to 90 feet in height. The descent continues by a zigzag road through this forest, down to the very bottom of the valley, in which flows the Bor-pani, a broad and rapid river, that descending from Chilong winds round the base of the Nong-klaw spur.

This river is about forty yards wide, and is spanned by an elegant Iron Suspension Bridge, clamped to the gneiss rock on

* The village in the wilderness, from Nong or Shuong, *a village*, and Klaw, *desert, wilderness.*

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either bank. Beneath is a series of cascades, none high, but all of great beauty from the broken masses of rocks and picturesque scenery on either side. From this point the descent towards the plains of Assam is comparatively gentle, and for the first three or four miles the road winds beautifully among grassy knolls and groups of pine, till it reaches the bungalow at Mossia, a desolate looking log-house standing solitary and inhospitable amid the surrounding solitude. Wild animals are said to be very abundant here, though extremely rare on the higher part of the Khasia range.

From Mossia to the next bungalow at Jyrung the distance is about 20 miles, through a tract of country so decidedly insalubrious that it can be traversed with safety only between the months of November and March, almost entirely neutralizing the advantages anticipated by the residents of Assam, from the vicinity of so elevated and temperate a region. The glimpses of scenery as the traveller passes through this forest are sometimes exceedingly enchanting. Upwards the mists are still curling and hanging to the mountains, or rising slowly and gracefully from the depths of the valleys along the face of the out-jutting crags; while below there are the clumps of trees in the sunlight, the deep exquisite green of spots of unveiled meadow, the winding stream, now hid and now revealed, the gray mist sleeping on the tender grass, the brooks murmuring, the birds singing, the sky above and the earth beneath uniting in a universal harmony of beauty.

The bungalow at Jyrung is a still more dreary and melancholy looking object than the one at Mossia. Small, dark and low, it stands on a little rising knoll, surrounded by thickly wooded hills of far greater elevation. The consciousness of having some place of shelter, and the soothing murmurs of the brook that runs close by, alone reconcile the traveller to this miserable accommodation. A further journey of nine miles brings him to the sun-lit plains of Assam, which look bright and cheerful in contrast with the dark and heavy forests he has passed through. Imbedded in these forests are numerous little Khasia hamlets, and the clearances in their neighbourhood are extending rapidly every year, so that it is to be hoped, that, as has been the case elsewhere, the danger at present attending a journey through this forest will vanish with the progress of improvement.

In relation to the extent of country that passes under the name of the Khasia hills, the population is exceedingly scanty, and very much scattered. According to the last census, taken in 1846, the number of Khasia houses or homesteads amounted to 16,480, allowing five persons to each house, the population of the hills may be estimated at 82,400 souls.

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Though the country is nominally under British control, the system of government has been allowed to continue almost unaltered, the people having to this day their own Kings or Rajas, and every village its own chief. They present the appearance of a congregation of little oligarchical republics subject to no common superior; yet each member is apparently amenable in some degree to the control of his confederates.

There are said to be 23 of these confederated States in the Khasia country, exclusive of that portion known as the Jaintia territory. The two states of Mau-smai and Mau-mloo alone belong to the British Government by right of conquest, and Sooparpoonji has since been added by virtue of a treaty. Over these the Government exercises entire jurisdiction; and the Sirdars or Headmen are empowered to investigate and decide all petty cases, subject to an appeal to the Court at Cherra.

The 15 States noted below,* are dependent ones; that is, the chiefs have placed themselves under British protection and control—and although they are permitted to try all petty Civil and Criminal cases occurring amongst their own people, cases between the Company's subjects and theirs, or those of other States, are taken up by the Cherra authorities; while all serious cases such as murders, homicides, &c. are reported to our Courts, and enquired into in the first instance by the Police.

The other 5 States, namely those of Cherra, Khyreem, Lungree, Nurtung and Mespoong, are but partially dependent. The Rajas exercise sole Civil and Criminal jurisdiction in their respective States; but all cases of complaint occurring between their subjects and those of any other States, or the subjects of the British Government, are tried in our Courts.

The Government derives no land revenue from any portion of these hills, with the exception of a trifling sum received as ground rent for the building lots in the station of Cherra. The tract of land on which the station is placed was transferred to Government by the Raja of Cherra, in exchange for an equal quantity of land in the district of Sylhet, at a place called Burgiste, near the foot of the hills. The total sum, from the above source and all other items put together, judicial fines, the sale of opium, &c., &c., we believe does not amount to so much as 700 Rs. a year; while the receipts from the hill territory of Jaintia may probably be computed at 600 Rs. per annum, making a total of 1300 Rs. a year.

No land tax is said to be imposed on the people by their Rajas; what public revenue they have is derived from fines, and in some cases from trifling dues paid in kind by frequenters of

* Nongklaw, Mau-leem, Maram, Chilla, Mullye, Ranirye, Bhawal, Murriow, Mau-young, Mau-rolee, Shoing, Mau-flong, Jyrung, Dowarrah, and Mullung.

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the markets. The business of the State is usually transacted at public meetings called by order of the King, at which subjects affecting the welfare of the parties are convassed, opinions advanced, and the question decided by a majority. Petty complaints are usually settled by the headmen of the villages or by arbitration, but if the chief of the village is not able to bring about a reconciliation between the parties, a public meeting is called. The crier is sent out about 8 or 9 o'clock at night, when the people are supposed to have all returned home from their daily occupations. Taking up a position whence he is likely to be heard, he attracts attention to himself by a prolonged, unearthly yell, and then delivers himself of his errand:

"KAW! Thou, a fellow villager! thou, a fellow creature! thou, an old man! thou, who art grown up! thou, who art young! thou, a boy! thou, a child! thou, an infant! thou, who art great! thou, who art little! HEI! in his own village, in his own place. *Hei!* in his own village, in his own place. *Hei!* in his own prohibition, in his own interdiction. *Hei!* in his own drawing of water, in his own drinking of water. *Hei!* there is a quarrel. *Hei!* because there is a contest. *Hei!* to come to sit together. *Hei!* to cause to deliberate together. *Hei!* to give intelligence together. *Hei!* about to assemble in Durbar to hear, to listen attentively. *Hei!* ye are forbidden. *Hei!* ye are stopped to draw water then, to cut firewood then. No, *Hei!* to go to work then. No, *Hei!* to go a journey then. No, *Hei!* to descend to the valley then. *Hei!* he who has a pouch. *Hei!* he who has a bag. *Hei!* now come forth. *Hei!* now appear. *Hei!* the hearing then is to be all in company. *Hei!* the listening attentively then is to be all together. *Hei!* for his own king. *Hei!* for his own master; lest destruction come, lest piercing overtake us. KAW! Come forth now fellow men!!"

After this proclamation no one is to leave the village on the following day. Guards are placed at various points on the public roads and by-paths, for the purpose of apprehending all recusants, who by attempting to leave the village subject themselves to the penalty of a heavy fine. On the following day, from about 4 P. M. till near sunset, the men may be seen gradually assembling at the place where such meetings are usually held. This is an open place in the neighbourhood of the village, where a large number of stones are circularly arranged for the accommodation of the assembly, something probably after the fashion of the ancient Druids, or as was the custom of the Greeks, when—"The heralds spoke, the aged judges sate on squared stone, in circle for debate."

The proceedings are opened by the chief augur of the village, and the witnesses are then examined; the chief at the close, summing up the evidence on both sides, pronounces Judgment,

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making at the same time a hearty appeal to the assembled villagers: "Is it not so my young, energetic ones?" To which they unitedly respond "Yea! so it is, young energetic ones." Decisions are given, not so much according to any fixed law, as agreeably to the customs of the community, which admit of various modifications; so that when true justice is done, the trial, especially in cases involving disputes regarding property, resolves itself into an equitable arbitration, in which the disputants cannot avoid concurring.

The Khasias have no prisons, and corporal punishment is seldom or never assorted to, but all crimes and misdemeanors are punished by fines more or less heavy. In cases of inability to pay the fine, the criminal forfeits his freedom, and he and his posterity become the slaves of the chief. It sometimes occurs, that in a case of great intricacy, the village community aided by their chief are unable to bring matters to a final settlement. The contending parties are then called upon to clear themselves by ordeals of different descriptions. The water ordeal used to be the one most often appealed to. The opponents with much ceremony plunged their heads under water on the opposite sides of a consecrated pool, and he had the right who remained longest under water. It not unfrequently happened that the ordeal proved fatal to one or both of the parties, and all such cruel practices have now been interdicted.

Imperfect as their mode of government is, it is worthy of remark that crimes, such as would be cognizable by our law, are of very rare occurrence. Among their bad qualities, dissoluteness of manners and drunkenness are the most prominent. But there is also much of what is good in their character which raises them above their neighbours in the scale of moral worth, considering that they are destitute of the only source from which true morality proceeds. Frank and independent in manner, and in spirit too, they have much more manifestly a conscience to distinguish between right and wrong, than any of their neighbours below. Whether they always act up to it is another question; but there are many amongst them whose right feeling, truthfulness and strict uprightness, would do honor to men even in a Christian land.

Efforts have for some years past been made by Christian Missionaries for the instruction of the Khasias, and their labours have not been without success. We had an opportunity a few months ago of attending Divine service at the Missionary chapel at Cherra Poonjee. The preacher was a converted Khasia, who addressed his countrymen with great animation and feeling, and was listened to by a large congregation with the utmost decorum, and apparently with considerable attention and interest.

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Most of our readers are probably aware, that the first attempt made to introduce the great source of the world's enlightenment amongst these people, was made by that noble body of men,—the Serampore Missionaries. The New Testament was translated by them into the Khasia tongue; but their efforts to maintain a Mission on the hills not having been properly sustained and followed out, failed of success. The Rev. Mr. Lish's efforts, however, during the short period he was at Cherra, were productive of considerable good, and there are many Khasias now living, who speak of him with feelings of grateful remembrance as one of the benefactors of their tribe.

The translation of the New Testament having been found to be unidiomatic, and in a large number of instances almost unintelligible, a new translation is now in course of preparation by the Rev. Mr. Lewis, who has acquired a thorough knowledge of the language, and whose efforts to promote the welfare of the people are beyond all praise. At the present time, there are several schools both for boys and girls, in active operation, and hundreds of Khasias are able to read intelligibly in their own language. Portions of the Scriptures, and books teaching the fundamental principles of Christianity, have been rather widely diffused among the people, and several others are in course of preparation. The efforts made by the Missionaries for the spread of education have, we are glad to observe, been very kindly noticed by the Supreme Government, and a 'grant-in-aid' given them to enable them to extend their operations. That they have done, and are doing, a vast amount of good to the people for whose welfare they have devoted their lives, there can be no question, and we heartily wish them God's speed in their labors of love.

Where the Khasias may have originally come from, or from what particular branch of the great Tartar or Mongolian stock they may have sprung, it would be difficult now to ascertain. "There are," however, as the Rev. Mr. Pryse observes, in his "Introduction to the Khasia Language," "various indications extant amongst the people, both in their dialect and in their customs, to point out either the empire of Assam, or the range of hills intervening between that empire and the Khasia hills, as the cradle of the tribe."

Their language is a purely monosyllabic one, and has been very fully delineated by the Rev. Mr. Pryse in the little book above alluded to. It abounds in nasal sounds, and is spoken with a peculiar jirking tone which has a singular effect to a stranger. The same language, with no substantial difference, appears to prevail in all their villages, though there are considerable differences of accent, especially between the men of Jaintia and those of the other Khasia States. The Khasias, like most of the tribes on the

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North Eastern frontier have no written character, no books, and no literature of their own. In preparing books for them, therefore, and reducing their language to writing, it was necessary to introduce a written character. The Serampore Missionaries gave the preference to the Bengalee character which they found quite adequate to express all the sounds of the language—and it is a great pity we think that the Roman character, surrounded by a halo of dots and dashes, has been since substituted in its stead. The adoption of the former, it was said, was objectionable, "because it entailed on the illiterate Khasia youth the—to him—almost unsurmountable difficulty of learning some hundred or more signs of different sounds, including the whole of the Bengalee letters simple and compound, whilst some 18 or 20 Roman marks of sounds properly combined, would be ample to represent and express every sound in the Khasia dialect." But when it is considered that the Roman alphabet has distinct forms for the capital and small letters, and there is another distinct form in these letters when used in ordinary writing, it will be apparent that the illiterate Khasia youth will have in either case almost the same difficulty to surmount, and "to learn some hundred or more signs of different sounds." One of the objects in teaching the Khasia the arts of reading and writing, is doubtless to give them a greater facility of intercourse with the people of the plains, with whom, in their commercial dealing, they are now brought into almost daily intercourse. The Bengalee character, used as it is by the people of Sylhet on the one side, and those of Assam on the other, would have been to them a much more useful character to have adopted. It is obvious that such a small and non-influential tribe will not long be able to retain characters different from those of the larger nations of the plains in their neighborhood. And as they are brought under the influence of education and their commercial intercourse is extended, the Bengalee character, we venture to foretell, must at no very distant day supplant the Roman. Nor is it beyond the bounds of probability to expect that the time will be, when the various hill dialects on the N. E. Frontier will all be likewise supplanted by the Bengalee language.

No satisfactory explanation we believe has yet been discovered of the meaning of the term KHASIA, as applied to the people of this tribe. Some derive it from the name of a female "Ka Si;" in which case the *h* should be dropt, and the word spelt "*Kasi:*" others derive it from "Kha," a verb signifying to give birth, and Si a woman's name, making the term "Khasi" to signify, the descendants of Si. The natives call themselves "Ki Khasi," (the Khasis) and their country they call "Kari Khasi." The word "Cossyah," as sometimes used by Europeans, is therefore

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an unfortunate one, as to its orthography at least; for it is one of those in which the departure from the pronunciation of the natives is such as to render it quite unintelligible to them.

A few indistinct traditions are current among the tribe, but we believe nothing tangible can be derived from them. There is one for instance which may probably be traced back to the common patriarchal or ante-diluvian source from which the traditions of most tribes have taken their origin. This story tells that in olden times, a Bengalee and a Khasia swam across the ocean, each with a book in his mouth to protect it from the watery element. The former carried his book in safety to land, but the latter unfortunately during his exertions in swimming, swallowed his book. Hence comes it that the Bengalee has a literature, and the Khasia none.

The story of the "*Diingei,*" or *forbidden tree,* is another very popular one among the tribe. The following may be said to be the leading features of the tale as now told. In the origin of the race there was an enormous tree, by means of which man and God held intercourse with one another; this tree brought a curse of darkness upon mankind which they were unable to remove. Another feature is, that the sun was deified in the circumstance of the tree. A third feature, that a mediator was necessary between mankind and their sun-god; which was found in the domestic cock. A fourth, that the mediator voluntarily offered himself as a sacrifice, in order to effect a reconciliation between the parties. Such are the leading features of a story which for aught we know may have originated in a tradition of the Biblical narrative of the forbidden fruit.

God is commonly considered by the Khasias to be the "Nongthaw," or Creator of all, and He is occasionally spoken of as, "*He who carefully watches over and protects; who is the cause of goodness and prosperity.*" No sacrifices are offered to him, nor is he ever invoked in prayer. The goddess, supposed by the Khasias to be the wife of God, is said to be full of mercy, the bestower of happiness and prosperity on mankind; and offerings are constantly made to her in order to insure her protection. But evil spirits are particularly regarded by them, and their religious forms and ceremonies consist for the most part in sacrifices and offerings to appease these spirits and avert those evils that they are to originate. Temples and idols they have none, except in certain villages of Jaintia, where Kali and her Brahmins have unfortunately effected a lodgment, under the patronage of the former king of the country, whose devotion to the bloody goddess cost him his kingdom.

The people are much addicted to consulting auspices of different kinds, but especially by the breaking of eggs. Indeed this lat-

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ter superstition is so prominent and has got such a fast hold on the minds of the people, that it would seem to be the principal part of their religious practice. On all occasions of doubt it is resorted to, and they will sometimes spend whole days in dashing eggs upon a board, with much wild chaunting and wilder gestures in search of a decisive or a favorable augury.

The only possible condition of the immortal spirit of man in a future state, known to the Khasia, is that of a "*Ksuid*" or demon, malignant, malicious, unjust, bent on injuring those left behind him on earth. Hence the frequency of the sacrifices offered to pacify the spirits of the dead, especially the bones of the deceased are deposited in a small repository. But if they were placed in a large one, the fear of his injuring the family is not so great, and the sacrifice is therefore not so frequent; because "la buh ka niom ka rukom"—the religion and customs were observed—regarding him.

For this reason, too, it is that the greatest festivities of the people are funereal; either at the burning of the dead or when the ashes of the family are collected, and a monument erected in their honor. When by the help of the oracles the time is fixed for the removal of the ashes to the family vault, a public dance is held, which on great occasions is continued for several successive days, and the numerous performers are recompensed by an ample feast of pork and whiskey. The dance is performed either with fans or swords. If with the former, the men dance round and round a circle, somewhat monotonously, attitudinizing and brandishing their fans. They are all clad in the most brilliant finery that they possess, or can hire for the occasion,—richly embroidered outer shirts of broadcloth, silken turbans and dhoties, large bangles, heavy silver chains, and gold necklaces with plumes of down or peacock's feathers, and ornamental quivers. In the centre are the village maidens; they form in twos and threes, and *set* to one another with a comical *Pas* of exceeding simplicity, which seems to be performed by raising the heels, and twisting from side to side, on the fore part of both feet, which never leave the ground. They, too, are loaded with silver chains, tassels, and armlets, and all wear on the head a peculiar circlet of silver, having a tale spear head rising behind. In the sword dance, the men accompanied by music and musquetry, dance and bound, clashing sword and shield, and uttering in chorus a chaunt, at first, seemingly distant and sepulchral, but gradually becoming louder and louder, till it bursts into a terrific unearthly howl,—then sinking to a doleful chaunt again, and again rising to wake the echoes.

The various remarkable monumental stones which are scattered on every way side cannot fail to attract the attention of the stranger from the peculiar aspect thrown by them on almost every scene

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in the upper parts of the country. They are of several kinds but almost all of them, recall strongly those mysterious, solitary or clustered monuments of unknown origin, so long the puzzle and delight of antiquaries, which abound in England and are seen here and there in all parts of Europe and Western Asia. The most common kind in the Khasia country is composed of erect oblong pillars, sometimes unhewn, in other instances carefully squared, and planted a few feet apart. The number composing one monument is never under three, and occasionally they are as many as thirteen. The highest pillar is in the middle, sometimes covered with a circular disk, and to right and left they gradually diminish. In front of these is what English antiquaries call a *cromlech*, a large flat stone resting on short rough pillars. These form the ordinary broadside resting place of the weary traveller. Some of these stones are of considerable size and must have cost immense labour in erection.

The tallest of a thick cluster of pillars in the market place of Murteng, in the Jaintia country, rising through the branches of a higher old tree, measures *twenty-seven feet* in height above the ground. And in another place, near the village of Sailankot, a flat table stone or *cromlech* elevated five feet from the earth, measures 32 feet by 15, and 2 feet in thickness.

In some cases the monument is a square sarcophagus, composed of four large slabs, resting on their edges and well fitted together, and roofed in by a fifth placed horizontally. In other cases the sarcophagus is in the form of a large slab accurately circular, resting on the heads of many little rough pillars, closely planted together, through the chinks between which may be seen certain earthen pots containing the ashes of the family. The upright pillars are merely cenotaphs, and some few among them have probably been erected in commemoration of certain important events.

Many of the villages doubtless derive their appellations from such erections, as is apparent from the number commencing with *Mau*, which signifies a stone. There was war once, we are told, between Cherra and Mau-smai, and when they made peace and swore to it, they erected a stone as a witness, thence the name Mau-smai *the stone of the oath*. So they have Mau-mluk, from "mluk," *salt*, Mau-flag, from "flag" *grass* Mau-inlu, from "inlu," *upturned*, and several more that might be enumerated.

The Khasias are not in the habit of marrying young. The proposal of marriage comes from the man, who usually selects a friend of his as a go-between, and sends her to the father of the girl, to ask his consent to the union. This, is sometimes done without giving any intimation of his intentions to the girl herself. The consent of the parents being obtained, and the day fixed for the marriage, the bridegroom in company with a party of his friends

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proceeds to the house of the bride, there, a feast is prepared for the occasion, consisting of all the good things within the reach of the family. Before the party partakes of the feast, the young couple are placed to sit together, with a maternal uncle of each on either side of them. These uncles talk to one another regarding the desirableness of uniting the two parties, and in them their respective families. The consent of the parties having been obtained, the couple are pronounced united, and the feast follows. After which the friends return to their respective homes, but the bridegroom remains in the house of his bride, and becomes an inmate of it if she happens to be the youngest or only daughter; if otherwise, the husband removes her to his own house, which then becomes the property of the wife.

The marriage tie however is a very lax one, and the simple exchange of five cowries between the parties dissolves the union; but the children abide with the mother.

Closely connected with this system and as we may suppose originating in it, is their strange, though not unique, law of succession. The son has no claim to succeed his father, whether it be in the chieftainship or in private property. The sister's son has the inheritance.

The volatile disposition of the men naturally takes them much from home; and while they are engaged in trade, or cultivation, or sauntering about the hills and valleys in pursuit of amusement and pleasure, the domestic occupations devolve upon the women. The men have generally speaking great powers of industry, but are somewhat capricious in exerting it. They are seldom tall, generally well made, and shew great strength of limb. Their features can rarely be called handsome, yet there is often a strong attraction in the frank and manly good humour of their broad Tartar faces, flat noses, and angular eyes. The children are sometimes very good looking, but beauty in women seldom rises beyond a buxom comeliness. The characteristic dress of the men is a short sleeveless shirt of thick cotton cloth, sometimes striped blue and red, and almost always excessively dirty. It has a deep fringe below, and is ornamented on the breast and back with lines of a sort of diamond pattern embroidery; over this is usually thrown a large mantle of Eria silk procured from Assam. A large and loosely made turban covers the head of the better class; others wear a greasy cap with flasps over the ears or go bare-headed. The forepart of the head is shaven, and the back hair gathered into a knot on the crown. The women are generally wrapped in a shapeless mantle of cotton cloth, similar to those worn by the Assamese women, with its upper corners tucked in above the breast. The Khasias are utterly unacquainted with any art of weaving, and nearly all their usual articles of dress peculiar as

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they are, are made for them in the Assam villages bordering on the hills.

Their common food is rice, but since the introduction of the potatoe, this useful esculent is also used very largely as an article of consumption. Dried fish is a universal favorite, and is brought from below in large quantities ; and almost all animal food, pork especially, they are very partial to. They are extremely addicted to chewing *pawn* (the leaf of the betel vine,) and some of them have their mouths literally crammed with it. Distances are often estimated by them, by the number of pawns that will be consumed on the road.

A great proportion of the proper names of men are quaint monosyllables, such as Tess, Bep, Mang, Sor, Mir, Bi, reminding one irresistibly of Walter Scott's Saxon Hig, the son of Snel. But there are generally euphonised by the masculine prefix U, into U-tess, U-sor, &c. " Ku-ble !" is the singular salutation in common use when acquaintances meet. The literal signification of which we believe is, " Oh God !" It is probably nothing more than an elliptical expression corresponding to our *adieu !* or *good-bye !* The derivation of which—God be with you—perhaps few ever think of.

Amongst the amusements of the Khasias, archery may be mentioned, as the chief, as well as the most interesting. In the trial of skill, each village has from time immemorial its established competitor, and with this alone is the contest carried on. The Toxophilite meeting is held at each village on alternate market days. The target is pitched at about sixty yards, and is made of an oblong piece of soft wood about three feet and a half high by one broad. Four or five persons generally shoot at once; they draw the arrow to the ear, and their attitudes are often very striking. The bow, the bow-string, the arrow, and the quiver, are all made from various species of the all-useful bamboo. When all have shot, the arrows in the target are taken out, and the people crowd round the umpire as he distributes them. As each arrow is recognized, the party to which its owner belongs, dance and hop about, fencing with their bows, spinning them high in the air, and shouting together in a wild cadence. Bird catching, fishing, hunting, and gambling also occupy no small portion of their leisure time.

The houses of the people are by no means so dirty as their persons. They are generally, dry, substantial, thatched cottages, built either of a double wall of broad planks placed vertically in the ground, or of loose stones cemented together with earth, and with a good boarded floor raised three feet or more from the earth. As they have rarely anything like a window, one sees nothing on first entering, and rarely escapes a bruised head from

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a collison with one of the massive low beams. The fire is always burning on the hearth in the centre, and as there is no chimney the house is generally filled with wood smoke. The veranda is partly stored with lumber, and partly affords shelter to the fowls, calves and pigs, which last are carefully tended, and attain enormous obesity.

Milk is not used in any shape, and the cattle though numerous, are not applied to any useful purpose, being kept only for slaughter, and especially for sacrifice. Their husbandry is confined to the hoe, and their grain is thrashed with the flail. Man is the only bearer of burdens. All loads the people carry on the back, supported by a belt across the forehead; and in the rains they and their burdens are protected by a large hood made of palm leaves which covers the head and the whole of the back.

There is a market place in the neighborhood of almost every large village which is a great convenience to the people, who seem fond of buying and selling. The luxuries exhibited at these markets are all Khasian, consisting of stinking fish, some other things of dubious appearance, and still more dubious odour, rice, millet and the inferior grains, the fashionable articles of Khasia clothing, and all the adjuncts to that abominable habit, *pawn* chewing. Iron implements of husbandry of native manufacture are also vended, and in short all the various luxuries and necessaries of a Khasia are usually obtainable.

Their trade with the people of the plains consists chiefly in the barter of oranges, pawn and betel-nuts, honey, bees' wax, cotton, iron and ivory—for rice, dried fish, cotton and silk cloths, and salt. Potatoes are grown to a considerable extent in the valleys and on the acclivities of the hills, and may now be considered as one of the staple articles of their trade.

The manufacture of iron appears to have been carried on by the Khasias from time immemorial. And so marked an effect have their works achieved on the undulating hills which cover the country, that in many instances what must once have been, like their neighbours, round swelling knolls, appear to have collapsed and sunk to their skeletons, showing nothing but fantastic piles of naked boulders; the earth which once bound and covered them, having been entirely washed out by the heavy rains following in the track of the miner. So numerous and extensive are the traces of former excavations, that judging by the number at present in progress, one may suppose them to have occupied the population for twenty centuries.

The ore occurs in the form of a fine sand, consisting of minute crystals of titaniferous magnetic oxide, which are irregularly distributed in the mass of the softer portions of the granite rocks, and also occasionally in some of the gneiss-ore beds. The upper

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portion of the granite is partially decomposed to a considerable depth, and this soft and easily yielding rock is not quarried or mined; but simply *raked* into a small stream conducted to the base of the small scarp, or face of rock from which the ore is obtained.

The workmen standing on one side of their work, poke out the soil from between the boulders with long poles, terminating in iron spikes. The loosened soil tumbles into the stream, and is carried by it violently down a narrow channel to a point about 200 yards distant, and about 80 feet perpendicularly below. Here a little post is fixed at each side of the stream, and against the upper side of these posts little bits of stick are laid, so as to form a kind of dam, which stops the heavy particles of iron, whilst the lighter grains of soil are carried of by the rapid stream, bounding over the obstacle. As the iron accumulates sticks are added to heighten the dam, and when this is nearly as high as the bank (or about one foot) the ore, a fine black sand is taken out, the dam lowered, and the process repeated. Above the dam a man is constantly employed in turning up the channel of the stream with a hoe, to prevent the ore from sticking in the passage, and with a long hooked fork, he occasionally takes out any pieces of stone brought down by the current.

The ore thus procured is now removed to the washing trough which is supplied with water by a small branch of the upper stream. The washing is generally performed by two women, working the ore against the stream with their feet, and occasionally turning and mixing it with a hoe. It is then put in a heap to dry, and washed again. This process is repeated four times.

The ore is then carried to the smelting house. The bellows are double, formed of two half cylinders of cow skin, and worked by a man or woman, with a leg on each, swaying from foot to foot. The furnace is about twenty inches in diameter, and the chimney about five feet high, made of clay bound with iron hoops. The iron is wetted and placed on a shelf. At short intervals a handful of fern leaves is dipped into the sand, and shoved into the furnace, and charcoal to replenish the fire is poured down the chimney. In some places instead of using the fern, as above described, the ore is mixed with pounded charcoal and placed on the shelf. The person who works the bellows, at almost every other sway of his body, takes up a small quantity of the mixture with a long handled spoon and drops it into the chimney. After an interval—which from the equal size of the masses must be very regular, though judged by guess—one of the workmen stirs up the mass with a poker, takes it out with a pair of tongs, lays it on a block covered with earth, beats it with a wooden club in-

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to a sort of hemisphere, and then splits it nearly in twain with an axe. He opens the split further by the insertion of a couple of wedges, and then pitches the hot mass into a trough full of pounded dross to cool. The metal impure as it is, is now fit for the market. Heating in the furnace and hammering, form the only further process of purification. But the loss of iron, purchased in this form, is at least three parts in four.

By far the larger portion of this impure iron, in the balls or lumps in which it comes from the smelting furnaces, is sent to the plains, where it meets with a ready sale. The quantity annually exported it is supposed may be valued at about 3000 Rupees.

Of the iron which is converted within the hills, the greater portion is wrought into *Kodalis* or hoes, or into the *Daws* or larger knives which the Khasias use.

"The quality of this Khasia iron," Professor Oldham informs us, "is excellent for all such purposes as Swedish iron is now used for. The impurity of the blooms, however, as they are sent to market, is a great objection to its use, and the waste consequent thereon renders it expensive. It woud also form steel or *wootz* of excellent quality. I have no doubt that the manufacture could be greatly improved, and possibly extended. The great defects in the present system are, the want in the first instance of a means of sustaining a sufficiently high and equable temperature in the hearth, so as to keep the whole of the mass or bloom of metal in a molten state at the same time, and thus more completely separating the slag from the purer metal; and, of some more powerful means of expressing the slage from the spongy metallic mass than the slight hammering is now receives with a wooden mallet or club."

Owing to the scanty dissemination of the ore in the rocks, and the consequent high cost of obtaining it, it is extremely doubtful whether the manufacture of this iron could be very much extended. At present the want of any permanent supply of water prevents the natives from working for more than a few days during the year, while the rains are heavy, and they can readily obtain a sufficient force of water for the washing of the ore from its matrix.

Among the other mineral products of the Khasia hills, coal and limestone are the most important.

Most of our readers are probably aware that the source whence lime for the Calcutta market, for the last thirty years or more, has been supplied, is in the neighborhood of these hills. Professor Oldham's remarks on this product are so interesting that we subjoin them at length.

"The extent of this trade, and the importance of the product, as an element of progress in civilization, demand a brief reference to the

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circumstances attending it. The principal localities of the manufacture are at Chattuc and at Sonamgunge *(Chunamgunge*, or the *lime mart?)* and along the banks of the river Soorma, between these two villages. The rude kilns in which the stone is burnt stretch for miles along either bank of the river; and the many large and well constructed buildings, in which the lime is stored until required for market, give an aspect of wealth, comfort, and prosperity to the district, which contrasts forcibly with the almost unlimited extent of marsh and jheel that bounds the view on either side lower down the river.

Almost the entire range of the limestone quarries, along the base of the hills eastward, from Cheyla belong to the firm of Inglis and Co., whose principal establishment is located at Chattuc. Westwards, the quarries in the neighbourhood of Laour, and some smaller quarries between, are in the hands of Messrs. Stark and Sarkies, and of some native merchants.

The extent and importance of the trade will be more evident from a consideration of the quantity, of stone raised annually, and of the quantity of lime produced. On an average of ten years ending in November 1851 the amount of limestone quarried on the borders of the Khasia hills, is stated to have been—

By Messrs. Inglis and Co., ...	Maunds	14,48,550
" Messrs. Stark and Sarkies and native merchants, ...	"	2,31,500
Total average amount quarried annually, ...		16,80,050
Equal to *sixty thousand tons* of limestone yearly. From this stone there have been burnt by natives, who have for the most part purchased the stone from Messrs. Inglis and Co.,—annually, ...	Maunds	12,34,000
By Messrs. Inglis and Co., ...	"	1,57,000
" Messrs. Stark and Sarkies, &c., ...	"	80,000
Giving a total average amount of lime, ...	Maunds	14,71,000

The whole of this very large amount is quarried from the several plans along the foot of the hills, where the limestone occurs close to the level of the plains, and from whence it can be removed by water. The quarrying of the stone is carried on at all seasons, but chiefly during the spring and cold months, and the stone, broken into pieces of convenient size, is piled up in suitable localities until the rains, in May, June, and July, fill the little streams from the hill sufficiently to float the small *dinghies* or canoes which are here used. As soon as this takes place, every available boat is at once employed for the removal of the stone into the larger streams. It is scarcely possible to conceive a busier scene than the neighborhood of some of these large quarries presents after a good fall of rain. Hundreds of men and woman are busily engaged loading their canoes, and then rapidly shooting down the narrow stream, while others are hastily poling the returning empty boats up the current, again to load, and shoot down

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the rapids with their freight of stone. The whole place seems alive with eager workmen, who know well, from experience, the necessity of taking advantage of the sudden rise of the waters. So sudden is the fall sometimes of those little nullahs, that even these light canoes, which draw only a few inches of water, are frequently left stranded in the middle of their course. In this way the greater portion of the stone is removed from the quarries, these small dinghies carrying the limestone, only into the larger streams where all is quickly thrown on the bank, or into the water near the bank, to be again shipped into larger boats for conveyance to the place of manufacture.

In that portion of the hills which lies more immediately to the South of Cherra, the largest quarries are near the village of *Tungwai* or *Tingye*, from which the stone is brought to the neighbourhood of *Pandua*, to be again removed from thence to *Chattuc*. Other very large quarries are in the vicinity of the great orange groves between Teriaghat and Laukat, from which also the stone is conveyed to Chattuc for burning.

The whole of this limestone belongs to the nummulitic group. It varies but slightly in mineral character, and produces a good sound, but not very strong lime, of good colour, and slacks readily. Some of the beds are magnisian, and more gritty in aspect; and the lime from these is somewhat darker in tint, than that produced by the purer beds.

At present the only fuel employed in burning this limestone is wood, or reeds (called *nul*), principally the latter, which are collected in immense quantities from the extensive jheels in the vicinity. The kilns are placed on the banks of the river, which are cut down perpendicularly for some feet, to form the face, in which the opening into the lower part of the kiln is made. The excavation is circular in plan, and nearly semi-globular in shape; and generally of sufficient size to take when piled up, from 500 to 700 maunds of stone. After ignition each kiln is, in ordinary weather, allowed to burn for about four days and nights, when the burnt lime is remove from the kiln, at the top. The kiln, if sound, is then again charged again lighted an d after a sufficient interval again emptied.

The system in ordinary use in Europe, of drawing the lime from the bottom of the kiln, and replacing it by fresh stone and fuel at the top, so as to keep up a continued combustion, as long as required, is quite unknown in this district. Such a system, indeed, is quite incompatible with the rude, and imperfect kilns here in use, and also with the kind of fuel now used. There can be no question however, that the cooling down of the kiln on the removal of each charge, causes a very considerable waste of heat, while the impossibility of burning lime, on the present plan, excepting during a few months of the year, entails a great additional loss. The burning, at present, does not properly commence until the end of January, or until February, and must be completed by April.

Twelve hundred maunds of stone yield on the average, one thousand maunds of lime, and will require from 3500 to 4000 bundles of *nul* or reeds for their combustion. The stone delivered at the kilns,

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on the river bank, costs from 14 to 18 or sometimes 20 Rupees per 1000 maunds.

Much of this limestone would produce most durable, and occasionally very handsomely veined marble. It would answer well for ordinary purposes, chimney pieces, slabs for tables, garden seats, and for flooring tiles. Of the latter article, I believe many hundreds are annually imported, of inferior colouring and beauty to those which could be manufactured out of this Khasia limestone."

Regarding the coal of the Khasia hills a considerable amount of information may be obtained from the Proceedings of the Coal and Mineral Committee, published between the years 1838—and 1846.

The most important coal locality in the hills is that on the small ridge to the West of the station of Cherra and in which the adits hitherto worked are situated. It was first brought to notice in 1832 by Mr. Cracroft.* That which occurs elsewhere in the hills is said to be too limited in extent, too much disturbed, and too poor in quantity to be worth considering at all.

"The Cherra coal" observes Professor Oldham, "is undoubtedly superior to the Coal from the Damoodah valley; and it is equally certain that it is equal to *some* English coals, but it is as certainly inferior to others. It is *quick in its action*, and therefore would generate steam rapidly; it coked well but gives out a large amount of smoke: it is fragile and easily broken, and from the absence of that definite structure, which produces the flames of division known to English miners, as "backs," or the joints in the coal, it breaks into unsymmetrical pieces, and consequently would not stow well. From its composition therefore, its quick combustion, and its irregular cleavage, I conceive it to be at the least 5 to 7 per cent. inferior to *good* English coal. As a gas-producing coal, it is superior to any English coal imported, both as regards the quantity and purity of its gas. And with proper precautions in burning, it would yield a very passable coke."

Between the years 1842, and 1844, Colonel Lister at various times sent down large quantities of this coal to Calcutta, and on his experience, Professor Oldham informs us that the *average* cost in Calcutta was 7 annas 6¼ pie per maund or 47 Rs. per 100 maunds. This was the cost inclusive of all charges for overseers, weighmen, coolies, freight, &c. excepting only any charge for superintendence and general management.

The coal is situated within the territory of the Raja of Cherra Poonjee, but he has given a perpetual lease of it to the British Government at a stipulated royalty of one Rupee for every 100 maunds excavated by Government, reserving at the same time the right of all his own subjects to mine on their own account. But

* See Journal of the Asiatic Society for Bengal, Vol. 1, p. 250—252.

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the Government have rarely availed themselves of the privilege and almost all the coal hitherto procured from these mines, has been purchased from the Khasias, who have raised and sold it.

Though it may not be possible under present circumstances to send the Cherra coal with profit to the Calcutta market, yet there is every probability that it may at no very distant period be turned to great and useful account. The Districts of Sylhet, Kachar and Munnipore, with their daily increasing traffic, and the vast tracts that have lately been taken up there for the cultivation of the Tea plant, cannot be much longer deprived of the benefits of steam communication, and the coals of Cherra will then prove highly valuable for the supply of the requisite fuel, at an economical rate.

Years may elapse ere the full value of the controlling influence established by the British Government in these hills, becomes generally appreciated, or their resources fully developed. The people, however, have felt our strength, they are becoming better acquainted with the advantages of a civilized life, and so great is their appreciation of our system of administration, that it requires no great foresight to perceive, that all the Khasia states will before long cheerfully acquiesce in a renunciation of their nominal independence, and an acknowledgment of their allegiance to the paramount power. Our Government has therefore, a high and responsible duty to discharge, in regard to the people who are thus voluntarily placing themselves under its fostering care; and we sincerely trust that while measures will not be neglected to render this salubrious tract of country a really valuable acquisition, the best means will also be used for the moral and intellectual improvement of its inhabitants.

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ART. V.—1. *Jameson's Code.* 1830.
2. *Standing Orders of the Department of Public Works.* By LIEUT. COL. BOILEAU. 1852.
3. *Military Regulations of the Bengal Army.* 1855.
4. *Manual of Field Operations.* By LIEUT. JERVIS, *Royal Artillery.* JOHN MURRAY. London, 1852.
5. *Minor Operations of War.* By MAJOR TROUBRIDGE. Whitehall, 1853.
6. *Correspondence of Lord Metcalfe.* London, 1855.
7. *Napoleon's Confidential Correspondence with his Brother* JOSEPH. London, 1855.
8. *Rifle Practice.* By MAJOR JOHN JACOB, C. B. 1855.
9. *Douglas' Naval Gunnery.* 1855.

AFTER nearly five years' gestation the *Bengal Code* has been recently published. It has one decided advantage over all other Codes in being briefer and more compact. Its size and weight are nearly half those of Jameson's Bombay Code. We cannot however honestly say that it is half as valuable. It is complete in nothing. Our recently expressed fears have been more than fulfilled: a Bengal Code has yet to be prepared; and for Departments, detailed Abstracts in the form of Colonel Boileau's excellent compilation, are required.

Lieut. Jervis' Manual is avowedly a compilation, founded on Jacquinot de Presle's "*Cours d'art et d'Histoire Militaire*" in use at the Cavalry School of Saumar. Keeping *De Presle* in view as a ground-work, Lieut. Jervis has given his volume a more comprehensive character, and adapted it to the general requirements of the British officer. The work ought to be in every young soldier's hands, and will afford useful information to the oldest. The illustrations generally are good, those based on warfare in India the least so. We like the Cavalry chapter best; the Artillery least. Lieut. Jervis, tells his readers, what has a hundred times before been told, that "it is only in time of peace, and with infinite care, that Cavalry can be organized;" that "before entering on a campaign, Cavalry is (should be) perfectly instructed in the care necessary for the preservation of the horses." Were such the practice as well as the theory of the British Cavalry, there would have been no Balaclava slaughter, no headlong charge on heavily flanked batteries and masses, nor would there have been the dying by inches of noble animals at their pickets. Had Lords Lucan or Cardigan understood their duty, five hundred human lives would have been saved. Had one officer per Regiment possessed the sense and

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the humanity to exert himself for the horses, and the address and management to persuade the Commanders, or the courage to push his views and measures past them, half the horses in the Cavalry Division might also have been saved. Let it not be said that canvass is unfit for cover, or was unprocurable; that trenches could not be dug. The contrary in both cases has been proved: slight shelter is better that none. What was *easily* done for several hundreds of mules, could have been done for the noble war-horses. What the sensible and indefatigable Lushington did for the Naval Brigade, and what some few Regiments did for themselves, could have been done to a greater or less extent for every man and beast. A slight slope, a narrow ditch, with the earth thrown up as a bank,—all which one man could have done for each horse in a day,—would alone have saved many horses. A thick blanket round the loins,—and there were heaps a mile and a half off at Balaclava,—would also have saved many. But nothing was done. There the generous animals, knee-deep in mire, their scanty grain thrown into the liquid mud before them, rotted and starved at their posts, *all in regular line.* Yes, we doubt not the line was well preserved; and that buttons, buckles and pipe-clay were as far as possible maintained to the last, while common sense and humanity were spurned. And yet there were officers with the Crimean Cavalry Division who knew better; some even who had been through the Affghan campaign, who had seen Affghan horses plump and hearty though exposed in all weathers to a more than Crimean winter. But common sense has little chance under a martinet system; it damps all energy, cowes all spirit; it permits all to do mischief, but affords few opportunities of good. Where a Colonel can be threatened with arrest for giving an opinion, few subalterns will have the hardihood to oppose authority, however good their cause. But how wretched is all this! how deplorable that the finest Cavalry in the world should be sacrificed to the whim or the ignorance, or worse still, the apathy of an individual!

Lieut. Jervis, echoing the dicta of the best soldiers of all ages, tells us,—

"Of all the branches of the service, Cavalry appears to be the one most difficult to manage. Incapable of defending a position by itself, unable even to engage on many kinds of ground, easily disunited, almost totally dependant on their horses, no corps so much requires the discrimination and zeal of talented leaders. And the experience of all ages proves that men able to make successful use of Cavalry in masses, have been but few. This art requires in fact a thorough knowledge of this branch of the service, and a quickness of eye which can seize rapidly the whole of a movement, and understand all its consequences. As this eagle glance must be accompanied by great

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energy, it is not surprising that there are so few good Cavalry Generals, and that this service so seldom fulfils the part for which it is intended."

And yet England's Cavalry is filled with idle men of fashion, younger sons of peers, or elder sons of stockbrokers, all ready enough for a Balaclava charge, all averse to Balaclava stable-duty. In India, if possible, the case is worse. England's Cavalry is officered by *volunteers*, by men who select their line; but India's sable horsemen are led by the boys who fail at Haileybury, and the lads whose parents have most interest at the India House. Whether they be half blind, whether they can or cannot ride, or whether they like or dislike their profession, there they remain, Cavalry-Officers for the period of their service. There is no escape! Can any thing be more absurd?

"*The Minor Operations of War*" is a translation of part of Lallemand's valuable work by Major St. Vincent Troubridge, of the 7th Royal Fuziliers. The volume with his "*Tabular arrangement of Battalion Drill*," shows that the Major is worthy of his name. We imagine the author to be the gallant Baronet who lost both legs at Inkerman. We recommend the two works to the Indian Army.

"*Jacob's Rifle Practice*," and "*Douglas' Naval Gunnery*," are both excellent books, though in some points the opnions of the two gallant authors differ as much as does the apearance of the tiny pamphlet of the one, from the portly octavo of the other. This revised and enlarged edition of Douglas, is full of scientific information, valuable to all branches of the Army; but the author appears to us,—we write with all deference,—to cling somewhat to old opinions. On the other hand the dashing light horseman and profound Artillery-man, has swept away the cobwebs of much antiquated prejudice. Not less scientific than the scientific and able veteran to whom the Navy is so much indebted for opening the eyes of the country forty years ago, to the necessity of Artillery, and especially of Naval Artillery reform, Jacob has done much to prove that we are only at the beginning of Artillery doings; that the monster guns yet constructed, may in all points be surpassed by the application of the Rifle principle. We go far with him even in the following opinion, which may appear to many an idle speculation :—

"Judging from experiments made as an old Artillery Officer as well as a Rifleman and practical Mechanic, I am deliberately of opinion that a four-grooved Rifled iron gun of a bore of four inches in diameter, weight not less than twenty-four hundred weight, could be made to throw shot to a distance of ten miles and more, with force and accuracy."

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Jacob's improved rifle has—however tardily—had a fair trial, which has conclusively proved that Field Batteries as now constituted, could not stand before a corps of riflemen, that every gunner would be instantly picked off. After describing his weapon and its effects, he observes,

"It seems evident that if the arms above described be supplied to our soldiers, their power would be increased at least fourfold. The army which should first adopt these weapons, would thereby obtain an advantage equal to that of the exclusive possession of fire-arms a century ago. One effect of these would be that the whole of our Field Artillery must become totally useless."

We do not wonder that the late Sir Charles Napier should have controverted such theories when put forward in a far feebler voice than at present, for his prejudices were all against rifles, all for "Brown Bess." Moreover he knew little of Artillery. His pamphlet on "National Defence" published in 1852, contained much that was valuable, as might have been expected from so good and so experienced a soldier, but surely he was as much behind the age, when he penned the following passages, as was Sir George Brown, when he maintained leather stocks and other martinetisms during the Crimean expedition, or as is the old lady who persists in travelling post in an antiquated chaise, when she might take her ease in a Railway Carriage.

"I do not altogether enter into the new inventions. I fought in "the Bush" in America; so thick it was, that we could hardly pierce its denseness; my regiment was opposed to Kentucky *riflemen*. We had *muskets*, and we beat them. We had *red coats*—they had brown coats; yet we slew more of them than they did of us. We are told that at the Cape, the Kaffirs lie hidden till our soldiers come within a *few feet!* Then what do we want with a *rifle?* The Cape Corps were armed with short carbines, *not* with rifles, and are said to have done better service than any other corps, while the men were faithful."

"I heard of a man being killed at the distance of a mile by a musket shot in the lines at Torres Vedras. The old spirit of the British soldiers was to *close with their enemy*, not to keep at the distance of two miles from him! 'The bayonet! the bayonet!' was their cry, and the strong hearts and strong arms of Britons bore down in close array upon the enemy! But now that system seems changed."

Alma and Inkerman told a different tale. *There* was proved, that improved weapons had not emasculated British soldiers. The system *is* changed, but for the better. The Russians felt and acknowledged the fact. The bayonet was at least as effective at Inkerman as in any battle on record, and yet there the Enfield Rifle was in the hands of the British Infantry. The Yankees too, to their cost, felt the difference the other day in

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Central America, between the Minie Rifle and the old musket. "There must have been English and German Riflemen present" was their cry. Sir Charles was a genius, but the public has been too long misled by great names. Even his name must not delude us into the notion that "red coats" are better than "brown coats" in the *bush*, or that it is any advantage to an army to have its officers and leading files picked off, before they can close with the enemy. No, to have confidence in their leaders, soldiers must have fair play, must not be *needlessly* exposed. British soldiers may be trusted for the rest. With good leading and good weapons,* they will never be slow to apply the bayonet. The danger is rather the other way; that they will be too ready.

But whatever were the opinions of so eccentric a genius as Sir Charles Napier, we are surprised that a calm dispassionate Savant, such as Sir Howard Douglas, should propose to disperse riflemen with Shrapnel; as if such fellows were in the habit of collecting in clumps to afford practice to Artillery. No, the ranges of Field Guns must be increased proportionally with those of rifles, before, in future warfare, there will be any safety for field gunners. Sir Howard's Argument is that

"Shrapnel Shells will undoubtedly still prove an over-powering antagonist of infantry acting in swarms, *en tirailleur*, in the manner in which it is proposed to employ infantry armed with long ranged rifled muskets."

Sir Howard here assumes two points. First that rifles will not be effective at 1000 yards, and that field artillery employed against riflemen will be so at greater distances. In both points we believe that he is wrong. His words are

"Field artillery, 9 and 12 pounder guns in particular, placed far beyond the reach of even the *most random range of these rifles*, may, by means of Shrapnel Shells, pour upon swarms of skirmishers, musket bullets, &c."

The italics are ours. Now Jacob has made "excellent practice (with his rifles) at a range of 2000 yards. The balls at that distance penetrating about 4 inches into very hard dry sunburnt brick." We have ourselves seen good rifle practice at 1200 yards, but although Sir Howard proposes to bring "menaces and charges of cavalry" to compel the "tirailleurs" to rally into "masses", we cannot agree with him that his "spherical" case shot from field guns would at such distances be effective. The question is of rifles versus field artillery; if the one arm is to be supported by

* The mischief entailed by bad arms has often been recorded. Macaulay tells how Killikrankie was lost and won by the fumbling for two or three minutes of Mackay's men at their bayonets. Those minutes decided the day: the whole flood of the Clans were on them.

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Cavalry, so should be the other. But even on occasional clumps caused by Cavalry "menaces," we rather doubt the effect of spherical case, as suggested by Sir Howard. At best, friends and foes would suffer. No; immense improvement has been made in small arms, and in Jacob's words, where elite infantry armed with his improved rifles are in the field, "Artillery must be abolished or *improved*."—

"*Kaye's Correspondence of Lord Metcalfe*" ought to be in every Indian library, as should "*Napoleon's Correspondence with his brother Joseph.*" We do not agree in all Lord Metcalfe's dicta; but his military maxims and opinions are among his best. We do not retire at night as he did, with the expectation of finding, on awakening, that India has slipped from Britain's grasp. But Metcalfe's advice for caution and preparation is both practical and wise. For looking in peace for the probability of war; and for not undertaking war with peace means, and sacrificing soldiers' lives to save magazine stores. He truly says

"Economy in this department is ruinous. We ought to be lavish of the contents of our Arsenals, and saving of the lives of our men."

India's best soldiers, the Ochterlonys, Malcolms, and Munros, past and present, give like advice. Metcalfe was in heart a soldier, of the school of William Fraser, Jenkins, George Clerk, and John Lawrence. Such are the Civilians for India.

Napoleon's letters will raise the opinion of his ability, if not of his heart. He reads Indian officials many lessons. Englishmen in India are situated, much as Frenchmen were in Naples, and now are in Algeria. Those who argue that good governments may trust to the love of the people, would do well to bear in mind his emphatic words; "What a nation most hates, is another nation." The remark specially applies to England's position in India. Justice, humanity, and kindly consideration must be ever displayed, but be closely backed by *bayonets and cannon*, or else the very mildness of British rule will ensure its own destruction. Duly execrating Napoleon's lying practices, his military executions, and much of his Military system,* we would nevertheless gladly see many of his maxims instilled into English Oriental authorities. He did not urge on his brother, the necessity of a large army, but of a *safe, contented one*, led by able and trusty leaders. There was practical wisdom in the proportions he laid down. "You should have in your ser-

* See Alison's History of Europe, page 237, vol. v. for the gross fraud through which the Battle of Rivoli was won. The great Military writer 'Jomini" either was ignorant of the deceit, or considered all stratagems awful in war.

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vice 3000 Corsicans, 6000 Swiss and 6000 Neapolitans." In the selection of officers he was equally judicious.

"Jourdan is much more fit to command troops in the interior than Massena, who on the other hand is more fit for a coup-de-main; in war as in literature, each man has his own style."

Again,

"Jourdan is fully reliable."

Further on

"Jourdan and Regnier are the men whose services you should secure."

He continues "The Brigadiers and Generals of Division should be all tried soldiers and men of vigour." These few words should be printed in letters of gold on the hearts of all in authority. *The Brigadiers and Generals of Division should be all tried soldiers and men of vigour.* Would that our feeble voice could impress them in high places. The Indian Government reverses Napoleon's maxims. It trusts almost every thing to a particular class of the Natives of the country. It superannuates tried soldiers of many fields of *fifty years* of age, and replaces them by untried men, and even by proved incompetents of *sixty*.* Judged by its practice Government would appear rather to look for Wurmsers and Whitelocks, than for Jourdans and Massenas.

Napoleon tells his brother

"In all your calculations, assume that a fortnight sooner or later, you will have an insurrection. Force of opinion will not help; have mortars on the Forts, and troops ready. Disarm and do it quickly. I presume you have cannon in your palaces. Disarm,—Disarm. Keep your Artillery in positions where the mob cannot seize them. Reckon on a riot or a small insurrection."

This advice, *to disarm, to be ready, to keep his troops together, and to have artillery at hand,* is constantly and emphatically enjoined. It holds good for every country, for the latitudes of Paris and London, as well as for those of Calcutta and Lucknow.

On many other points good lessons in war are to be derived from Napoleon's letters

"You cannot have too many staff officers. I do not see that you have chosen any Aid-de-camp of unquestionable ability; and have one Engineer, and one Artillery officer."

Our late enemies the Russians teach us a lesson in the same department. The Czar gives every General Officer the

* Several Major Generals of about fifty years of age have lately been ejected from Brigades, while there are many Brigadiers bordering on sixty; some above that age. One Major General is not less than seventy!

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selection of half his own personal staff, and himself appoints the rest. But who ever heard of an Artillery, Engineer, or other scientific officer, *selected as such*, for the General or Personal staff, in India; and yet where are such men more wanted? If the Generals must be old gentlemen, whose military qualities are for the first time discovered at fifty, sixty, and even seventy; then indeed does it behove Government to surround them with qualified nurses.

But to our task. Our last number compensated for the meagre mention of the Cavalry which abruptly closed the paper on the Indian army in the previous one. We propose now to continue our rough notes on the most urgent wants of the army, especially on those which most easily admit of remedy: to tell of all its wants would require a goodly volume. It is however consolatory to think that the most glaring defects are not only on the surface, but can be removed without difficulty. Their remedy only requires the exercise of ordinary common sense, *in the appliance of materials ready at hand*, and a very slight pull at the purse-strings; indeed *proportionately* a less pull than would be required to insure the life of a healthy soldier. An expenditure of three or four per cent. on the present eleven millions; and placing the right man in the right place, would do all that is required. Would convert a discontented into a contented army; an immoveable into a moveable one; would put it beyond the power of any section of the Military community to beard the Government; perhaps to destroy it.

We pretend to no panacea for all military evils, to chalk out no military Utopia, but simply to bring before the public, in very brief form, the experience of all ages in all departments; to show that men of like creeds, influenced by like motives, and moving under like conditions, *will* combine; that they have always done so, in every clime. Further that creed and colour are to be greatly nullified by slightly varied conditions. Above all, that every man, whatever be his country, creed, or color, has his particular ambition, and that such ambition varies, not only with general creed, color and country; but with individual temperament constitution and circumstances. That the ambition of very few European Soldiers is limited, in their old age, to abundance of cheap grog at Chunar, Cuddalore, or Dapoulee. That, though many sepoys would delight to retire and smoke their hubble-bubbles under the shade of their village trees, yet that their ranks contain many fit for higher destinies, panting for them, and sullen at their non-obtainment. Such are the objects of our past and present essays. To help the Government by helping its servants; to induce

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the former to effect the usual insurance on its property, and prepare the fire engines before the house is on fire; to urge on each individual his own particular duty. Some of our readers will doubtless remark, that we are propounding mere truisms which everybody knows. Everybody *does* know, but what authority *does* act on the knowledge of the foregoing facts? *Are* the right men every where in the right places? Is the army as efficient as it might be? Is it in any rank contented? A dozen more such questions might be answered by all honest men, in the negative. If such be the case, we request attention to Article V. No. LI. of this *Review*, as also to the following remarks. We are quite aware that they are loosely, perhaps illogically arranged. Our facts, however, are beyond question; and we feel that our inferences are not strained. We accordingly propose to hammer both facts and inferences into the public, in our own rough way, until they have at least a trial.

In Military matters the Government of India starts on wrong principles. *Strict* seniority never secured efficiency in any department, in any country. It has only been by superseding the seniors, after the first bungling campaign of each war, that the British army has escaped great disaster. To a less extent the example has been followed in India, where the remedy was much more wanted. Why not prevent war by preparations? *Si vis pacem para bellum*. Muskets and accoutrements, cannon and munitions are all prepared during peace. It would be considered a crying shame for arms to be kept unpolished, belts uncleaned, lines, barracks and magazines to be slovenly and dirty; but what is all this to having at the heads of armies, divisions, brigades and regiments, men less efficient than nine-tenths of those under them. To have age and comparative inefficiency in all posts of authority. To drive the Cromwells and Washingtons from our ranks, and in lieu of them, to place the Whitelockes, Englands and Elphinstones in command!

That this parallel is not exaggerated, every man with an eye to see and an ear to hear can ascertain for himself. He may discover as we have done, a corps of *Light horse* in which nearly every trooper is close on fifty years of age. The old gentlemen paint and dye to such an extent, and are so well set up, that casual observers might easily mistake a "*boodha*" for a "*pukka juwan*." He may talk to Subadars and Jemadars, sixty and even seventy years old. He may perhaps, have served under a Commander-in-Chief who could not mount or sit upon a horse; perhaps his own Commanding officer can do neither. When he has thus cast his eye around, he may contemplate the Jacobs, Chamberlaines, Maynes, Malcolms, Taylors, Edwardeses, Lumsdens, Cokes, Nicholsons and others, who, however favored *above* those of

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their own standing, still chafe at their positions, still feel that they have not their fitting places, and that a seniority service is not the service for them. With regard to the many Singhs, and Khans, Syuds. Begs and Tewaries, who with even more reason, —because their attainable position is much more subordinate— pine in the ranks of the army, such men, one after another leave its service. A Lieutenant-Colonelcy would have retained Washington in the British service. An accident detained Cromwell in England. Men of kindred spirit are not so easily obtained, that when found, they should be scorned, or lightly set aside. Clive conquered and saved India. Individuals have, probably several times since preserved the country.* An individual may also any day, bring it to the verge of ruin; nevertheless scores of individuals, not one of whom would have been intrusted in his youth, health and strength with the charge of a mill, by a sensible cotton-spinner, during a disturbance, are now placed in commands, where their incompetence may any day blow a spark into a flame that may cost hundreds of lives and millions of money. We might go even further, and shew that some of these men have, at every stage of their career, *proved their incompetence*. That as young or middle-aged men, they have been set aside or superseded, to have in their old age, commands thrust upon them, and to be pushed into authority, even on the frontier, to the hinderance of distinguished officers. Such men also are frequently supported by Commandants of Regiments of kindred spirit and physique. The latter, *of course*, recommend, for promotion to commissions, the *oldest* native soldiers, the grounds of election being, that old men are *the most inoffensive, the least dangerous*. What would the Cotton-spinner, or the Mill-master, say to such a system? Why, that the Indian Government deserve to have an inefficient army.

But to return to details. Our closing remarks in No. LI. referred to the Cavalry. We have since made minute calculations, and find that the cost of Irregulars and Regulars is about three to seven against the latter. We have not the means of estimating the proportion of pensions, but are satisfied that the differences would make the ratio fully equal to three to one. That is fifteen hundred *more efficient* horsemen, *for light horse duty*, could be obtained for what now maintains five hundred. What possible reason then is there for delaying a day, to commence modifying the Cavalry to the extent recommended in our last two numbers. No individual, black or white, need be injured; whilst the Government and the army, and many individuals

* Forty years ago Metcalfe wrote "Often has the fate of India depended on a single army; often again may the fate of a great part of India depend on a single army." He lived to verify his words.

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would greatly benefit. A few words of warning however. Let not *half* our scheme be taken. Let not a mongrel system be introduced, or rather continued. Every man, high or low, cognizant of the whole system, allows that the pay of the majority of Irregulars is now too low. Lord Dalhousie allowed it. Sir Charles Napier not only recorded the fact, but fixed thirty, instead of twenty rupees a month for the Sowars he himself raised. He paid native officers proportionally. Let then twenty-five or at the least twenty-four rupees be the horseman's pay, and, what is equally important, let pensions be raised to the footing of the line. With such increases, the expenses of *reformed* Irregulars, will hardly exceed half that of the present Regulars.

We beg those who object to our proposition, to consider what it costs themselves, throughout the year, to keep a horse with gear, accoutrements, &c. Let them then bear in mind that the Sowar has to provide for bad as well as for good seasons, and for dear as well as for cheap localities; for Candahar, with grain at a seer the rupee; as well as for grain countries where thirty and forty seers may be obtained. Government allow mounted officers thirty rupees a month for each horse; few gain materially by such contract; and yet twenty is given to the Trooper, who ought not to be materially worse mounted! Of this twenty, after deductions for the remount-fund, clothing, gear, washing, watermen, barber, &c. there is not, we firmly believe, a Sowar in the service who receives more than seventeen, to feed himself, his family, and his horse, and to provide arms, a tent and a hut! Fix then twenty as the sum to *be actually paid to each man*, every month. Let the balance, whether four or five rupees, be retained in the Commandant's hands for remounts, clothing, &c. and be accounted for every six months. If Commanding officers are fit for their berths, they should be able to arm, mount and equip their regiments better than individuals can. One hundred and fifty rupees is now the usual price of a remount. Where such sum is insufficient,—which in some parts of the country is occasionally the case,—the unfortunate Sowar, already perhaps burdened with debt, has to give the difference, possibly thirty or fifty rupees, from his seventeen rupees monthly pay. He is thus swamped for life. The proposed scheme would prevent the *necessity* of debt, and would enable every Sowar to ride a three hundred rupee horse.

"Bargeers" as now constituted, should be entirely abolished. No respectable man will take service as a bargeer, who when away from head-quarters is little better than a servant to the owner of the horse. Nine bargeers out of ten, of this class, are disreputable fellows. Let the head of a respectable family have as "bargeers," whatever number, within moderation, of his relations,

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that he may wish to bring with him. There is no danger of *their* being made servants of, or of their chief making money out of them. He will neither be willing nor able to do so. Each man will receive his full Government pay; the chief being contented that they, being his Assamees, are dependent on and look up to him as their head. He is thus able to control his young relations, to keep them from being extravagant and to restrain their debaucheries, &c. If it be objected that we advocate the old system of *brotherhoods*, and throw undue power into the hands of native officers, we deny the imputation. Limit the number of "Bargeers" as at present, but encourage *good* men to introduce their kinsmen into the ranks. Government is thus strengthened, the enemy weakened.

No native banker should on any account be allowed. Many regiments do without them; there is no reason why all should not: they only encourage extravagance and debt.

Our scheme then, for the mounted branch of the army; is for Bengal, two regiments of European Dragoons, and six of Regular Cavalry; *all fully officered*; with similar proportions for the other presidencies. The rest of the Cavalry, under whatever names, Irregular, Contingents, Legionaries, &c. to be designated "Hindustani Horse," on not less than twenty-four rupees a month; three-fourths of the regiments to have each three or four European officers; the others to be commanded by natives, and to have a Brigadier* over every two or three regiments. An Inspector is part, and not the least important part of this scheme. He should be an officer of experience, temper and discretion, answering, as far as possible, the description given at a preceding page, by Lieut. Jervis of an efficient Cavalry-commander. Indeed such men only should command cavalry regiments, and from the best of them, Brigadiers (Bukshees) should be selected. A Wellington makes an army; one man *can make or mar* a regiment or a brigade.

If there have been repetitions in the above remarks, the importance of the subject demands them all. The question involved is, whether by reforms, consonant not only to the spirit of the age, but to the genius of the Hindustani horseman, increased contentment and increased efficiency are to be given to the whole mounted branch of the Indian army; the expense required to meet the required change, being only about twelve lakhs or £120,000 a year.

We are quite aware of the financial necessities of the State, and therefore would not throw away a rupee. But bad Caval-

* The Brigadier to be Pay Master, that is *Bukshee* and Deputy Inspector.

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ry are worse than none. If then, there be not means to meet reforms, let the strength of regiments be reduced sufficiently to provide the necessary funds. Four hundred efficient and contented troopers would, in war or in peace, be very preferable to five hundred discontented, badly equipped, and badly horsed Sowars.

Regiments though weak in numbers would be efficient and safe. Hundreds of expectants, all prepared for Jacob's ordeal of "a stiff leap on a bare backed horse" would always be ready for the ranks of a popular service. In a month, under the proposed system, the Hindustani horse might be increased by a sixth, and in three months be doubled. Such a service would give bread in comfort to the poor soldier of fortune, and would afford a chance of honor and competence to the native gentleman. The system would at least, not drive them from our ranks, to Cabul or to any native service; there to introduce our discipline, and, as has often been the case, to turn our own weapons against ourselves.

Let it not be said that the writer of these remarks has a personal interest in Regulars or Irregulars. He has just the interest, and no more, in the Cavalry question, and in army reform generally, that has every loyal British subject in India. It is his interest that the army in all its branches, should be both safe and efficient. Every man is not born a soldier, much less a trooper, nor are horses to be had for the asking. Care, selection, and timely arrangement are scarcely less requisite for organizing Cavalry than Artillery. We lift our voice loudly *in the calm; that it may not be needed in the storm.*

One word more on this point. This review has furnished during the last thirteen years, ample facts and ample theories. Let Government make selections and lay them before three of their best, and *least prejudiced* Cavalry Officers, with orders to carry out details. To fix the arms and accoutrements, for both Regular and Irregular Cavalry, and once for all, to set at rest all controverted questions. We are quite convinced that this scheme carried out, *in its full spirit*, would give the Indian Government the *best light horse in the world for Indian purposes;* we might indeed add for Asiatic purposes.

Regarding both Cavalry and Infantry, we have another suggestion to offer, viz., that the recruiting-fields should be extended. Oude should no longer supply the mass of our Infantry and regular Cavalry; indeed twenty years hence, it will be unable to do so. The Punjab, Nepaul, and the Delhi territory should be more largely indented on; as should the whole North West Provinces, and the military classes of Bombay and Madras. Hardy men, of fair average height, not giants, are

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wanted for light horsemen. The Zouaves and Goorkhas prove that the biggest Light Infantry are not the bravest. We have too long tilled the same fields.

If proof were wanted that abundance of Sikhs are ready to enter the ranks, Capt. Rattray has settled the point. When Sikhs volunteer for Bengal on police-pay, they will assuredly accept better service in better climes. Already have they fought on the Irrawaddy, and volunteered for the Crimea. But assuredly the right plan has not yet been followed, for getting the best Sikhs. As usual, extremes have been tried. On annexation, of the 40,000 or 50,000 Sikhs thrown out of employ, scarcely a tenth were taken into British pay. The Punjaub Irregular Corps were even restricted to ten Sikhs a company. All of a sudden, within two years of the issue of the above restriction, the enlistment of two hundred Sikhs in every Regiment of the Line was authorized. This was indeed going to the other extreme. Fortunately the measure failed, or the Sikh *punchayut* system would probably have been introduced into the British ranks. Some few native Infantry Regiments, stationed in the Punjaub, did boast of having enlisted "a hundred or more" fine Sikhs "who had fought against us in every battle of both campaigns." This was just what might have been expected, but what ought to have been avoided. The older Sikh soldiers should have been sent to their homes, and encouraged to expend their energies at the plough. Their young kinsmen should have been enrolled in *Irregular* Regiments *throughout India*, and should thus have been gradually introduced to British discipline. There was too much of the leaven of insubordination in the Sikh army, to make the sepoy ranks fitting places for the old Khalsa or even for their sons. Time, new scenes and strict discipline, under officers acquainted with their virtues and their vices, were wanted. The ship has, however, righted itself. The *Hindoo* prejudices of Commanding Officers have kept the Sikhs aloof from many regular Corps, and driven them out of others. Some gentlemen wished to cut their hair, forgetting that the very essence of Sikhism lies in its locks. Other officers found Sikhs dirty and troublesome; others, probably unable to get young recruits, hesitated to enlist the veterans of Sher Singh's army. The result is, that the Bombay army has ceased to enlist Sikhs, and that in the seventy-four Bengal Infantry regiments, there are scarcely, three thousand of that faith. We believe we should be nearer the mark, were we to say half that number, for some Sikhs have abjured Sikhism, others have been driven out of it, and not a shadow of encouragement has been given to counteract the quiet, but persistent opposition of the Oude and Behar men.

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That such opposition is no small obstacle to the introduction of new classes into the army, all experienced officers know full well. Even the determination of the present Commander-in-Chief at Madras, when commanding the Hurriana Light Infantry, eighteen years ago, did not enable him to carry such a measure. He tried to introduce into its ranks the hardy "Aheers" and "Ranghurs" of the Province, but failed: we have it from his own lips: the Rajpoots and Brahmins bullied the new levies out of the Corps.

We are tempted to give another anecdote. A corps of the Line, within our observation, that has about four score Sikhs in its ranks, possesses only one Sikh non-commissioned officer, and him of the lowest rank. We asked the reason why the Sikhs had not their proportion of officers. The reply was "why the Naick is the luckiest soldier in the Bengal army." Be it remembered that this luckiest fellow in the Bengal army has served the period which entitles a Civilian to a seat in Council. This is luck indeed, to be a Corporal on about a pound sterling a month, after ten years' service. He is a *remarkable* man, has attracted the special attention of his officers; otherwise he would to his day, have been a sentinel. Had he similarly outstripped all his compeers in the Punjaub service, or in any native service, he would now have been, *at least*, a Commandant, perhaps a Colonel, possibly a Sirdar or even a Rajah. In the Russian, Austrian, or French service he would most likely be a decorated Captain or Field Officer. In the Sepoy army, he is a Corporal! To complete the story, the officer commanding the company, in which was *one* of the batch of Sikhs to which we refer, begged that *this one* too might be made a Naick. The reply was "what has he done that he should be put over the heads of the whole Bengal army." If that man be lucky, he will be a Corporal ten years hence! Such is the inducement, to the finest Infantry soldier in India, to enter the British ranks.

The whole system is wrong. In a few years the survivors of those Sikhs will be simply low caste Hindoos; they will have learnt to object to mess together, and in all points will be as helpless, and as subservient as Brahmins or Rajpoots. The plan to be followed, to get and to keep the best soldiers throughout India, and to *quietly* oppose class against class, and tribe against tribe, is to have separate regiments of each creed or class, filling up half, three-fourths, or even more of the commissioned and non-commissioned ranks from their own numbers. Thus there might be Brahmin, Rajpoot, Aheer, Goojur, Meena, Ranghur, Patan, Mogul, Malay, Goorkah and Sikh Regiments, as also Chumar and Sweeper ones. Each to have a sprinkling of other castes

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or tribes, stout fellows, with *more* than their proportion of promotion, and therefore able to hold their own. Say, in a corps of Brahmins, a hundred Rajpoots and as many Mahommedans. In one of Sweepers a couple of hundred Mahommedans. Similarly with Sikhs and Goorkhas, a sprinkling of hill Rajpoots and Moslems. Such dilutions will be sufficient to prevent, or at least to bring to light, internal disaffection; while it not only cuts off sectarian influence, but unostentatiously opposes class to class and party to party. We have not a doubt that, thus organized, the low caste man who, under present influences, is the mere creature of the Brahmin, would as readily meet him with the bayonet, as he would a Mahommedan. There might still be many Regiments composed much as at present, only keeping the very high, and very low castes more apart.

Some people will say that Brahmins will not act with low caste men. We happen to know better. In the Bombay army, Sweeper Subedars command Brahmin sepoys. We ourselves, have seen Bheels and Meenas, Grassias and Patans, Aheers and Rajpoots, all shoulder to shoulder, all working well and amicably together, notwithstanding that the two first tribes eat carrion, and are classed little, if at all, above Mehturs. We are aware that such arrangements are only to be carried out by tact and determination. In a certain Bheel corps, the Grassias and others, combined to refuse to salute the first Bheel who was promoted to the rank of Subadar. The Commanding officer, having seated the Bheel on a chair by his side, called in the whole company, asked each individual his intentions; ordered him to salute the Bheel and pass on. The Hindustanis did so; *three* Grassias refused. On the instant they were discharged. There was no more hesitation, the Bheel Subedar ever afterwards was duly obeyed.

It is however well known that low caste men give most trouble about caste; that the sweepers of the Bombay and Madras armies are more fanciful than the Brahmins and Rajpoots. Religionists too, whether Hindoo or Mahommedan, whether Syuds, or Brahmins or Swamees influence only the mob, they do not touch each other. They should therefore, have their energies, as far as possible, confined to their own classes.

Under somewhat such arrangements as above suggested, there would be no scarcity of Sikhs or Goorkhas in the ranks, nor indeed if desirable, of Malays, Moplas, and Arabs. At present few *original* Goorkhas enter the British service, simply because it is not worth their while. In our XLIII. number,* was shewn how a thousand Goorkhas had been enlisted in a week. The same means are open any day to Government. Let a popular

* Article. 'Sir Charles Napier's Posthumous work.'

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officer be sent to raise a corps of Goorkhas, in communication with the Resident at Khatmandoo. Let three-fourths of the Native commissions, &c. be given to Goorkhas, and there will be no scarcity of recruits. There must, of course be good management; but the ice once broken, there will always be a fair proportion of Goorkhas in the British ranks.

In Oude, the Punjaub mistake has been reversed. Oude has long been the Alsatia of India. In that province were to be met, even more than at Hydrabad or at Lahore, the Afreedee and Durukzye of the Khyber, the Belooch of Khelat, and the Wazeree of the Sulimani range. There also congregated the idle, the dissipated, and the disaffected of every Native state in India. Added to these were many deserters from the British ranks. Yet the Contingent of twelve thousand men has been almost wholly filled from the old Oude army. The reason assigned for the different line of conduct is, that the Punjaub was conquered, but that Oude fell in peace. In this there is a fallacy, little understood, but not the less a fallacy. Proportionally few of the instigators of opposition at Lahore, and in the Sikh army, were Sikhs. They were British subjects, many of them British deserters. The general feeling of the Sikhs was hardly hostile; many of the Sikhs were friendly, decidedly so, compared with the Hindustanis in the Punjaub service.

The king of Oude employed fifty-nine thousand soldiers; his chiefs and officials at least as many more. Of these vast numbers, one fifth at the utmost have found employment in the police and irregular corps. Yet these levies, with half a dozen regular corps, form the whole army of occupation. This seems a grave mistake. Why not at least make a change? Why not move some of the Punjaub regiments that have been keeping constant watch and ward on the Indus for seven years, to Oude, and send some of the king's people to the North West. The king had some eight thousand Artillery; of these about five hundred may have obtained employment, the rest, old and young, are on the world. Surely if there was danger in employing Sikhs in 1849, it would be well to remove some portion of the Oude levies from Oude, where such materials for mischief still remain. In the province are 246 forts, besides innumerable smaller strongholds, many of them sheltered within thick jungles. In these forts are 476 guns. Forts and guns should all be in the hands of Government, or the forts should be razed. Many a foolish fellow has been urged on to his own ruin, by the possession of a paltry fort; and many a paltry mud fort has repulsed British troops. Forts and intrenched posts moreover, notwithstanding all Sir Charles

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Napier and other great authorities have said, are the bridles and the main safeguards of all, especially of conquered, countries. Spain confirms, indeed all Europe and all history, confirm this opinion, Gibbon imputes the downfal of the Roman Empire, among other causes, to the facts that,

"In the vast extent of the Roman Empire, there were few fortified cities capable of protecting a routed army, nor was there any person, or family, or order of men, whose natural interest, unsupported by the powers of Government, was capable of restoring the cause of a sinking party."

The latter portion of the passage hits the British Government. Hitherto it has made no interest with the people; it therefore the more needs an efficient and contented army.

The eighty or ninety thousand disbanded Oude soldiers are the brethren of the British sepoys. In one sense, this makes them more dangerous, in another more safe. *All* will expect much from Government, most too much. Future tranquillity will greatly depend on the manner, in which justice, firmness, and kindly consideration are combined in Oude arrangements. We simply recommend forethought, moderation, and common sense for Oude, for all new countries, indeed for India generally.

No troops, regular or irregular, should remain for ever in one province. They should move every three or four years; not at one step from Peshawur to Calcutta, as is sometimes the order; but step by step, from one end of the country to the other. All these are very obvious truths; they are, however, not the less disregarded. While on this topic we commend to the attention of Oude, Punjaub and Nagpore administrators, Gibbon's XLIII. Chapter, on the rebellions of Africa when among other events,

"Two-thirds of the Army were involved in the guilt of treason; and eight thousand insurgents, assembling on the field of Bulla, elected Stoza for their chief, a *private soldier*, (the italics are ours,) who possessed in a superior degree, the virtues of a rebel."

Volumes nine and twelve of this *Review*, having largely dwelt on the history, the services, and the necessities of the Bengal Artillery; and intending shortly again to enter in detail on the Artillery question, we need here only cursorily refer to that arm. Except at Guzerat, the Indian army has always been greatly overmatched in guns; and as British Commanders have ordinarily delighted to attack in front, the loss of life has been proportionally great. By reversing the rule at Guzerat, the enemy was smashed at little cost. With very few exceptions our proceedings have been similar, in the conduct of sieges. In 1825-26 at Bhurtpoor, close to the Agra magazine, and with

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the result of the first siege before our eyes; the army nearly ran out of ammunition, and was not oversupplied with guns. The tardy and insufficient supplies on the Sutledge, will be in the memory of many, even though Lahore and Umritsur were expected to resist. Indeed Hatras is the only fortress against which the army went altogether prepared. The result was, success after a few hours' shelling. Those were the days when Lord Metcalfe lifted his voice, to urge the authorities to expend shot and shells rather than human lives. European lives at least are more expensive than ordnance ammunition.

We recently showed that five hundred and six field guns are attached to the Indian army of 323,823 men, being one gun to 630 fighting men, instead of to 500 as, *at the lowest calculation*, should be the equipment. Jomini and other eminent writers give *three* guns to a thousand men as the needful proportion. It is true, as Jomini remarks, that Napoleon conquered Italy with fifty guns, while he failed in Russia with twelve hundred. It is not the less true that his batteries of 50 and 100 guns won him several battles. There is really no excuse for insufficient or inefficient Artillery in India, and yet the proportions here are below the standards of all armies. Moreover of the 506 existing field guns, one hundred and two are what is called irregular, that is have, at the utmost, one officer to six guns. To some few no officer is attached. Such guns can never be as efficient as other batteries. Two officers, at least are absolutely required to each battery; we are glad to perceive that a second officer has recently been appointed to each Punjaub one. In other quarters seconds are equally required. An Irregular battery is an absurdity. It is truly childish, hazarding the efficiency of six guns, on the life and energy of a single officer. Horses should be given to all remaining bullock batteries. What are called "post guns" are as liable to move as any others within the Provinces; their being unable to do so, might on occasion be disastrous.

We quite agree with the late Sir Charles Napier that the Foot Artillery is sacrificed to the Horse, we do not agree as to his remedy. Horse artillery are as requisite to act with Cavalry, as Foot Artillery with Infantry. The whole of the Artillery should always be kept up on the amplest scale, and on the most efficient footing. Notwithstanding all the idle talk of Sikh guns and Sikh practice during the Punjaub war, the Indian Artillery is unmistakeably superior to all that can be brought against it. All the field batteries should be nine-pounders, as all but one, and "the Mountain train," are in Bengal. Indeed we would have half the Horse Artillery of that calibre, and keep a nine-pounder equipment for *every*

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troop ready at the nearest magazine. The change from sixes to nines of the Royal Artillery, just previous to Waterloo, may have saved that glorious day; the nine-pounders did at least greatly help to win it. Two or three elephant field batteries should be kept up, at points on the trunk or railroad, whence they could be made most generally available.

In a former paper, we remarked that 300 battering guns, with as many mortars might be turned out of the Indian magazines in a month; we should like to think that every magazine could move a second class train in a fortnight. We are aware that the present Inspector General is quite alive to the subject. We desire to strengthen his hands. Why are there not Inspectors of Ordnance at Madras and Bombay? And why is not the school of instruction at Meerut, put on a really efficient footing? Half the object in moving the Bengal Artillery Head Quarters to Meerut, has been lost by petty savings. The Artillery is one of the last legitimate fields for retrenchment.

The next increase in Artillery-men, may, with advantage, be partly Golundauze. They are admirable soldiers, die at their guns, never join in disaffection, scarcely ever in discontent. Regarding Golundauze, there has been at all the Presidencies, more than the usual see-saw of the Indian army.* In Calcutta, a hundred years ago, *Foreigners, Papists* and natives were prohibited entering the arsenal. Half a century later the Bengal Artillery were stronger in natives, than in Europeans. A few years afterwards, as the tide of suspicion again rose, whole battalions of these fine fellows were discharged, and driven for bread into the enemy's ranks. Again, the Golundauze were increased, and again reduced. Sometimes mixed up with Europeans, at other times placed on their old formation. Then again Lascars were largely employed, good fellows in their way, but not to be put on a par with, still less in the place of, Golundauze. These unnecessary changes; and above all, the reduction of pay to the level of Infantry, have affected the confidence and the efficiency of the Golundauze. The same style of men are not now enlisted in any Presidency as formerly; and should Golundauze be again required in a hurry, they will not be as easily recruited as of old. In all native armies, the Artillery are the best and trustiest men. They are always true to their guns; they worship them. But Artillery-men are not made in a day, nor is it either prudent or economical to teach sepoys to work guns, in substitution for short numbers of Golundauze. The latter can better and more safely do Infantry duty, than Infantry theirs. Serving the vent, sponging and ramming are only the A. B. C's. of an Artillery-man's work. But under any

* See Broome's, Buckle's and Begbie's Volumes.

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circumstances, when Golundauze and Sepoys are paid at exactly the same rates, why put extra temptation in the way of the larger body. A thousand Golundauze cost no more than as many Sepoys. The more is the pity. They should be taught to consider themselves a separate and selected body. No Sepoy should touch a gun. The Golundauze should be in numbers, amply sufficient for all post guns; with large reserves to take their share in siege operations.* Their number should not exceed the European artillery, but whatever the number and proportions, let the Golundauze receive *the one extra* rupee. It would be good economy. We repeat that our arrangements are for the storm, as well as the sunshine; for the possibility of a Russian army at Herat; simultaneously with an American fleet off Bombay. But whether in peace or in war; the more the several arms are kept apart, the better. Perpetual *ordinary caution* in this matter, as on other points, prevents occasional spasmodic alarms, which alarms again put mischief into men's minds.

The fame of the Indian Artillery, is world-wide; there is no finer. The Bombay men are not behind their Bengal and Madras fellows in esprit-de-corps, or soldierly qualities: why does not some Bombay Artillery-man follow the example set by Capt. Buckle and Major Begbie, and record the services of his Regiment? Such compilations are valuable. Indeed every corps should have its history. What better stimulus to the young soldier, than to read the record of his brethren's services? Such memorials too, would tend to draw together officers and sepoys. In the Regimental "*Twareekh*," they would have something in common: the honor of the corps would then be more palpably in the keeping of each individual. No deed of personal bravery of the youngest sepoy or drummer boy, would pass unrecorded. Each might hope to live in history.

The Bengal army is largely indebted to Major Broome for his excellent history. Its tone is admirable, and its painstaking research most praiseworthy. We sincerely hope the Major is at work on its continuation, and that the three Armies will at least take as many copies as will cover his expenses. It is not creditable to any regiment to be without his first volume; nor could any person desiring to acquaint himself with early British Indian history, have a better or more impartial guide.

* The reserve Artillery-men are altogether insufficient. At every siege from Seringapatam to Mooltan, the Artillery-men were in battery two nights out of three, often many successive nights. At Sobraon, the men of three Troops, worked the heavy ordnance until their ammunition was expended, and then joined their own six-pounders.

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Engineers and Sappers even more than Artillery, ought to be kept in full strength. Sappers are not used in public works to the extent they might be. The men should not have the disbursement of public money, but should be liberally rewarded according to their zeal and abilities, as Sappers are, when employed in England on the Trigonometrical survey, &c. By such peace duties, Engineer officers, sergeants, and native Sappers are kept in training; and while largely aiding the works of peace are preparing themselves for war.

A few words on the calling of military Engineers at the three Presidencies. In war their duties are important, and in sieges they are the virtual commanders. It was the joke of the camp, how Cheape kept the nominal Commander at Mooltan, informed from day to day of the work he intended should be performed. Irvine's, Abbott's, Waddington's, Smith's, Napier's, Baker's, Tremenhere's, Scott's, Durand's and Thomson's services during recent campaigns are in the memory of our readers. Still more valuable are the services of such men, during peace. A Cotton, a Boileau, a Napier or a Cautley is worth a Brigade. This is the only portion of the army that *pays* at all seasons. So few civil Engineers of ability, consider it worth their while to come to India, that all civil engineering is virtually in the hands of the Military. We are not quite clear that this is the best arrangement, but under improved management, it may be made very much more effective than at present.

Promotion has recently been good in the Engineers. In the higher ranks, they are nearly ten years a head of their sister corps the Artillery; but they are still numerically weak for the work required at their hands. The consequence is that there is more poaching on their domain than on any other. The Artillery, with reason, scream when people even talk of posting Infantry officers to field batteries; but the Engineers obtain little sympathy when some of their best berths are monopolized by outsiders. Nor indeed should we pity them were better men put over their heads; were Cautleys, Maxwells, Prices, Balfours and Longdens to be had for the asking; but such is not the case. By all means let the best man be selected for every berth in every department; but be sure he is the best, before trained and able men are superseded. Far be it from us, to join the cuckoo-cry in favor of individuals. There are plenty without our aid, to advocate the cause of the incompetent; our voice is for 'the right man in the right place.'

Engineer officers are the elite of the service. They are the *selections*, and generally very fair selections from the mass of Addiscombe. The energies of many are, however, damped by

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the treatment they meet in India. They win the race, but obtain not the prizes. The latter are too often reserved for the sluggard and the incompetent. Few Engineer officers would select the Engineers for their own sons.

Great pains are taken at home to qualify the young Engineer officers for the important and arduous duties which they are called upon to perform in India. The great error, however, is in so calling on them at too early a period after arrival. This may, in a measure, account for cracked and broken bridges, for unfinished and ill-made roads, and for high rates. While yet apprentices, and while ignorant of the rudiments of the language, and of civil routine, they have heavy responsibilities thrown on them, and are put to deal with the veriest rogues in India.

Every young Engineer officer on arrival in India, should be sent to the head-quarters of the Sappers and Miners, now also the head-quarters of the Corps; and he should not be withdrawn on any grounds or pretence, until he had passed at least one year of probation with the Corps; had attended the schools regularly, and been well instructed in the technical language and practice of Sapper-Engineering duties as conducted in India. Most young officers could during this year of probation, pass the P. H. examination, and this should be made a sine qua non for their employment in any independent substantive charge. The rule is enforced with regard to officers of other branches of the services, appointed to the staff, and it is only fair and proper that the same rule should be extended to the alumni of the Engineer department. Few young officers when they have once quitted the Sappers, after their few months' sojourn with the corps, ever rejoin it, unless perhaps on active service in the field. Thus unless grounded in the vernacular phraseology of their craft, and instructed on their first arrival in the various processes of their duties, as conducted in India, it is perfectly certain that they will not acquire these very important and necessary qualifications in after-life; while as builders and civil engineers, their talents will remain hidden, or lose half their value, until a competent knowledge of the vernacular language shall enable them to communicate their knowledge in language intelligible to the people of the country. Our advice is thus to instruct them well, then to trust them largely, and pay them liberally.

The abolition of the Bengal and Bombay Military Boards was a grand measure. But the rubbish has not yet been all cleared away. Commissary Generals, Inspector-Generals of Ordnance and Chief Engineers must have more authority; must each respectively be put into a position assimilating more to that of the old Boards, than each now fills, before the new

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system can be expected to work smoothly. Chief Engineers must not be made mere Postmen and Clerks to local Governors. They are the most scientific and among the ablest and most zealous officers in the service. Their positions should be of high honor, considerable authority and great comfort. At present this is far from the case. The sooner the matter is righted the better. We commend the subject, as also the following anecdote, to the attention of the Secretary in the Public Works Department. We might tell many such tales.

Some three years back, a sanatory measure urgently recommended by a medical officer, involving an expense of six hundred rupees, was reported. The immediate superior, a person of high rank, authorized the measure, and the local officer carried it out. Sanction was quickly obtained from the Supreme Government; but a greater than Lord Dalhousie, the Auditor General had not been consulted. A few words in red ink negatived his Lordship's order, and the bill was made over to the Military Board. After many months the Board passed and sent it to the Military Accountant for adjustment. In due course the cash was paid. After a considerable interval, however, the Military Auditor General *again* interfered and retrenched the full amount. *Again* was the matter referred to the Supreme Government which passed it on to the Local Government, and after six months more it was finally sanctioned, and the retrenchment recovered through the local Chief Engineer. Thus during more than two years, some forty official letters had been written, and innumerable copies been made for one authority or another, and during all this time the zealous officer who had expended his private means, in the cause of humanity, was out of pocket £60. Such delay could not now occur, but six months or more of the delay in this very case, did take place during the present order of things, and we believe that with a less energetic officer than the local chief Engineer, twelve months more might have passed before the cash had been recovered.

Much reform is still required in the Commissariat. As yet, in some quarters at least, confusion and expense seem rather to have increased than diminished, by recent changes. In the cattle department for instance, the new arrangements were inaugurated by the sale of the greater part of the public stock. Under such circumstances, only nominal prices were, of course, obtainable; but scarcely were the elephants, camels and bullocks sold, than out came an order to re-purchase. The fortunes of some rising "Jotee Pursads" were accordingly made at Government expense. We know not whose was this see-saw move, but such was the fact. We refer specially to sales at a certain large station, and we have reason to believe that

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throughout the Bengal Presidency, sales, re-purchases, discharges and re-enlistments followed each other quickly. Such has always been the East India Government's fate in war time. This was a peace measure.

Half the Commissariat expenses during war is attributable to such doings; to alternate haste and delay; above all to untrustworthy agency. War is expected or a movement is to be made in any quarter, whether within or without our limits. At once the market is up, *not* for the contractors, but for the Government. The former *practically* have the benefit of the earliest intelligence. They buy at twenty seers for the rupee, sell at ten; and again after a few weeks or months, re-purchase the accumulated stores, perhaps at fifty. Jotee Pursad's trial proved how cattle contracts were managed. But reform has now commenced. The great contractor has himself arranged for a small retaining fee, to hold some thousand cattle available for the public service. This is a good move. On this principle, contracts for all Commissariat necessaries should be made. In our opinion, they can be most cheaply effected by civil officers; the Commissariat officers looking only to quantity and quality. Let local Governments through their most efficient Civil officers, contract with monied men, to supply at fixed points, within given periods, certain quantities of grain, cattle, &c. and let a given proportion be always kept available, under special restrictions, for the contractor's own purposes.

We propose that these arrangements be made by civil officers because *they* ought to have most influence in the country; ought to know the soundest traders; and to be able to make the cheapest bargains. The Commissariat should look to the terms of contracts being kept, and should manage all details: a few *well paid* Inspecting officers, men not above their work, and accustomed to such matters, with *well paid* natives under them, will suffice for all the suggested duties. A single active officer could ordinarily supervise a Province. *No Serjeants*, and very little inferior European agency should be employed in the department. The temptation is too great. If the officer does his duty, little subordinate supervision is required. The *legitimate* work of Serjeants, can be better done by natives. The *legitimate* work of gentlemen, should be done by gentlemen, trained to the work. Some of them, at least, might be mercantile men from England. Indeed we are disposed to think that the Commissariat might advantageously be altogether a civil establishment, as is now the case in the Royal army; but our Indian "Mr. Filder" should be at least a K. C. B., and so be hoisted well above the vulgar depreciation of the Commissariat service, so general through the Peninsular and Crimean wars.

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The Commissariat must be a well paid and respectable body; every responsible official having the status and pay of a military officer. But there should be no irresponsible agency, contractors strictly kept to contract work, and not permitted, by their money-influence, to overshadow and bully, even the chief Commissariat officers.

By our scheme, *very small* annual payments will give Government the command of markets at all times; instead of, as at present, leaving it in every difficulty, at the mercy of its own *nominal* servants. Retaining fees may, in many cases, be almost nominal. Monied firms gain so much in credit by Government contracts, that they can afford to deal for small profits. Their stores will be laid in at harvest-time, and by sale of half or three-fourths at sowing time, they will at least cover their own expences, having their full retaining fee as profit. Similarly, by being permitted, within limits, to work the cattle they keep up, they can afford to charge the merest trifle. Such a scheme would involve clashing, some must necessarily occur at first; but Lieut. Governors and the Commissary General could *easily* stop all that. A few severe examples would suffice. And as long as Inspectors and Receivers, European and Native, are paid sufficiently well to make it *worth their while* to be independent of contractors, but at the same time to do their duty to them, as well as to Government; all else will work well. Officers enough are now in the department to do the needful. Numbers might even be reduced; but pay and position should be raised. Zeal and ability should be the sole passports to promotion in all ranks. Let also venality be promptly and severely punished, and all will soon be smooth. We repeat that much has been done in this department. To simplify accounts and insist on their being promptly rendered, would be immense points.

A Transport train should be established; one combining the virtues of Sir Charles Napier's Baggage-Corps, and of those recently employed by the Allied armies in the Crimea. Hints may also be taken from the Russians; from their wonderful organization and application of resources. Organization and Military discipline in this department, are as requisite as in any other branch of the army. Economy and efficiency will both be thus best secured. An Indian army can never move like a European one; but still there is very much that can be effected, *if officers will set the example*. There was no more necessity, as *was* the case, for a Lieut. Colonel to take three Elephants and double-poled tents, and glass doors, to Candahar; than for him to have taken the Crystal Palace. Neither was it necessary for subalterns to take dressing-boys and deputy dressing

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boys, and butlers, with their assistants, &c. throughout those campaigns.

Mr. Kaye has recorded that Sir John Keene's army was accompanied by five non-combatants for every soldier. In such a country *every* man should have been armed, and the camp-followers should not have exceeded the fighting men. It is all nonsense to say that the present system is necessary. It is not. General Pollock had not half General Nott's number of followers; nor were such proportions found necessary during either the first or second Burmah war. Three or four servants will suffice, for a time, for each officer. They, and indeed all ranks should have as good cover, over their heads, *as circumstances admit of;* but it is nonsense to expect to carry all *peace-luxuries* into war. Indeed the attempt to do so, too often leads to the abandonment or failure of *necessaries*. There should be a Director General of baggage, with deputies, and assistants for divisions and brigades, as in continental armies. They should be stern men, of somewhat Napierean views, with authority to burn all extra baggage, and all burthens of overloaded cattle. Those who remember Burmah, or who bear in mind the passes of Affghanistan, *crammed* with cattle and human beings, even as poppy heads; who remember grain at a rupee a seer, and water nearly as scarce as beer, will feel with us that the very existence of Armies should not be risked to give Cleopatra sofas and fresh bread to gentlemen whose services, at best, are ill worth such price.

With a Staff Corps would, of course, come more efficient staff establishments in all departments. Good Regimental officers who had studied their profession, in all its arms, would then, as in the Continental armies, be attached to the *Etat Major* and according to their more special qualifications be distributed into the Adjutant and Quarter Master General's and other departments. No one will pretend that the best man is now selected for either of those important branches. We cannot indeed be said to have a Quarter Master General's department at all. We never had. The present heads are striving to make up for departmental deficiencies, but the whole department requires regeneration and extension; in short radical reform. Assistant Quarter Master Generals should be the eyes of Divisional Commanders, not merely their Aide-de-camps; still less should they be gentlemen at large, occasionally, in fine weather, marching with large perambulators along high roads.

We have suggested the formation of a Staff corps. A word as to details. The French *Etat Major*, is a distinct Corps, admission to which is only obtained, as in the Engineers and Artil-

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lery by a special education, and when this has been completed and the requisite examination passed, by a fixed period of Regimental duty with each of the three arms of the service, in the grade of Subaltern. Adverting to local peculiarities, we would require an officer to serve from two to four years with his original corps, when, armed with a certificate that he thoroughly understood his regimental duty, was physically active, zealous, and intelligent, he should, after passing the Interpreter's examination in the languages, be admitted into the Staff Corps. No man is thoroughly fit for staff duties without such qualifications. He should, in addition, pass for a particular department.

First. Adjutant General's, Military Secretariat, and Judge Advocate General's Department.

Second. Quarter Master General's and Survey.

Third. Civil and Political employment.

Fourth. Army Finance Departments, as Pay, Audit, Commissariat.

Fifth. Miscellaneous, as Military Police, Baggage, &c. &c. Government to fix tests for each department. High proficiency in other branches, might permit the P. H. to be substituted for the Interpreter's test in individual cases, but we look on a thorough colloquial knowledge of the languages, next to good judgment, the very first qualification for a staff officer. Half the contre-temps and violences that occur between Europeans and natives, are occasioned by mutual ignorance of language. Book learning is less required, but ability to read accounts and Sepoy's letters, is important. Many Civilians, never acquire the power, and are accordingly much at the mercy of their own Moonshees. Good colloquial knowledge, acquired by free association with all ranks, will render other lingual attainments comparatively easy. By such processes, the Staff Corps would possess soldierly officers, qualified by study for every branch of duty, whether civil or military. After passing the Interpreter's examination, and being furnished with a certificate of proficiency in his regimental duties the staff candidate should then be sent to do duty for one year with each of the other branches of the service, his name being struck off his original regiment, and enrolled in the staff corps. A staff man would thus have done from five to seven years' regimental duty, and be about twenty-four years of age, before being eligible for staff duty. He would have fairly won his spurs, and would then be available, according to qualification and the test he had passed, for any department.

It will be observed that we have thrown the whole civil as well as military staff into the Staff Corps. We have done so

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deliberately, and after much consideration, as agreeing with Lord Hardinge,* that it is useful to have officers qualified for both civil and military duties on the strength of the army.

Such is the Oriental system, which is too much overlooked or even despised. Orientals put a man of energy and ability to the front, whatever be his antecedents, whether he were a slipper-bearer or a pipe-bearer, a slave or a son of a slave, a Pasha or a son of a Pasha. In troubled times and places, at least, they put such a man in authority with *full power*. On the other hand, Englishmen judging by English rules, split up, and separate offices, thereby puzzling Natives where to look for justice, and often obliging officials to waste half their time in forms and squabbles. England has no need of Rome's fears. The most popular Governor General would not be followed in rebellion by a single regiment. Yet Rome won and held the world under Consuls and Pro-consuls. Even the jealous Augustus armed his Governors

"with the full powers of the Sovereign himself. It was reserved for Constantine by divided administration to relax the vigors of the state."†

We do not altogether advocate Roman powers for British officials, although there cannot be a doubt that half Sir Charles Napier's success in Scinde is attributable to his despotic powers. A fool so armed, will get into a mess; but a man of ordinary judgment will consult others, where he is himself deficient, and by prompt action will cover a multitude of defects. For the next fifty or a hundred years, there must be non-regulation provinces and military Civilians. Indeed we would always have them, and uncovenanted officers also, were it only for a stimulus to Civilians, and a fillip to routine practices.

Thus, according to qualification, men would be posted to civil and political berths, to the Adjutant General's, Quarter Master General's, Finance, Supply, Baggage, Law and other departments.

They might rise regimentally, as vacancies occur, in the Staff Corps, or being originally appointed in that corps, according to army standing, they might be promoted at fixed periods, so as to reach Lieut. Colonelcies in twenty-five years. Or present incumbents might be promoted on the day on which each would have obtained *each* step had he remained with his original regiment. The regimental rank being secured, each departmental step would only be *won* by efficiency, by hard work, and by keeping pace with the times. The regimental pay might be, as

* Evidence before the Lords.
† Gibbon, Book xvii.

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that of the Engineers; separate staff allowances being allotted as at present for each office, *and a fresh test required on each departmental step up to certain periods.* If men became lazy or apathetic, they might be restricted to small inoffensive berths, or if physically or mentally qualified, be sent as juniors of their rank to do duty with a corps of the line. After two reports, at intervals of six months, of continued apathy, they should be discharged, pensioned, or invalided according to the circumstances of each case. There would be no more difficulty in disposing of each cases, than of that of the late Colonel Davidson of the Engineers. To place incompetents on the shelf, and to employ men in positions according to their talents, is following common sense rules. Thus a Captain might, be Commissary General, a field officer his Deputy. Other posts would be similarly filled.

It strikes us that some such arrangements provide, as fairly as is practicable, for all circumstances and would not be difficult to work. They would effectually *check*, if not altogether prevent jobbery, would give all young *working* officers an object to work for, and still would not altogether shut the staff doors to regiments. The scheme would, at least, put down the present cry of favoritism and thus induce comparative contentment. If it did no more than allay present restlessness, much good would be effected.

The Corps would be large or small, according to the necessities of the service and would, like other regiments, annually receive drafts to fill up vacancies. Our scheme will be called incomplete, because it does not shut the staff door *entirely* to regimental officers. This is intentional. All men do not ripen early. A very efficient regimental officer may be idle during the first three or four years of his service, or his education may have been neglected. Such a man, if of commanding talent or energy, should not be lost to the *Etat Major*. Ochterlony, Barry Close, and other eminent staff officers would have been excluded from high employment by such a rule. The arrangement would, however, lessen the necessity of drafts from the line. After its formation, one Captain and two Subalterns from each regiment should be the utmost allowed on the staff. Most of these would probably go to irregular corps. They should, however, be available for all staff posts, remaining on the strength of their original corps. In fixing the strength of Regiments and Battalions, allowance should be made for these three absentees, and for one in four absent on furlough, &c.

Calculating then the staff to eventually require six officers for each of the 219 Regiments and Battalions in the service, and 657 or half the number to be attached to the Staff Corps,

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the expense will be in round numbers a quarter of a million sterling. At least half of this would however be civil charges, as pay of men *ready on emergency for military duty*.

A delicate point remains. Are the staff to be eligible for command? The recent order, making the command of a regiment and certain posts the only roads to a full Colonelcy, implies that such is the present intention. The rule does not work well, and has already put bad juniors over good seniors. Its tendency is to exclude from eventual command, many of the very best officers in the service, men who have risen by their military merits. We feel that we can argue this point without prejudice. In discussing it, we have no purpose to answer but the good of the state. The question is not, what is best, or even fairest, for this or for that individual, but what is best and fairest for the service. Whether in a great calamity,—and Government should always be ready for one,—the public, and, above all, those immediately concerned, would place most confidence in soldiers like Broadfoot, Jacob, and Edwards, or in hap-hazard seniority commanders. Whoever would have preferred Xenophon to Menon, or Pottinger to Elphinstone, must vote with us. It is doubtful whether Xenophon was a soldier* at all, when he was raised to command on the shields of the soldiery. Herat proved Pottinger to have been a thorough soldier, though he was far from being what is called a clever man. Washington was a Militia man and a Surveyor. Cromwell a country gentleman. *They* were all *born* soldiers.

The Staff Corps must then correspond with the *Etat Major*. Its Colonels must come on the general gradation list, it being always optional with Government to keep men to their gram bags, law books, &c. or to put them in command of brigades. General Huyshe, one of the most efficient officers in the Bengal army, rose to his majority in the Commissariat; and General Lumley one of its best Adjutant Generals, was transferred from the head of the Commissariat to be Adjutant General. The command of European Regiments is given to the smartest officers. Huyshe commanded one, and Colonel Swatman, who also rose in the Commissariat, now commands another: we mention these names and dwell on the question because we daily hear it said "So-and-so can know nothing of his duty, he was all his life in the Commissariat, &c." We particularize the Commissariat, as being a department, perhaps less soldierly in its character than others. The Quarter Master Generals, and Survey Departments, are among the best schools for war, as are many of the duties of the Military Collector and Magistrate.

* Rollin calls him a young Athenian; Plutarch says Cyrus gave him a commission.

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They are akin to Wellington's hunting parties; they improve the *coup d'œil*, sharpen the perceptions and give opportunities of display of courage, hardihood and resource. Five to seven years of mixed military duties, in early life, would instil into soldierly Civilians, all requisite details. It is not by three times a day, seeing soldiers eat their rations, or horses twice a day, eat their gram, or is it even by, year after year, driving fuzes and portfires, or by marching round barrack squares, that officers learn to be soldiers, much less to be Generals. Such avocations are rather the necessary drudgeries of the profession; with hasty spirits, they cramp rather than foster eminent attainments. The soldier in heart will keep up his military knowledge wherever or however he may be placed. He will also avail himself of opportunities to take part in battery practice, and in field exercise, nor will his steps be unfrequently turned, towards the regimental parades, hospitals, and target practice. *He* will enjoy such avocations, while many Regimental men expend their energies in execrating them.

In short we altogether deny that the officer who has passed his life in small regimental details, and in performing Dundas' eighteen manœuvres, or any one else's twenty-eight, is likely to prove a better Commander in field or in garrison, than the one, who, with from five to seven years' practical military education, has early distinguished himself above his fellows as a soldier; and, in later years, has been knocking about the country as a Quarter Master General, a Surveyor, a Magistrate, or a Collector. We even question, whether the individual of like antecedents, whose wits have been sharpened by the duties of a military Lawyer or Commissariat officer, will not, as a rule, be as efficient, as the man of regimental details. We argue on the rule, *not* the exception. There are undoubtedly excellent regimental officers and very bad staff men. Facts however bear out our argument. Among the highest names in European warfare, are those of men who performed little regimental duty. In the Indian ranks also, the Pollocks, the Notts, the Gilberts and the Cheapes of the present day, did as little battalion drill, as did the Malcolms, the Munros, and the Clives of old.

We are very far from decrying the school that produced Colin Campbell, Henry Havelock, Markham, Franks, and hosts of good soldiers in the Company's ranks. We simply aver with all confidence, that there is nothing erudite, nothing difficult in Dundas, nor in more modern books of manœuvres; on the contrary, that any dolt may learn his Battalion drill, and even the Light infantry manœuvres in a few weeks; that many do so, and are little the wiser; that they are practically as great dolts as ever, and that not one out of a dozen of them could

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get a Brigade out of Hyde Park, much less manœuvre it before an enemy. No; it is not elementary knowledge, such as barrack life, or regimental parades can give, that is most essential to a commander. It is *good sense*, energy, thoughtfulness, and familiarity with independent action. Above all, it is that coolness under all circumstances, that enables a man to apply the full resources of his mind, and without *fear of responsibility*, to act upon his own judgment. Few will deny these obvious truths. Then, in all common sense, let not at least working men be *excluded* from command, and those hoisted over their shoulders, who have neither studied their profession as these have done, nor had their opportunities. Such practice would deprive Government, perhaps in its necessity, of the military services of its *best*, or at least of its most accomplished soldiers.

In all we have propounded, we are borne out, not only by Asiatic practice, but by the practice and theory of the Continental masters of war. We have already more than once referred to Jomini; we do so again, as his words are very apposite to our argument. He tells us that a chief commander of artillery should be a good strategist and tactician, a man who could consult with the Commander-in-chief, and bring into play, at the most effective moment, not only the reserve artillery, but half the guns attached to divisions. This is common sense, but is not what is learned at Dum-dum, Meerut, the Mount, or Ahmednugger. Those head-quarters turn out excellent practical artillerists, but few strategists or tacticians. We quote in more detail Jomini's views as to the requisite qualifications of a Commander-in-chief, also his opinion as the arm whence he may be best drawn. The translation or rather paraphrase is our own.*

"A General must be a man of great mind, of a moral courage, which leads to great resolutions, of sang-froid or physical courage, which overcomes dangers. Knowledge is only a third-rank requisite, but is a powerful auxiliary. Vast erudition is not here meant. It is necessary to know little, but to know that little well, and to be well grounded in principles." * * *

"The question has often been agitated whether command should be given to the General long habituated to the management of troops, or to Generals who have risen in the *Etat Major*, and though learned in war, have been little habituated to handle troops. It is indisputable that a General may be able to combine operations, and carry on war on a large scale, who never led a regiment against the enemy. The great Condé, Frederic and Napoleon are examples."

* Precis de l'art de la guerre par le Baron de Jomini. Paris 1837, pages 604 and 605.

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Jomini proceeds. "It cannot be denied that a man from the *Etat Major, as well as any other*, may become a great Captain, but it will not be from having grown old in the functions of Quarter Master* but *because he possesses the natural genius for war*. A General of like character from the Cavalry or Infantry, will be equally fit for supreme command. *Individual qualities* will be every thing."

"In coming to a decision, all points must be considered, and a medium taken. A General from the Etat Major, from the Artillery, or from the Engineers, who has held the command of a division or corps d'armee, will have, other points being equal, a *superiority* over the General who understands the conduct of only one arm, or of a special corps."

"In brief a General who has *thought much on war*, that is, has studied war, will be qualified for command. A great and comprehensive mind *is, above every other quality*, necessary for a Commander-in-chief. Lastly, the union of a wise theory with a great mind will constitute the great Captain."†

Such are the dicta of one of the ablest, and most practical, military writers of the present age. Of one who was the chief of Ney's staff, and who is supposed to have inspired his genius. Of one who, even as a traitor to the side on which he had so long fought, was so much respected as a soldier, by the Emperor Alexander, that he made him an Aide-de-camp, and put him at the head of an army. Jomini advocates all we urge. Genius is heaven-born. Strategy, tactics, and all else must give way on occasion. A General must *understand* rules and principles, but not be the slave of them. Neither rules nor principles require the term of a life to learn. He must have moral and physical courage, and ready aptitude to apply his resources. These qualifications are somewhat akin to genius. They *are* to be cultivated, though not to best advantage under dry routine. The India Government has seldom the power of selection from Generals who have commanded divisions. It is limited to select between Commanders of Regiments and men who, like Generals Patrick Grant and Cheape, and Colonels Tucker and Birch, though of known ability, not only never led a Regiment into action, but never commanded one for a day.‡ Or the selection may be extended to a third class, to men distinguished in youth as soldiers, but afterwards employed as Civilians; to the Broadfoots, Edwardes, Lakes, Bechers, and Nicholsons of India; to the Hardinges, Raglans and Cathcarts of the Royal Army. The importance of the subject tempts us again to quote Jomini;

"A General instructed in theory, but destitute of coup d'œil, of

* In the Russian army for which Jomini wrote, the Quarter Master's Department combines the General Staff.

† Jomini, Part I. pages 110, 111, and 112.

‡ General Grant is the exception, but the corps was Irregular.

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sang-froid and of skill, may make a fine strategic plan, but fail in every law of tactics, *when he finds himself in presence of an enemy*. His projects will then vanish, his defeat become probable. If he has force of character, he may diminish the bad results of his check; *if he loses his head, he will lose his army*."

Few soldiers in India have witnessed much strategy; but many have witnessed the failure of tactics *in the presence of the enemy*, aye, and every day witness it on their own parade grounds, when "Adjutants' Regiments" in the hands of routine Lieutenant Colonels and Majors, even though they may "have never been on leave for a day for thirty years," are clubbed up and tortured in every conceivable way. [The men who never go on leave are not the best officers. All work and no play makes jack a dull boy.] The card system fails. The man who *never reflected* in his life cannot be expected to reflect, on an emergency. An inequality or contraction of ground puts him out, the unexpected appearance of a crabbed Brigadier flusters him; the whirlwind rush of a Sir Charles Napier down the line, frightens him out of his senses; cards, manuals, catechisms, and all other helps are forgotten, and the unhappy Field officer is like 'a babe in a wood.' He loses his senses, and is alike the laughing stock of his sable soldiers, and of his younger countrymen. Is such a man,—and there are scores of them,—the fitting leader of a brigade through the Bolan or the Khybur; up the Persian gulf, or to China or Burmah? Yet they are the men so sent, daily so selected. Can such men be expected to preserve their senses in the presence of the enemy? That such men have not lost armies is no fault of the present system, but is attributable to the courage and skill of subordinates, and to the *Ikbal* of the company. But let not Providence be too long tempted. Rome lost her Legions when commanded by Generals who were soldiers only in name. Napoleon's words into his brother Louis at Toulon apply to our argument. Standing in midst of the corpses of 200 Grenadiers slain through the ignorances of their Commander, at the assault of an impregnable side of Fort Phuron, he observed

"If I had commanded here, all these brave men would be still alive. Learn Louis, from this example, how absolutely necessary instruction is to those who aspire to command others."

We have dwelt so much on the mischiefs of routine and strict seniority, and on the evils of having decrepit or incapable officers at the head of Troops, that it behoves us to offer some remedy for present evils. We know that the seniority system cannot be uprooted altogether, nor indeed do we desire to up-

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root it. Seniority must be the basis of Indian promotion, but seniority may be, and must be helped over the stile.

In the first place then let us earnestly deprecate the threatened closing of the Invalid establishment. As Sir George Pollock deposed before the Lords, it has often been grossly abused, but so have other establishments. Army Head Quarters and the doctors between them, ought to be able to prevent gross abuses. Invalid officers ought to be employed, as they usually have been at Madras and Bombay, in duties commensurate with their powers. It is by leaving them as gentlemen at large that malingering is encouraged. Our objection to the abrogation of the establishment is on the double ground that present incumbents have a sort of right to its advantages, and that it is a safe outlet for incapables. This latter is surely a substantial reason for its maintenance. What matter whether a man be unwilling or unable, so that he *do not perform* his duty. His disease may be real, though not apparent. It is indeed a grievous disease to prefer idleness and inaction to moderate work. It is surely then better to shelve such diseased gentlemen in *small* civil posts requiring only an hour or two's daily work,* than to have them at the head of Companies or Regiments. In garrison duty with veterans, commanded by good officers, they may also earn their bread. We pray then the authorities to let the Invalids stand, but to employ then as above suggested. The alternative is to allow Invalid Officers to cumber the regular ranks. Commanding officers are men with bowels, and such men will not drive respectable incompetents, with families, out of their corps, to starvation. The pension establishment, in lieu of the Invalids, would be starvation to many.

But we have a more substantive proposal to make. A scheme for an Unattached List for the armies of India, prepared with a view to relieve the service from the weight of seniority, now lies before us, and *as far as it goes*, it seems well suited to effect the object. We therefore notice it at length.

First let us glance at the measures which have been adopted by the Court of Directors during the last twenty-five years, to improve the condition of their officers.—In 1832 the Court expressed themselves desirous of remedying the then stagnant state of promotion, and of providing for the comfort of their officers on retirement. They intimated their willingness cordially to encourage the institution of retiring funds, and informed Government that they were prepared to bear the increased charge of

* Few such sinecures exist in India, but our argument is that there *are* quasi-civil posts, which indifferent soldiers may creditably fill. Pay and Pension and Post offices are among them

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retired pay that would be consequent upon the establishment of funds at the three Presidencies. They sanctioned the remittance of the retired officers' annuities through their Treasury, at the rate of two shillings the Sicca Rupee, and the grant of six per cent. per annum, on the balances of the several funds. The number of retirements, however, were limited to 24 per annum for the three presidencies, and the amount of the annuities to be given in each year was fixed at £7750.

Schemes for retiring funds were prepared, but none were approved of. After waiting a reasonable period, the Court resolved themselves to provide for the object contemplated, by enlarging the retiring regulations. This was effected in 1836. Officers were then for the first time, permitted to retire after certain fixed periods of service instead of, as formerly, according to their rank. In 1837 these new regulations were still further enlarged, and a Colonel's pension was sanctioned for all officers, whatever might be their rank, after 32 years of actual service in India; Lieutenant Colonel's pension after 28 years, Major's pension after 24 years, and Captain's pension after 20 years. This enlargement of the retiring regulations was not productive of any real advantage to the service. Mr. Philip Melvill, in his evidence before the Lords in 1852 says—

"The first and great effect (of the new system of retirement) has been to soothe the feelings of the officers with regard to the rate of their retiring pension; they know that however unfortunate they may be as compared with others in regimental rise, a fixed rate of pension is secured to them; the healing effect of this change has been most beneficial."

He further says,

"The number of retirements is increasing as a necessary consequence of the additions made from time to time to the number of European officers, but the per centage is much the same; it is less than two per cent. from all causes, whether retiring on full or half pay, or resigning without any pay, and it has been much the same for the last thirty years."

He gives the number of officers who are entitled to retire on full pay at 1098, of whom 557 are entitled to retire on the pay of a rank superior to that which they had actually attained. The aggregate establishment of European officers in 1834 he states to have been 4084, and 5142 in 1852.

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We give below an abstract* return showing the number of officers who have retired from the Bengal Army for the twenty years commencing with 1834 and ending with 1853. The retirements in the Artillery and Engineers and in the Medical service are more numerous, in proportion, than those in the Cavalry and Infantry. This is caused, no doubt, by the existence of retiring funds in those branches of the service. In 1849 a fund called "the Majors' Bonus Fund" was established in the Infantry of the Bengal Army, and existed until the end of 1851. It offered no fixed bonus on retirement to Lieutenant Colonels, nor was there any certainty that a bonus would be available at all to a Lieutenant Colonel wishing to retire. It therefore fell to the ground.

The "Unattached Senior List" scheme now before us is more of the nature of a superannuation fund, than of one of mere purchase. Unlike the superannuation funds of the Civil and Medical Services it does not propose to remove the Annuitants from the service altogether, but simply raises them as it were a step, to make way for others; leaving their services available to the Government, if they have any physique remaining. But we must let the proposal speak for itself.

It sets out by showing the average length of service on promotion of the Infantry officers of the armies of Bengal, Madras, and Bombay, in October, 1853, which are as follows:—

	Colonels.	Lieut. Cols.	Majors.	Captains.	Lieutenants.
Bengal,	43.76	32	28.03	13.42	4.74
Madras,	39.39	31.32	26.53	12.80	4.33
Bombay,	39.29	31.23	27.78	12.24	4.60

The average ages, therefore, of officers, assuming that they entered the army at 17, must be, Colonels on promotion to that

* Abstract Return of retirements in the Bengal army from 1834 to 1853, showing the branch of the service to which the retired officers belonged.

	Colonels.	Lieutenant Colonels.	Majors.	Captains.
Artillery,	0	10	12	21
Engineers,	0	4	3	1
Cavalry,	0	3	6	27
Infantry,	0	33	60	169
Invalids,	0	4	21	32
Irregular Cavalry unattached,	0	0	0	1
Ordnance Commissariat Department,	0	0	0	1
	0	54	102	252

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grade 58 years; Lieutenant Colonels 48 years; Majors 44 years; Captains 29 years; and Lieutenants 21 years. The length of service of the junior officers on promotion varies very considerably. In the Bengal army, there were in 1853, Majors who, on promotion, had served but 18 years, and Majors of 35 years' service. In Madras the most fortunate Major of Infantry was promoted in 14 years, and in Bombay in 13 years. The most unfortunate officers of that grade, in those presidencies, were of 34, and 33 years' service respectively. Amongst the Captains of the three armies, last promoted, the most fortunate were of 7, 8, and 9, years' standing, those who were most unfortunate, had been subalterns 26, 20, and 17 years. In Bengal, the average rate of promotion from grade to grade, is given as follows :—

	Years.	Months.
Ensign to Lieutenant, ...	4	10
Lieutenant to Captain, ...	9	10
Captain to Major, ...	11	9
Major to Lieut. Colonel, ...	5	10
Lieut. Colonel to Colonel, ...	10	2
Total years, ...	42	5

which corresponds very nearly with the average length of service of the Colonels of the Bengal army as given before.

In order to better this wretched state of promotion, it is proposed "that a certain number of the senior Colonels of each branch, be placed yearly on an unattached list, and promotions made in their room, as in the case of death vacancies."

To carry out this proposal it is suggested that a fund be formed somewhat similar to the Annuity Fund of the Civil service or to the Medical Retiring Fund. The chief difference is that the army retirements would be by strict seniority, and not by voluntary withdrawal, as in the services above named. To exhibit the working of the fund it is explained with special reference to the Bengal Infantry.

It is proposed, *First*,—That the number of Colonels to be

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placed yearly on the Unattached senior list shall not exceed nine, or such number as the Court of Directors may sanction.*

Secondly. That the pay proper or British pay, and the Colonel's allowance of the unattached officers shall be paid as at present by Government, and that promotion to the ranks of Major General, &c. and to the honors of the Bath shall be open to all officers on the Senior list, as in the case of unattached officers in the Royal army.

Thirdly. That the cost of the Senior Unattached List be borne, partly by the Government and partly by the Army. The former to defray the amount of British pay of the unattached officers, and the latter to provide annuities for them, equal to their Colonel's allowances.

Fourthly. That the terms of payment of the annuities, payable at the India House to be solicited from Government, be similar to those now granted to the Civil and Medical Services, namely, an exchange of two shillings for the Company's rupee, and interest at the rate of six per cent. per annum on all appropriated capital.

The value of an annuity of £650, (Colonel's allowance) at 6 per cent. is calculated for the various ages from 60 to 76. For the former age, the cost would be Rs. 53,293, and for the latter Rs. 30,914. To provide these annuities it is proposed to levy contributions from the several grades of the service, the chief payments being made by the senior ranks as they gain most by promotion. In the grades of Lieutenant Colonel and Major, a fixed sum is required for each step. The maximum subscription of a Lieutenant Colonel is limited to two months' difference of pay between that grade, and the grade of Colonel, that is, to Rs. 500, and the minimum is

* For the whole Indian army the number of officers to be placed yearly on the Unattached List would be—

Bengal,	Infantry,	9.	
	Cavalry,	1.153	
	Engineers,	0.461	
	Artillery,	1.384	11.998
Madras,	Infantry,	6.333	
	Cavalry,	0.923	
	Engineers,	0.230	
	Artillery,	0.807	7.293
Bombay,	Infantry,	3.807	
	Cavalry,	0.346	
	Engineers,	0.230	
	Artillery,	0.576	4.959
Total per annum,			24.250

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fixed at $\frac{1}{60}$th of the above sum, or Co's. Rs. 6-4. All other subscriptions in the grade of Lieutenant Colonel, are in arithmetical proportion to the above sums, and according to the standing of the subscriber. The maximum subscription of a Major is limited to one and a half month's difference of pay, viz. to Rs. 300, and the minimum to Rs. 3-12. All junior grades to pay a donation on promotion. Captains on promotion to Major, 8 months' difference of pay, or Rs. 2500. Lieutenants on promotion to Captains, 4 months' difference of pay, or Rs. 500; and Ensigns on promotion to Lieutenant, 2 months' difference of pay, or Rs. 100. These contributions are expected to yield as follows:—

				Rs. As.		
Lieut. Colonels, ...	500	+	6–4 × 40	=	20,250
Majors, ...	300	+	3-12 × 40	=	12,150
			For each step, Rs.		32,400
					9
			For nine steps, Rs.		291,600
25 Captains promoted at			2500 is		62,500
40 Lieutenants promoted at			500 is		20,000
50 Ensigns promoted at			100 is		5,000
			Yearly Income, Co's. Rs. ..		3,79,100

This sum will insure nine annuities yearly, to Colonels above the age of 69 years, or seven annuities, should the ages of the annuitants be below 69, but not under 60. The total payments that would be required from any one officer, in passing from Ensign to Colonel would be

As Lieutenant on promotion, ...	100
As Captain on promotion, ...	500
As Major on promotion, ...	2500
While passing through the grade of Major, ...	4404
While passing through the grade of Lieut. Colonel, ..	10,125
Total Co.'s Rs. ..	17,629

Under the present system, the average period of service in the grade of Lieutenant Colonel, is 10 years and 2 months, which gives $7\frac{3}{4}$ steps a year as the rate of promotion: by adding 8 steps to the above, a Lieutenant Colonel would pass through that grade in 5 years. Majors are at present 5 years and 10 months in passing from Major to Lieutenant Colonel: eight additional steps per annum, would push them through the grade of Major in 3 years and 7 months. Ensigns are on an average, 25 years

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5 months in attaining the rank of Major regimentally. Eight additional line steps per annum, would be equal to one regimental step in ten years. The regimental officer would therefore gain two regimental steps by the line promotion in his run to Major, more than he does at present, and for his greatly accelerated promotion would pay but Rs. 3,100.

Such is the scheme before us. Its promised advantages are so great that we cannot imagine any officer refusing it his support. It appears to be free from the objections which have being urged against purchase in Her Majesty's service. No unnecessary supercession of old officers by young and inexperienced boys, whose only recommendation for promotion is their ability to pay for it, would occur. The cost to individuals would not be out of proportion to the increased income that would follow the several payments. The rise would be equally felt by all, and Government would derive even greater benefit than the officers themselves, by having at their disposal in the higher grades, men physically fit for service. The average age of Colonels would not in the course of time, exceed 47 years. Lieut. Colonels would be placed in command of corps at 42 and the lower grades, would feel the benefit of a senior list in equal proportion.

During the first years of its existence, the cost of a Senior list to Government, would be trifling. The financial result ought not, however, to prevent its adoption, if it offer, as we believe it does, the means of making the armies of India, as regards their European Commissioned officers, really efficient. Supposing the mean duration of the lives of the officers removed to the senior list to be nine years. This will give $9 \times 24 = 216$ annuitants, as the maximum of the senior unattached list for the three Presidencies. The ultimate cost, therefore, to Government would be

$456\frac{1}{4} \times 216 =$	£98,550
To which add the difference between 4 and 6 per cent. as the donation interest on £9,08,712 the value of 216 annuities, ...	£18,174
Making a total of	£116,724

or eleven lakhs of rupees a year for the whole Indian army, that is, one hundredth part of the cost of the Military Establishment of India as at present constituted.

We are given to understand that the scheme is before Government. We beg their support. It received the cordial concurrence of the late Commander-in-chief, and has met with the concurrence of many experienced officers, the letters of several of

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whom lie before us. We trust that it will receive that consideration from General Anson which the subject deserves.

Let a mixed commission be appointed to enquire into the state of promotion. That now sitting in England will not benefit the Indian army. The system of promotion in India being by seniority alone, requires a separate investigation, and without some such special enquiry, we despair of effectual improvement. We fear we have been tedious perhaps unintelligible. The great importance of the subject demands the time and attention of our readers.

From general, let us return to special necessities. Among the burdens of the army, indeed of the Indian services, are paper forms, and returns. They weigh down men's souls. The Medical Department, which has always been a step-child, peculiarly suffers. The Doctor must often neglect his patients, to enable him to send in his papers, and prove why he gave No. 1 three eggs and a chop; and No. 2, a pint of ale and two ounces of brandy. Such things at least are managed better in the Royal army. There a Surgeon enjoys the reasonable confidence due to his position and profession. The East India Company's Doctor is treated as a quasi-peculator. All this must, in a great measure, be imputed to the fact of the service having few influential friends. The Boards have no proper influence, they can retard or prevent ameliorations, but can seldom further good measures. How can a Board of the oldest of the old Surgeons be otherwise? Age is the practical, though not the ostensible qualification. A change in *names*, and nothing more, has been recently effected. Senior and junior members of an effete Board, were converted into a Physician General, a Surgeon General, and an Inspector General, of the *same* Board, with identically the *same* duties. The Inspector General inspects no one! In the Royal army the titles and duties are more appropriate; one Director General supervises all, and a right good supervisor Dr. Andrew Smith seems to have been, notwithstanding the abuse heaped on him last year. If others had evinced half his forethought, and had done their duty as he did his, many of the dreadful tales of 1854-55 would have been spared. Inspectors General are as Indian Superintending Surgeons. Deputy Inspectors are Superintending Surgeons of Divisions, a rank and office much wanted in India, in the field, if not in quarters. All these appointments go by age, indeed almost by incompetency. The *form* of selection has, in two cases only, been gone through. Men like Kennedy, Dempster and James McRae are selected for *war service*. They evince indomitable energy, cool courage, and great skill. Their operations are carried on under fire. They stand fast, when crowds

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of fighting men break through their doolies, and over their amputating tables. They endeavour to make up for the misconduct of others. What is their reward ? A bare mention in the Gazette, with the crowd who have, as above hinted, roughly interfered with their duties; no honors, no rewards await them on return of peace; they sink to regimental charges. We are wrong. Jemmy Thompson was, in his old age, knighted, and three or four Surgeons, for past services, were made Companions of the Bath. These inaugurations were somewhat akin to the recent creation of Field Marshals in honor of Sebastopol. All this is very bad. The man who works, who hazards his own life to preserve others, whatever be his position or department, should be honored, and otherwise rewarded, and that *promptly*. There ought to be special professional rewards. Men like McRae and Dempster ought to be Knights of the Bath, and be placed in positions putting them above pecuniary care. The former good man and good Surgeon has several sons, and cannot get one of them into the service, in which he has behaved so well and ably !! True, he was specially thanked after the second Punjab campaign, and told that *no* man in the whole army of twenty-five thousand men had done the State better or more useful service; but for years he remained unrewarded. The fact is, that, as in the Royal service, there is little if any professional stimulus or reward for the practical Surgeon. Lord Dalhousie, just previous to departure, as far as lay in his power, did McRae tardy justice in placing him at the head of the Calcutta Medical College.

We might name many Surgeons, far down in the list, who merit special reward, and yet are unrewarded. Dr. John Murray of Agra can hardly be said to be unrewarded, but his reward and position are the private fruits of his public and private ability and energy. The late cholera crisis at Agra bears witness to all. His case at Aliwall so peculiarly exemplifies our argument that we must narrate the circumstances. Murray was then Assistant Surgeon attached to the Troop of Horse Artillery. Heaps of wounded lay around, but there was no Field Surgeon, neither were there sufficient amputating instruments. Several large boxes, however, full of all requisites, were lying at the Post Office, addressed to the Superintending Surgeon at Ferozepore eighty miles distant. No one dared open them. The Post Master probably objected to such *felony*. Murray unable to inspirit his seniors, went at the boxes like a man; no, like a woman, like Miss Nightingale at the Balaclava store room. Hatchet in hand, he got out saws, knives, plasters, lint and tourniquets; told his brethren to help themselves, each giving a receipt for what he took: (the Canny Scot here peeps out.)

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He then went to Sir Harry Smith and got him to name a Field Surgeon; but the nominee refused the responsibility. Murray then accepted it himself, worked hard, got the wounded under cover, and doubtlesss saved many lives. What was his reward? Why that the Auditor General deducted his Horse Artillery pay, and refused to pass his Field Surgeoncy allowance, on account of some informality,—perhaps, because he was an Assistant Surgeon. The essential part of the story we know to be correct. He did the work, and was thereby out of pocket.

We have also a story of a different sort to tell. About that same period, an old Surgeon arrived within a few miles of where lay nearly a thousand sick and wounded soldiers, belonging to a Brigade to which only a single Surgeon, or Assistant was present for each regiment. He came to be Superintending Surgeon, but could not take up his new office, pending some arrangement. How did he pass the interval? Why, in entire idleness, a march or more from the sufferers, although he was urged to lend a hand! We can vouch for this fact. It occurred under our own eyes. Yet Murray lost his pay by his exertions, and is now simply a Civil Surgeon; while his senior who thus acted, never suffered in pocket more than in feeling by his cruel apathy, and is now comfortably out of the service.

The Medical Staff of the army is altogether insufficient, and hitherto it has not been well supported by the recently appointed class of Sub-Assistant Surgeons. The move in their favour was a good one, but has not yet ripened to good fruit. We are well pleased that assistant surgeoncies are now open to natives of India; but for some years, it will be moral, not mental capability, that will be found most deficient. In no profession, are conscientiousness and high moral worth more required, than in the Physician and Surgeon. More native Doctors are greatly wanted, and those in the service have insufficient motives for exertion. Some of them are most deserving men. A few can operate for cataract, extract calculi, &c. We strongly recommend grades being established, rising on strict examination, from present rates of 25 and 30 Rs. to 50, 70, and 80 Rs. a month. Also that schools for the professional education of such persons, be established at Bangalore, Poonah and Lahore, as already exist at Agra and Hydrabad.

Pay should also be proportioned to work, and responsibility, with the higher classes. Every Assistant Surgeon has, on arrival, to do duty on Subaltern's pay, with an European Regiment or at the Presidency General Hospital. His aim is accordingly to move as soon as possible. Some stay hardly a month, and are then comfortably settled in Civil stations or

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in the Hills. Others are knocked about from regiment to regiment. We have known an instance of a young Assistant Surgeon, being eighteen times moved within as many months, ending with having to take a wing of an European regiment two hundred miles in the months of May and June, after having just brought a similar detachment, a similar march in April. We recollect another young Medico dying of heat and exposure, when similarly employed. The Assistant Surgeon with an European regiment, has exactly the same duty to perform as the Surgeon, the same responsibility *for his portion* of the Corps. He is not like a Subaltern under minute orders. He acts every hour in matters of life and death on his own responsibility. He should receive, at least, the same staff pay as if in charge of a native Corps, and thus have a motive for remaining at his more responsible post. At an apparent first expense, money would thus be saved, inasmuch as valuable lives, now sacrificed by changes and by inexperience, would be preserved. Constant changes do no one good; they damp all zeal, and vitally hinder all efficiency.

Medical officers in charge of corps should have full authority however, to *draw*, for all necessaries for the sick. Thus trusted and sufficiently supplied with European medicines, which is not always the case at present, they would endeavour to keep down expense by using indigenous drugs, many of which are valuable, and all of which are cheap, and procurable in every bazar. Surgeons should be assisted by efficient well-paid Stewards, as is the case in the Bombay Army. They should not be teased with mere business details about bread, sago, saucepans, and flannel gowns. It should be quite sufficient in such matters for them to satisfy the Superintending Surgeon, that they have not wasted the public money. Dooly-bearers and other hospital servants should all be enrolled, well-paid and eligible for pensions; their not being so has cost many a wounded man his life. The scum of the earth will go under fire when there is a pension for heirs. Non-combatants can hardly be expected to expose themselves without such provision. Mule-litters, Horse Ambulances are much required on service. Every corps should have *two* educated medical officers, European corps *four*. We remember an officer proposing to *prosecute* Government for putting his precious limbs into the charge of a very worthy and deserving man who, however, was only an Apothecary. On the other hand we knew another who preferred the Apothecary to the Doctor.

Our remarks on this division of our subject have been somewhat full, because we deeply feel its importance both to humanity and to the Government's good name. Every European, and

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Anglicised Native, in India is a Missionary. Each individual has the opportunity, within his sphere, of doing great good or great evil; of setting a good or a bad example. He is a light on a hill. Surgeons are specially so. The Subaltern deals with a hundred men, the Doctor with a thousand, and if he have a spark of philanthropy, will minister extra-officially to hundreds of others. Some do to thousands. Such men are ministers of mercy to the most wretched; give light to the blind; relieve the leper, heal the sick, and greatly smooth the path of the aged to the grave. They should be cordially assisted by Government. Every medical man should have a carte-blanche to open dispensaries for the poor, under check, as to medicines, *only* of their immediate professional superiors.

The truth of our sentiments as to the prospects of Indian army doctors is demonstrated by the fact that the candidates for employ at all the recent examinations in London, have been hardly as numerous, as the vacancies awaiting them. The well educated young doctors of England have discovered the East India Company's Service *not* to be the best field for talent and energy.

Did space permit, we should have much to say on the morality of the Indian army. The native portion gives no trouble. No Soldier ever existed more patient, more sober, more obedient than the Hindoo sepoy.

The Hindustani Mahommedan has more energy but is scarcely less tractable under a firm but considerate Commandant, both classes offer examples for any army. A petty theft, an occasional religious brawl, and a less frequent murder, originating in revenge, form the full Catalogue of serious crime. In some regiments years glide by without a necessity for severe punishment.

The European soldier is a different creature, and requires a stricter discipline. The day of great severity has happily passed away; the day when the remedy for every error was the lash. The law of kindness has however yet to be tried. Let British soldiers be dealt with as reasonable beings. Relieve them from espionage, keep them strictly to their duty, but let them have all reasonable indulgence when off duty. Let Jacob's scheme be tried with European soldiers, as with native horsemen, with rifles, and with cannon. We are glad again to quote Jacob's words :—

"The attempt to govern English soldiers by fear of bodily pain, is as wise as is the cramping of our men's bodies by absurd clothing and accoutrements. * * * * Appeal to the highest and noblest faculties of man."

Jacob thinks that fifty thousand *elite* English peasantry and

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yeomen in the ranks, treated, and trained and armed on rational principles, "would be a match for a world in arms." Again we go very far with Colonel Jacob, and heartily wish he were "the Lord Panmure" of India.*

Barrack married life is one of the greatest Military difficulties. The expense of keeping and moving large numbers of women, must always be a bar to the positive encouragement of matrimony. On the other hand, the improved health and steadiness of married men, should be considered in all calculations of expense, and should at least modify its discouragement. We agree cordially with a recent Bombay reviewer,† that "the percentage system of indecency, and the rejection of all beyond the percentage (six, on embarkation,) should at once be knocked on the head."

With him we urge that whatever be the number of women allowed, they should be cared for and dealt with as *Christian females*. At present, they are hardly allowed to be respectable; they are not treated as if they were. A shawl, a bit of cloth, separates families. Obscene language ever rings in their ears, obscene sights are constantly before their eyes. The result is too

* Since the first part of this article was in type we have fallen upon the following extract from the *Times* relative to the efficiency of the Enfield Rifle and its advantages over Artillery. This experiment goes far to support Colonel Jacob's views on this subject, more especially when it is considered that Jacob's Rifle is a more deadly and larger ranging piece than the Enfield Rifle.

"An interesting experiment took place lately at the School of Musketry at Hythe. Some condemned tumbrils and gun limbers having been lately procured from Woolwich, on Monday morning last one of each of these was taken to the target practice ground. To the tumbril were attached six horses with riders made of framework, covered with canvas, and stuffed with straw; the whole the size of life. About the gun-carriage were stuffed figures representing men unlimbering and bringing the gun into action. At a distance somewhat beyond 600 yards from them, about 60 of the men under instruction at the School of Musketry, were drawn up in two divisions, the one extended in skirmishing order, the other supporting. One round was first fired by the front rank only of the skirmishing party which may have consisted of about 20 men, and the result was that a bullet had passed through almost every horse, as also through many of the riders and men employed at the gun. The support was then ordered up to reinforce skirmishers, and the whole fired three or four rounds in skirmishing order, which completely riddled horses, riders and footmen. The party was then closed on its centre and retired to a distance of above 800 yards, when volleys were fired at the supposed artillery, first by sections, then by sub-divisions, and finally by divisions, the whole with an accuracy perfectly wonderful. The experiment clearly proved that in the hands of well-skilled soldiers—men who, having been taught the principles of rifle-shooting theoretically and practically, have obtained a perfect confidence in their weapon—the Enfield rifle must prove more than a match for any field-guns of the present day."—*Times*.

† Bombay Quarterly, No. vi. Article. Military men and their dress.

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often what might be expected, and then the cry is "the nasty creatures, the hypocrites, the liars." That some respectable women do *live and die* in the barracks *is* a standing miracle. Great should be their reward!

On board-ship and at depots, where most attention is required, least is often given. We have known women sent in open Pattemars, from Scinde to Bombay, in company with bachelor soldiers, without the slightest arrangements for privacy. The hourly scenes at most Depots are too disgusting for description.

The principle of the *Patcherry*, or cottage system, for married soldiers, obtaining in the Bombay Presidency is good, but is badly carried out. Many of the buildings are altogether unfit to be occupied by Europeans, when the thermometer is 100° and even 110° as is often the case during several months of the year. But the principle is good. Indeed we see not why the *Patcherry* system, should not be extended to bachelors of good characters. Let two, four, ten or more friends, under joint responsibility for good conduct, mess and live together, whether in detached cottages, or in partitioned-off compartments of present barracks. The sober and the pious man might then, at least, live unmolested by the jeers and ribaldry of his dissipated comrades. We throw out the hint to the Authorities. A distinguished officer who advocates the measure, has told us that in Scinde he has often, in his rides in the jungle, come upon threes and fours of the 78th Highlanders at prayers, or reading their bibles.

Considering their circumstances and temptations, the early age at which they leave home, and the little check on irregularities by regimental authorities, the morality of the officers of the Indian army is good. It is at least on a par with that of corresponding classes in England. It is superior to that of the Colonies. In many quarters there is much earnestness of purpose, much that is thoroughly good. Gross and open immorality is now most rare: as rare, as forty years ago it was common. While, however, in many corps there is an excellent tone, while in such the Commandant considers and treats the subalterns as his wards, and while the elder officers set an example of sobriety and gentlemanly conduct to the younger; in others, the whole atmosphere of the Regiment is clouded by opposite influences. The proceedings of Courts Martial, as occasionally published, let the public behind the scenes in such matters. And what more uncertain and even whimsical, than the fiats of such Courts? A Lieutenant Barnes at Bombay is acquitted of blame for virtually declining to do duty. A Major O'Grady at Madras, is "severely reprimanded" for denouncing his

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Commanding Officer before the young officers of the Mess, as "an old fool" and "a d—d Jackass." Within a few weeks of these two awards, Lieutenant Patterson, a young officer of previously unstained reputation is dismissed the service for an act of gross violence certainly, but perpetrated on the impulse of the moment, under gross provocation. We are of opinion that two of these sentences might, with advantage, have been reversed, and that the award on Lieutenant Barnes was erroneous. He was undoubtedly guilty of the crime of which he was charged, however he may have been provoked to it, and doubtless he was grievously provoked.

Although then the army is not so bad as Sir Charles Napier and some recent writers depict it, there is, in many quarters, much that needs reform. H. M. 46th Regiment prove that full messes are neither the most moral, nor the most gentlemanly; but in India, as a rule, the largest messes are the most respectable. Major O'Grady set a bad example to his younger brethren, but it is where a number of idle young fellows get together, without the restraining voice of their seniors, that vulgar quarrels and immoralities mostly occur.

The remedy, *again*, is efficient Commanders to regiments. At whatever cost to the State, and at whatever pain to individuals, let there be a *soldierly* man, of *good sense* at the head of every Corps, and let his authority be supported. Better that his authority be in excess, than that he should lack power. For the rest, and from the higher authorities a medium course between that of Sir William Gomm and Sir Charles Napier, is needed. The violent tirades, the hollow and insincere compliments, the biting and damning invectives of Sir Charles are not wanted. Neither Europeans nor Natives require *severity*, they *do* require *firmness*. The soft showers, the kindly and well meant platitudes of Sir William are therefore as little to the purpose as were the thunder torrents of Sir Charles.*

Judicious, without afflictive discipline is required. Such as, while reminding officers, that they must always be gentlemen, will equally impress on gentlemen, that they are and must be soldiers. In Bengal the latter reminder is most necessary. We will not assume the invidious task of deciding where the other is most wanted; in what quarter Mr. Arnold's and Mrs. Mackenzie's Caps best fit.

Such discipline and such surveillance, as we advocate, will be approved by most good officers. Throughout the services the materials are excellent. Some of the best working blood of England is in India. The sons of the middle classes that

* Each General, in his parting address, well epitomized his own administration. Each evidently wrote his own farewell greeting.

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have won and raised England's Oriental empire, will maintain it against all comers and all odds. The task may be easy or hard, according as each individual performs his part.

As one example is at all times more effective than many homilies, we commend to our readers the "memorials of Captain Hedley Vicars, H. M. 97th Regiment"* who, after a short but brilliant career, died a hero's death in the trenches before Sebastopol. Stern soldiers wept at his death: many recorded their lamentations. One sentinel wrote "as our Adjutant, he was loved by every one in the regiment, and as Captain of No. 4 Company, he was more so by his Company."

Officers of all grades and arms from Lords Panmure and Raglan downwards, lamented his fall. One, a kindred soul,† who at the age of twenty was Adjutant of the 97th regiment, and twice fought his way into the Redan, on the fatal 8th of September, and was there found, "far advanced on that red ground lying by a cannon, in the sleep of death," thus wrote of Vicars the day after the death of the latter in a private letter to his *own* mother.

"Such a death became such a life,—and such a soldier. The most gallant, the most cheerful, the happiest, the most universally respected officer, and the most consistent Christian soldier, has been taken from us by that bullet." * * * * "I had fondly hoped that we should live to go home, and that I might bring my dear departed friend to you, and proudly show him as a specimen of what a model soldier should be." * * * "Noble fellow! he rushed in front of his men, and his powerful arm made more than one Russian fall." * * * "How he fearlessly visited and spoke to the men in the worst times of the cholera; but as he told me, he got his reward, for the soldier's dying lips besought blessings on his head."* * * "Our men got great praise for the fight last night, but *who would not go any where* with such a leader?"

Yes, we can vouch to all who will "go and do likewise," that such a man, the soldier's friend, the brave in battle, the gentle in peace, will be followed to the death by every British soldier and by every Sepoy. Sympathy, kindness and gallantry are no where more appreciated than in the Indian army.

We are happy to perceive that, for once, peace has not thrown the home authorities off their guard. There can be no lasting peace. The time has not come. The war of principles has yet to be fought. Russia *must* have her revenge and America *must* try her strength, her gigantic frigates, and her ten inch guns:

* James Nisbet and Co. Berner's Street, London, 1856.

† Lieut. Douglas MacGregor, H. M. 97th Regiment, Nephew of General Paul MacGregor, and Cousin of Lieut. Colonel George MacGregor, Bengal army.

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we are accordingly delighted to observe that the *peace* establishment is to be 140,000 men, on a footing admitting of speedy increase: above all that twenty thousand Artillery-men are to be maintained.

We regret, however, that nothing was done on the treaty of peace, to control Russia in Asia. We are aware that there were difficulties; but the right of having a Consul at Meshed and trading vessels on the Caspian might have been obtained. Information on Central Asian matters is greatly wanted. Insensibly and almost by a coup-de-main, the Russian empire has been extended for *thirteen thousand miles* across the whole Continent of Europe and Asia, and for twenty degrees over America. Curbed to the south and west, Russia has not waited an hour to push forward her soldiers, her sailors, her savants, her engineers and her labourers to the Caspian, to the Aral, and even to the mighty Amoor. Her old policy will now, more vigorously than ever, be pursued, and though the dream of a century will never be realized, her position in Persia will speedily be strengthened, and posts will be established in Central Asia and even in China. Bomarsunds, if not Sebastopols, will arise at Orenburgh, Astrakan and Astrabad, perhaps even at Balkh and Herat. The wave has receded, to return with redoubled force, though at a different angle.

Such has ever been and will be Russia's policy. There will be no Russian invasion of India, nor probably will the tribes be impelled on us. The latter now understand our strength; Russia has long understood both our strength and our weakness. There will be no foolish raid *as long as India is united, in tranquillity and contentment*, under British rule. Russia well knows that such an attempt would only end in the entire destruction of the invaders. India *has been* invaded some forty times, but always by small armies, acting in communication with domestic parties. A small Russian army could not make good its way through Affghanistan; a large Army would be starved there in a week. The largest Army that could come with Affghanistan and Persia in its train, would be met at the outlets of the only two practicable passes, and while attempting to debouche would be knocked to pieces. A hundred thousand Anglo Indian troops might, with the help of railroads, be collected at each pass in as few days, as it would take an *unopposed* Russian Army weeks to traverse them. Hundreds of eight inch guns would there be opposed to their Field pieces. The danger then is imaginary. Herat is no more the key to India than is Tabreez, or Khiva, or Kokan, or Meshed. The chain of almost impenetrable mountains is the real key to India. England's own experience in the western passes, and in the

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Crimea, have proved the absurdity of the tale of Russian invasion. No, the dream is idle: England's dangers are in India, not without; and we trust that it will be *in India* they will be met, and that there will be no *third* Affghan campaign. Such a move would be playing Russia's game. We are safe while we hold our ground and do our duty. Russia may teaze, annoy and frighten us by her money and by emissaries. She may even do us mischief, but she will never put foot in Hindostan.

What America may venture, sixty years hence, when her population numbers a hundred millions, and when vessels of ten thousand tons ply the ocean, is another, and may possibly be considered a wilder question. But that America *will* strive for Oriental Sovereignty is certain. She is welcome; there will be room for centuries, for the whole Saxon race. Let England work out her destiny, let her govern India for the people and, as far as possible, by the people, and neither England nor India need fear Russia or America, or both combined.

To recapitulate. Our object is to direct attention to Wellington's dying legacy, and to our greatest living warrior's equally solemn enunciation,

"Woe to the nation that forgets the military art! Woe to that nation,—woe to that nation which heaps up riches, but which does not take the precaution to defend them."

Such were the impressive and truthful words of the hero of Kars, on the day he landed in England; such the warning addressed by him to the thousands who hailed his return. And the lesson his words inculcate, based as it is on a mournful experience, cannot be too often or too earnestly urged upon the minds of those who truly and unselfishly love their country. Let us not for ever learn *only* from disaster. Let us use our opportunities.

To conclude: Our recommendations are to have one strong fortress in every province, and a redoubt in *every* cantonment. All may be of mud, at very moderate expense. No man, black or white, to be permitted merely to cumber a muster roll, a cantonment, or a battle field. Only the young and middle aged to be in the *service* ranks. Elderly men to be in garrison, and in veteran corps, *commanded by hale and efficient soldiers.* Old men to retire to their homes. Similar rules for European officers and soldiers, as for natives, without favor or affection. It is sheer madness, on the plea of economy, mercy, or aught else, to keep inefficients, from whatever cause, in the *service* ranks. It is worse, it is a crime to keep such men in authority, high or low. Their fitting places are the Invalids, the pension list, the clubs, their English hearths.

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Legitimate outlets for military energy and ability in all ranks, and among all classes, *must* be given. The minds of Subadars and Resseldars, Sepoys and Sowars, can no more with safety, be forever cramped, trammelled, and restricted as at present, than can a twenty foot embankment restrain the Atlantic. It is simply a question of time. The question is only whether justice is to be gracefully conceded or violently seized. Ten or twenty years *must* settle the point.

Our view is also that regiments *professedly* officered by Europeans should be *really* so, that officers should *really* do the duty they profess to do. That the work should not be left to Havildar Majors and Pay Orderlies. We accordingly propose that at least two European officers per company, be posted to each of such regiments; that there be no native officers, unless indeed one Anglicised Jemadar (as Ensign) be attached to each company, to learn his duty as a Captain, (Subadar) when he may be transferred as such to a regiment officered by natives.

We further propose that certain Cavalry and Infantry regiments be wholly, and others partially, officered by natives.

That the veteran service be made one of honour and comparative ease.

That honorary rewards be increased, and that pensions be given earlier, and in particular cases, on a more liberal scale. Whether pensions be by deferred annuities, or, as at present, there can be no better safety valve to the service than the pension establishment. Comparatively few attain it; all look to it. The vista is long, and the cottage in the distance *very* small; it is nevertheless the day and the night dream of thousands. To the native soldiers, *home* is not, as with Europeans, a simple resting place after life's task is done; it is the return to, and union with, the relatives and friends of earlier years. The whole domestic existence of the sepoy is limited to the few years of pensioned and furlough life. His peculiar customs deprive him of such happiness while in the ranks.

The scientific branches of the service to be kept complete on the most liberal scale. This is the best economy. Sappers and Artillery-men, will, on an emergency, make fair Infantry, but Sepoys cannot reciprocate the obligation, nor is it perhaps expedient that they should be taught.

The numerical strength of the European troops should never be less than one fourth of the Regular Native Army. One third would be a better proportion. Year by year, the proportions have decreased, though the contrary would have been the wiser policy. Familiarity no where engenders reverence. A hundred years ago a company was looked on by the enemy, as a regiment is now, and yet at Seringapatam, the proportion

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of Europeans was very much greater than it has been during more recent wars.

The arms and accoutrements of all, but especially of the Europeans should be of the very best description. Our Infantry arms at Sebastopol were better than those of the Russians. The minie rifle probably saved Inkerman, as the change from six to nine-pounders may have saved Waterloo.

A staff corps to be formed of officers who have served from two to four years with their own arm, and for at least *one* with every other. The staff not to be *exclusively* drawn from this corps. Examinations to be required for *every post*, and for *every grade*, up to given points. Staff corps men, as others, to undergo such examinations. Literary attainments to be slightly considered; *Military science, rather than mathematics* to be the desideratum. In short, strictly *practical and professional* knowledge with soldierly bearing, and good characters to be the main points. We are quite sensible of the difficulty of the public service, not the welfare of individuals, is the point at issue.

Another of our suggestions is quietly and unostentatiously to oppose class to class, creed to creed, and interest to interest.—We have also argued, that this can be best done in the army, not as at present, by a mixture of sects in each Regiment, but by separate Regiments each consisting chiefly, though *not entirely*, of a single sect.

Annual "Chobhams," and "Aldershotts" to be established at each Presidency, where officers, soldiers and sepoys, should be taught to work, *as before an enemy;* to make gabions and fascines; to dig and delve; to throw up works; to attack and defend them. In short for two or three months of every year, soldiers should have the opportunity, as far as practicable, of learning what war is, and should also learn to take care of themselves in the field in all weather.

On somewhat the principles above enunciated, and with one *unmistakeable Pay Code* for all India, the army* might be made doubly efficient for war or for peace, at an expense hardly exceeding half a million in excess of present expenditure. Officers would no longer doubt their own men,† the men would have

* We have purposely left untouched the question of *one* army or *three* armies, or of a general amalgamation with the Royal army. But in whatever hands the Indian army remains, its officers should be available for service *throughout the world.* All the arguments that apply to the necessity of a *large* field for selections for Indian army staff apply equally to the Royal troops. Free employment *for all*, and liberty of exchange between the Queen's and Company's troops should be the rule.

† We refer especially to such times as those of the Madras Mutiny.

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less reason to complain of their officers. The latter would do what they hardly now profess to do, they would look into the details of their regiments and companies, not leave them to native officers whom they despise, or to non-commissioned natives, who have no legitimate authority. Each man high or low, in each class of regiments, would have his place and his duty. Each man would accordingly have more contentment. The staff appointments from corps being few, and regimental commands being earlier obtainable, and *given by merit*, as much as by seniority, there would be fewer, and less loud aspirations for Staff employ. The contentment of the officers would alone go far to content the sepoys. Pleasure and pain are catching. The murmurs of messes quickly reach the Quarter Guard, as do contrary feelings. We conclude with our oft repeated remark, that it is not a numerically strong army, but a contented one with efficient officers, that is wanted. Our duty is now done, let others do theirs, and a reproach, possibly a danger, will have been removed.

A paragraph in the *Delhi Gazette* announcing that the Oude authorities are disposed to dispense with the service of the regular regiments for Lucknow, tempts a few further words of caution—though we do not altogether credit the newspaper report. The earliest days of annexation are not the safest. Be liberal, considerate and merciful, but be prompt, watchful and even, *quietly* suspicious. Let not the loose characters floating on the surface of society, especially such society as Lucknow, be too far tempted, or trusted. Wellington's maxim of "keeping the troops out of sight," answered for England; it will *not* answer for India. There must be *trusty* bayonets, within sight of the *understandings* if not of the *eyes*, of Indian subjects, before they will pay willing obedience, or any revenue. Of late years the wheels of Government have been moving very fast. Many native prejudices have been shocked. Natives are now threatened with the abolition of polygamy. It would not be difficult to twist this into an attack on Hinduism. At any rate the faster the vessel glides, the more need of caution, of watching the weather, the rocks, and the shoals.

Felix quem faciunt aliena pericula cautum.

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ART. VI.—*Bradshaw's Continental Railway Guide*, 1855-56.

THERE was probably never a time in which it was more difficult than at present for prudent prophets to maintain a reputation. Vague forebodings of future evil are indeed common to all ages, and to all countries in which the evil omen is not vigorously prohibited from manifesting itself. There were many to declare that England's glory was departed on that solemn morning at Whitehall, when Charles 1st taught a lesson to all sufferers, and the man in the mask taught a lesson yet more important to all kings; the same story was repeated by partisans of the other side when a Stewart was again called King by the Grace of God, and a prelatic Hierarchy was again decked in white surplices. We were ruined, as Mr. Macaulay informs us, after the peace of Ryswick, and subsequently with every war and every peace which involved any addition to the National Debt. In these latter days we all know how the Eldons and the Inglises wept for their country, more and more enslaved by each concession to religious liberty, by the enfranchisement of the Roman Catholics, or the endowment of Maynooth: and the mantle of prophecy has descended through an unbroken succession of grandmothers to those prophets of to-day who see in the playing of a pipe in a Park, or in the prohibition of such a melody, and who affect to see in a war wherein the course of success was marred by only one failure,—in a peace perhaps the most unselfish ever concluded by a great nation,—unmistakeable signs that the downfal of England is coming—nay is already come. Such prophecying is never difficult—and such prophets will always be plentiful till the happy day when fools are scarce. But there have always been seers of a more respectable class, who do not shrink from committing themselves to definite issues. That this or that new invention will succeed or fail, was formerly a question on which scientific men might hazard an opinion with some safety. But since the memorable discomfiture of Dr. Lardner, steam and electricity have so confounded all anticipation, that the well informed no less than the ignorant decline to give an opinion as to what may not happen next. Even Dr. Cumming is left almost unanswered, to promulgate his very bold prophecy that the world is coming to an end in 1864, a year which it would seem impossible, at any rate for the world and the doctor's reputation to outlive together. Mr. Brunel finds many to share his enthusiastic confidence in the success of his marine monster; although we observe that as the day of launching draws near, we hear something less of those promises of steaming from Plymouth to Calcutta viâ the Cape in thirty days; but that the Great Eastern is to laugh at the waves of the Atlantic and to

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remedy the hitherto irremediable agony of sea sickness—is what many boldly proclaim, and none of a generation which has seen sailing packets between France and England—and sees steamers plying between Liverpool and Melbourne will venture to deny. The "Calais and Mooltan" still sounds like a joke; but the scheme has been considered by Governments, been approved by princes, been sanctioned by famous Engineers who now-a-days are greater than princes. Mr. Stephenson agitates for it. The *Times* advocates it; many point out its practicability; and who shall say 'it is impossible?' Was it not since the commencement of the present century that Niebuhr speaking of a journey from London to Edinburgh, after eulogizing the comfort of the old Edinburgh mail, added his complaint that "of course travelling at that tremendous pace—full seven miles an hour, it was impossible to see anything of the country?" Have we not ourselves in the middle of the century gone from London to Edinburgh in eleven hours? and shall we venture to deny that our children may, before the close of the century, glide rapidly through the wilds of Beloochistan, look out of the windows of a first class carriage at the corn-fields of Mesopotamia; hear the steam whistle on the banks of the Euphrates; avail themselves of the ten minutes allowed for refreshment on the shores of the Bosphorus—and then pass on over the old well-worn already existing rails to Calais and London?

We have already in the pages of this *Review* given in our serious adhesion to the World's Highway; but we cannot always afford to be spending our energy on such vast schemes; we have said enough in behalf of posterity, let it be lawful for us to bestow a little advocacy in the interests of ourselves. We shall not even take up that second plausible scheme, which has justly been described as a mere reduced adaptation of the first; we shall let the Persian Gulf alone, and stick to the Red Sea. We mean by the Overland Route that commonplace well rutted track by which our letters come and our papers ought to come, but sometimes do not; without any disparagement of what Mr. Stephenson may and will do for us hereafter—we want to relieve ourselves of a groan over that tyranny which we suffer now. The faith which can see an express train running by Babylon, need not shrink from the prospect of the Peninsular and Oriental Company being brought to terms.

Things have now come to that pass, that whatever may be the future state of communication between England and India, the present route is in the hands of one Company. There are or have been at different times three candidates in the field. The Honourable Company, the P. and O., and the Austrian Lloyds. We all remember the stream of sustained eloquence under which the

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first dignified Company was driven out of the competition. Government were very unjustifiably checking private enterprise, by doing the Mail Service badly, they prevented that spirited Company the P. and O. from doing it well; their old used up men-of-war kept off the line those splendid ships which the P. and O. were only eager to place at the disposal of the public.

We do not wonder at the indignation felt towards the Government Mail Service. No Englishmen like to be treated as inferiors when in the position of customers; nor do they like incivility in any position whatever. It was mortifying to a man who had paid sixty pounds for a fourteen days' passage to be treated as one who was receiving a prodigious favor; there were of course exceptional instances of courtesy, but general testimony will bear us out in the assertion that the comfort, nay the decent treatment of passengers, was the very last thing studied on board the Government Mail packets. The officers, with all the sensitiveness of an uncertain social position, were not ashamed to own that they were above their work: forgetting that nothing so compromises a man's dignity as to profess to despise a work which nevertheless he is obliged and consents to do. That there is nothing degrading in the office of Commandant of a Mail Steamer, the character and social status of the Ship Captains of the great Commercial Companies amply proves; but there is something infinitely ludicrous in the mixture of the Post Captain and the twopenny Postman; in playing at man-of-war etiquette on board a ship which is kept for the express purpose of carrying the public post, and by which every individual who chooses to pay a heavy fare has as much right to travel as the Captain. We do not wonder that grievances of a personal nature led to a loud demand for the withdrawal of the Government Steamers from the Bombay Station. But we are not sure that the indignant public has after all taken much by its motion. The fable is reversed. We have lost King Stork, and appear likely to be blessed with a long reign under King Log. With the courtesy towards the public, which it would be unjust to deny to the P. and O. Company, is mixed that growing apathy which marks the monopolist, as surely as corpulence does the indolent man. The energy of this great Company, to which India and England both owe much has been crowned with vast and deserved success. A steady dividend of eight per cent., a growing reserve fund, a self-developing traffic with favorable contracts in the direction of Australia; an undisputed supremacy in every port and on every route in or approaching to India—what does the P. and O. want more, and what therefore should the P. and O. do more? For we hold it to be the vainest waste of words to

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lose time in preaching what a Commercial Company ought or ought not—is bound or not bound to do. Of course every individual member of a Company is bound, like the rest of the unappreciated world, to be an honest man; and in driving a bargain must be guided by other considerations besides those of mere profit. But it is a mistake tending to endless confusion to try and fix a conscience on a corporation. If we appeal to Mr. Smith or Mr. Brown, shareholders in the P. and O., as benevolent individuals, to give up half a year's dividend to some charitable purpose, it may doubtless be their duty to listen to our appeal: but if we beg the Secretary of the P. and O. as a matter of conscience to try and get the fares lowered, for that they press heavily on poor men, and illustrate this position with rhetorical force and piteous instances; it is undoubtedly the Secretary's bounden duty to reply that he and his Company know nothing of rich and poor men, that they recognise not individual cases of calamity, that their business is to carry the public at remunerative rates. And clearly remunerative rates are the highest for which they can fill all their ships. If the traffic between India and England is fully developed, if no more ships are required—and the present ships are well filled; then it is evident that the balance between the Company and the public is fairly struck, to the profit of the former and the real advantage of the latter; and in this case the demand for lower fares is a mere sentimentalism, to which the Company is bound to pay no attention. But if the reverse of all this is true; if the field of marine enterprise between England and India is not fully occupied; if there are many people who do not now go to England or come to India solely on account of the dearness of the transit, then it is certain that the fares are too high, and the Company is guilty in the only sense in which a Company can be guilty; it is perpetrating an anti-economical error, slowly but surely destructive of its own prosperity. This is the real safeguard of the public against that unconscientious abstraction, a corporate body. The poor officer who defers his voyage to Europe till the ties which bind him there are broken, because he cannot pay the passage money, does not utter his complaints all in vain. It is the accumulation of these complaints which invites competitors, and breaks the back of a monopoly which would not be wise in time.

But if fares so high as to be in great measure prohibitory were the only or the worst injury inflicted on the Indian public by the P. and O. Company, we should not be sanguine as to the speedy invasion of their rule. But that Company is practising systematically a strange defiance of the laws of nature, which no Company can practise long with impunity. We call it a violation of the laws of nature to prevent water from flowing down hill;

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and scarcely less so to prevent an Anglo-Saxon from getting to his destination by the shortest practicable route. But it is this latter attempt which the P. and O. Company has long made and is making with great success. It is obvious to any person looking at the map of Europe, that when the Mediterranean is covered with Steamers, its shores lined with Harbours, and Europe traversed by Railways, the Overland traveller has no more business at the rock of Gibraltar than he has at the Cape of Good Hope. When poor Lieut. Waghorn ran his great race across the world, and proved the essential superiority of the Trieste route, he doubtless thought that it only needed the Railways—now made—to make that *the* route to India. He did not appreciate the powers of resistance of a strong Company, nor the long suffering of an English, still more an Anglo-Indian, community. This resistance has been aided, and this long suffering has been rendered yet more passive, by a certain undefined dread of the difficulties of Continental travel, natural to a society which has been prevented by exile from knowing much or anything of the Continent, and in whom the knowledge of Hindustani renders quite excusable an ignorance of French. But this dread with the causes which produced it, is diminishing daily. It is not too much to say that the great majority of those Anglo-Indians who have visited Europe in the last ten years have some acquaintance with the Continent; and we know that merely to have crossed from Dover to Calais is enough to dispel the unquiet consciousness to which we have alluded. Perhaps a certain traditional anxiety respecting the Austrian police and Custom house may still linger, but this too is subsiding before repeated testimony, and the P. and O. begin to occupy more and more conspicuously the undisguised position of a Company trying for its private profit to obstruct the public interest; and for such efforts the sure economic Nemesis provides one certain retribution; another Company steps in, opens the outlet which monopoly had barred; the stream of traffic flows placidly on in its natural course, and has no care or thought to bestow on the stranded Company which lies forlorn in its abandoned Highway, an addition to the long list of unwilling witnesses, that the mutual good of the many, and not the fancied good of the few at the expense of the many, is the end towards which Nature is always working: is the law to which the successful Company—successful only while in accordance with nature,—must conform or fail.

We trust that our readers will bear with us if we endeavor to make plain by illustration those great improvements of which the present route is susceptible; if journeying in spirit from Ladak to London, we briefly dwell in passing, on those practical improvements which, without the aid of Mr. Stephenson, and all

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the Governments, we may hope to see carried out in the lifetime of the present generation.

Great as has been the spread of European civilization in the last twenty years, it has not penetrated Ladak. But the traveller in that wild region who sets his face homewards, and in May writes with confidence to his friends in England that he will be amongst them in September, evinces by that act of faith how much civilization has done to tame the terrors even of the wildernesses which as yet it has not reached. His immediate situation is indeed little suggestive of rapid locomotion. It is enough if ever he surmounts that snow crowned ridge which make the plains of India seem to the imprisoned fancy far distant; the shores of the ocean infinitely remote, Europe in another planet. But fancy is allowed no voice in the matter; this little corner of the earth suspended as it is, isolated as it seems from all the world; is only five and thirty marches from Lahore, and thirty-five marches represent seven weeks. Not without reluctance the traveller turns Southward; it is not without self-denial that he leaves unexplored the vast steppes which Northward rise still one above another; those black lines marked with much boldness, but necessarily with no great precision in Captain Thuillier's Map; till the highest level of the earth is reached, and the world slopes on the other side down the wild steppes of Tartary to the dreary plains of Russia. The traveller turns Southward but he does not leave Europe—no nor the highest civilization—altogether unrepresented in that unfrequented latitude. As he approaches nearer to the habitations of his countrymen, he thinks with some emotion of those two Moravian Missionaries who have pitched their tents in Lahool and given themselves up to preaching the faith which they hold, in regions where they may safely boast that they are "not laboring in other men's line of things made ready to their hand." All Missionaries may as a rule claim credit for readiness to go to unfrequented parts of the earth; and if this be praise these good Moravians may be considered Missionaries of the Missionaries. They have taken up their station, are learning the language, something which we Hindostani talkers dream not of, and quietly conciliating the people. Whatever may be their success in their particular object, it is impossible to think without interest of those two sentinels posted in the very extremest face of the civilized world. The great tide of European life and energy and knowledge which is ever flowing from the heart, the great Western Capitals, is carried in a still diminishing stream to distant Asia; it travels up to the North West; it trickles into the Himalaya Mountains; and here in a wild region far beyond the most remote outlying European Hill Station, beats its last faint pulse. In a small house in Lahool may be found European man-

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ners, the European face, Western learning, and the Christian religion. Leaving these behind, how many thousand miles might we proceed Northward, before finding the other end of the chain; before stumbling on the first Russian peasant, who might claim in some imperfect degree to represent Europe.

But our Traveller is bound on a less arduous journey: he is within the influence of the ebb, which in the spring of every year, draws back so many wanderers to the mother country. His face is set to London as devoutly as ever was Mahomedan Pilgrims to Mecca. He crosses those lower passes which a mild season and the growing warmth of the sun render practicable to him, and emerges in the neighbourhood of the Chumba Hills. It is now that the inward draught of the civilized world begins to be felt. Those yellow stone streaks which speak of Iron, have been reported in Leadenhall Street—and discussed by Wolverhampton Iron Masters. A Committee appointed to search the neighbouring Hills, has discovered beyond a doubt that these yellow streaks are not fallacious; that the Hills are full of iron. That the iron is there, and that it can be easily worked, are two certainly ascertained facts; nor is this the only mineral treasure which these Hills contain. The Staffordshire Potters, and some unknown contractor with the Government of Tuscany are immediately connected with the opening up of Indian routes, and the development of Himalayan resources. Of the thousands who every morning drink out of a China cups, the elegance of which still increases with improving taste and skill, it is probable that few think of the Potteries of Staffordshire, except perhaps those who have travelled the previous night by the North Western Railway, and seen the sky reddened by the lurid glare of the ever-blazing fires, which denote that cups and saucers are for ever being made. Of this reflecting minority still fewer perhaps are aware that in order to give to their China that delicate glaze which is one of its great beauties, is required an article called Borax, which is made of "Boracic Acid," which acid again can at present only be obtained from certain mineral springs at Tasso in the kingdom of Tuscany. These springs are now on lease to a private individual, who accordingly charges what he pleases; has in fact raised the price on the manufacturers in the last few years from £48 to £95 per ton; and as the manufacturers justly observe, is very likely to raise it higher,—for the English will have glazed cups: so the cup-makers must have the Borax, and the Tuscan contractor must have his own price. The only discovered substitute as yet is Tincal, which indeed appears to be very much the same thing as Borax. A certain officer going home on furlough took some Tincal in his pocket; the Staffordshire Potters got hold of him; requested him to attend the Chamber of Com-

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merce at Stoke-upon-Trent; satisfied themselves that Himalayan Tincal would give them the weather gage of Tuscan Borax, and immediately wrote off a memorial to the Governor General begging him to develop the Tincal traffic immediately. The request was a little vague, and involved making a road of some hundreds of miles over the Himalaya; but the Staffordshire Potters did not mind waiting, and the Marquis of Dalhousie was never deaf to the cries of legitimate commerce. All our readers know about the Hindostan and Thibet road; we hear on good authority that Borax is coming down to Simla in quantities calculated to make the Tuscan contractor's heartache. That it exists in the more Westerly Hills is as certain as that iron exists; the problem as to both is, how to carry them to market. But if we descend from the mountains to the beautiful valley of Kangra, we feel sure that this is a difficulty which must in the course of years disappear. It is as impossible as that the P. and O. should continue to carry us round by Gibraltar, that the grain and the rice with which this most fertile and most lovely district abounds should not find their way to the mouths of hungry men. The Tea plant carries with it the same promise, and is as threatening a foe to the Chinese, as the Tincal to the Tuscan. Whether Europeans will ultimately come to Kangra, or the produce of Kangra will be carried to Europeans we do not venture to assert; but that one or other event will take place we are quite certain; and either must lead to a great improvement of the Overland route;—we use the phrase, it will be observed, in an extended sense, as stretching not merely from post to post, but from London to Ladák;—as comprehending that much required improvement a great highway from the hills to the plains. This however is still a hope for the future; not certainly remote, but we fear not immediate.

It is not till we reach Umritsur that we find the first great practical improvement of the existing Transit undergoing serious consideration. The Calais and Mooltan may be a joke, even the Mooltan and Umritsur a project too large for our minds to grasp; but the Lahore and Umritsur falls within the speculative compass of the feeblest imagination. The two largest cities in the North of India are separated by 35 miles of level road. There probably is not an easier tract in the world to carry a Railway over; there are certainly no two isolated points between which there is a greater trade to convey. Government is in the field already: it is counting the carts; the small two-wheeled one-horsed, bell-tinkling, ricketty vehicles which at present monopolize the native passenger traffic of this brief but important line. The English passenger traffic is accommodated by one mail cart or palki gharri per diem. There is nothing to complain of in the pace.

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The Railway would probably not bring much improvement in this respect: the average rate at which the mail is conveyed between Umritsur and Lahore exceeds the rate at which it is carried by the Railway between Calcutta and Raneegunge; but when the one mail cart, or the one palki gharee is bespoken, the descent is sudden and great, for there is then nothing left but the old fashioned palanquin and bearer jogtrot. It is barely possible that the local traffic may be thus accommodated, but if we are regarding the 35 miles from Umritsur to Lahore as a link in the chain of the Overland route, it is clear that one unfortunate horse (nay scarcely the half dozen unfortunate horses which might be found, were there three private companies in competition with Government) cannot do the work. We repeat that Government has already been engaged in counting the carts. This preliminary operation has we believe been happily accomplished, and the result will shortly be published. In anticipation of such publication we will not commit ourselves to figures which could be but loosely given, but we believe it may be confidently asserted, that one conclusion has been established by this traffic census, as firmly as any conclusion can be settled by any a priori argument, viz. that the rate at which the Railway can be made is so moderate, and the existing traffic is so great, that there is not the least doubt — without making allowance for any great increase of the existing habits of locomotion, supposing that the line were to be isolated and not connected by Rail, as it certainly must be ere long—with Calcutta on the one side and Kurrachee on the other; that even under such unfavorable circumstances the undertaking would be highly remunerative. The sole question remains, where is the money to come from? There is capital enough in Umritsur to make the line six times over; but spirited men as the Umritsur merchants are in their way, they have not yet attained that confidence in the resources of science which shall enable them to subscribe their tangible Rupees to an object unseen, unknown, unheard of. When the Railway is made they will travel on it in flocks; they will use it more habitually than the English do; they will invest their money in it, though at a sacrifice, when once they see the money collector selling tickets behind the counter: but at present they applaud the scheme faintly; praise the unceasing energy and skill of the paternal government, but evince a most unmistakeable intention to leave the paternal government to make the Railway. The natives have no faith in Railways which they have not seen; and English Capitalists have little right to laugh at them, for these latter have no faith in India for precisely the same reason. The aristocracy of the stock exchange have but a limited vision after all; they dislike quite as much as the Umritsur Brokers to let their money go out of

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sight; were it not so, they would not lose so favorable an opportunity of making a golden investment. A moderate man, not used to visions of cupidity, cannot but feel exalted as he pictures himself a Shareholder, some years hence, in the Lahore and Umritsur, a cheaply-made well-paying easy line, making its own terms with the two main lines to both of which it is absolutely essential. Failing however both English and Indian Capitalists, and neither the example of the Crystal Palace Company nor the permission of limited liability having yet taught us the lesson of associating ourselves without the aid of the Capitalist's crutch, and making many short purses do the work of our long one; enthusiastic advocates of this tempting scheme are driven to the last refuge of the destitute;—the Government must do it all. The old arguments are repeated: the old invectives are not wanting. Men who have spent their lives in getting as much as they can out of India, and giving back as little, are heard preaching with ludicrous gravity the doctrines of philanthropy. The duty we owe to our native subjects is extolled with unresting ardor. Others will put Manchester to shame and out Yankee Yankeeism by the energy of their go-ahead policy. How blind the Government is to its own interest! How reluctant to make a little present sacrifice for so certain and so noble a profit! If Government has not got the money let it borrow: it is always ready enough to borrow for unprofitable wars, why this prudence when the profitable works of peace call for liberality; when the conquered ryots—and the argument again passes off into a stream of philanthropic rhetoric. Meanwhile the Government keeps its pockets buttoned up, and for this cautious attitude we cannot blame it. Certainly it is not by flowers of philanthropic rhetoric that one of the most difficult conceivable financial problems is to be solved. The Lahore and Umritsur Railway, the development of the mineral resources of India, the extension of Canals; in a word the whole question of Public Works *versus* expenditure, turns on this one point; to what length is a Government justified in going in a course of borrowing money for useful works? We are glad to see that the press of India is addressing itself with freedom and spirit to this most important subject: but we confess that it seems to us that this is precisely one of those questions on which we might well avail ourselves of our nearer relations with England, to obtain the benefit of English experience and statesmanship on a great State question. If the point were reduced, as it easily might be, to some sharp definite practical issue such as alone Parliament can deal with; could Lord Albemarle leave alone the salaries of Civil officers, or could Mr. Bright be induced to celebrate his return to health and the House

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of Commons (a return which all lovers of the House of Commons rejoice in,) by the adoption of a nobler and more useful relation to Indian Politics; and instead of declaiming on details of which neither he nor his hearers can possibly comprehend the real merits, were to invite the House of Commons to examine thoroughly a great general principle of Government; we should listen in this country with respectful attention, and should begin to think that we were at last reaping some practical benefit from the India Bill of 1853. A studied speech from Mr. Gladstone on such a subject would be invaluable: a man who, whatever may be his faults, as a politician, does undoubtedly hold the very first place among modern English statesmen as a Financier.

If the Lahore and Umritsur Railway has to wait till the Public Works question is scientifically settled, it will, we fear, wait a long time; but the Public Works question will probably not be settled but only nibbled at; each particular case will be separately dealt with, and few perhaps will have a stronger claim than that under consideration. At any rate the making of the Umritsur and Lahore Railway is the first great improvement of which the existing Overland route is capable.

The second improvement which we may hope to see even in our day is the Lahore and Mooltan; and there is no link so essential as this to the perfecting of the Overland route to Western India. They may send steamers to Kurrachee, they may improve the navigation of the Indus, they may make Railways to Hyderabad and from Hyderabad to Mooltan; but Mooltan itself is at present a *Cul de Sac*. We speak of passengers. The mails are carried on horses, parcels are conveyed by Bullock Train in five days; but for passengers it is the Mail Cart or nothing. The Mooltan road has been briefly described in a recent number of the *Review*, and we do not intend to travel over the same ground now. Indeed it is ground which no sane man travels either in body or spirit when he can keep off it. But it bears on our present subject to notice the two hundred miles between Lahore and Mooltan as a lamentable hiatus in the great chain of communication. It was truly remarked lately by the *Lahore Chronicle* on the occasion of the death of the unfortunate Lieut. Campbell in the wilds of the Punjab, that the magnificent works between Jhelum and Peshawur cannot be accepted as a set off against the utter absence of all facilities of travel in the Mooltan and Leia Divisions. We do not take poor Mr. Campbell's unhappy case for more than it is worth. He may have been ill—he may have been of a weakly constitution; there may have been many circumstances which neither we nor the public know of; but this fact must remain after all abatement, that travelling on the public service, not on any emergency in which as in action an officer may fairly be called on to risk his life,

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but in the ordinary course of duty, he died for lack of civilization. Men do not die on the Mooltan road: indeed there are Dâk Bungalows every forty miles: but there are no bearers, and as between Umritsur and Lahore, one horse and cart a day, though it travel at the rate of ten miles an hour including stoppages, is not sufficient to accommodate the English passenger traffic of the North West. We believe the practical question just now is, whether to have metal technical or metal literal; *kunkur* or iron;—a good road or a Railway. It is acknowledged on all hands that no half measure will make that wilderness of sand even tolerable; but the expense of metalling the road would be enormous, for kunkur is not to be had, though zealous search has been made for it at both ends of the line. An immense expense being then essential in order to make this important road tolerable, it is argued with great plausibility that it is better to incur an expense greater indeed than is absolutely necessary, but final: better to spend fifteen thousand pounds a mile for a railway which shall be a possession for ever, than ten thousand for a road which however excellent must one day be superseded. This question is before the Judge—and pending its decision, sand is rampant, and the natural route from Northern India to England is grievously marred. Some people indeed cut the knot by floating down the Sutlej in a boat. We have nothing to object to this mode of locomotion:—it is philosophical: the man who makes two such voyages has more leisure than occurs to most of us in this railway age, in a lifetime. But furloughs are short in these days: and the man who has to leave Lahore in January and return to it in June, having visited his friends in the Highlands of Scotland in the interval, cannot spare time for such dignified locomotion. Moreover a route must work both ways. It is all very well to go down the Sutlej, but it is a dreary business to be "tracked" up it.

Arrived at Mooltan we have no choice but to float to the Indus. The majority go by the monthly steamer down the river and through the tidal channels to Kurrachee. The objections to this mode of travelling are, first, the great uncertainty of the Steamer, which reaches Mooltan at such time as the Captain considers the patience of the upward passengers has been sufficiently tried, and his own profits sufficiently multiplied by the operation of friendly sand banks; so that the uncovenanted officer availing himself of his newly granted privilege of a six months' leave from station to station, may find three or four weeks of his very brief furlough consumed in looking out of the windows of the Mooltan Dâk Bungalow, leaving him five months to go to Kurrachee, thence to Bombay, thence to Europe, and back again to Dera Ghazee Khan. Secondly, the vexatious regulation concerning table allowance above referred to, which gives the Captains of

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the river Steamers a direct pecuniary interest in making the voyage as tedious as possible; and thirdly, the danger which is inseparable from the transit by a small flat bottomed Steamer, of the arm of the sea which separates the last outlet of the Indus from the harbour of Kurrachee. No accident has happened yet that we know of, but every sailor knows well enough that the danger is there. Those who will be independent of the Steamer and go down to Sukkur and Hyderabad in a country boat, may have the laugh on their side as far as Tatta, but there an evil fate awaits them. They are thrown on that barren shore; the great Indus, now only 60 miles from its mouth, flows deep and silent by not less than two miles broad. The high head-dress worn by the Natives, and the strange language reminds them that they have floated into a foreign land—and are cut off from their own Presidency, which in this country, is the one substitute a man has for a home. The gloom of the landscape is not cheering, and more depressing still is the effect when we enter the town of Tatta. It seems a very city of the dead. He who has seen Tatta, shrunk inwards as it is, the lovely deserted suburbs, and the little life which remains in what was once probably the great mart of the Indus, huddled together as if to keep itself warm in the centre, is in some condition to realize Mr. Macaulay's famous image—of the New Zealander on the broken arch of London Bridge, sketching the ruin of St. Paul's. He is sixty miles from Kurrachee, between him and it is a wilderness, and he knows not how to cross it. We have indeed seen it somewhere asserted that bearers have lately been placed along this route. If so, it is a great improvement, and if a Dâk can be laid with certainty, the passage by boat and doolie from Mooltan to Kurrachee may be calculated not to exceed in a favorable month fourteen days. The traveller then who has had his boat got ready beforehand at Mooltan, and his Dâk laid from Tatta may reckon the time to be consumed between Lahore and Kurrachee at twenty-eight days if he marches to Mooltan, sixteen if he goes by the Mail cart, or is fortunate enough to secure the one Palki Ghari. This delay and uncertainty are sufficient to send most passengers from the North West round by Calcutta: they prefer the certainty of an eight days' longer passage—to the many unknown quantities contained in the Indus route. But the third practical improvement of existing communication will take place when the Scinde company, already in esse as regards Hyderabad and in posse as regards Mooltan, open their line from Kurrachee to the latter city; there they will be met by the Mooltan and Lahore, and the whole distance from the capital of the Punjab to the Port of the West may be easily traversed in three days.

Arrived at Kurrachee the long exiled Englishman rushes to

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the Sea side. He goes not merely to indulge that appetite for natural beauty which has been so long denied all gratification in the plains of India, though it is not without pleasure that he sees from Kamara point blue waves and white crests, instead of brown ridges of eternal sand; it is not only that he may feel his deliverance from exile, though a weight is taken off his heart as he looks on the enfranchising Sea, and thinks that there is no barrier between that muddy current which is flowing among the dirty fishing boats of Kurrachee, and the bright waves which are breaking on the rocks of Cornwall or washing the sands of Norfolk; it is not to indulge Byronic raptures, though he too acknowledges the force of that English love for the Ocean, the happy expression of which is the crowning glory of Childe Harold; but all these motives together compel him. After ten years spent in an inland wilderness, the taste of the saltwater—the ebb or flow of the tide have the charm of novelty, the ever-moving waters the attraction of beauty; and it may be too that the least sentimental are moved by some touch of patriotic sentiment: they know what they owe to England and what England owes to the sea. The country of overland routes, of Indian empires, of great exhibitions, is not more indebted to the great highway of nations for its facilities of locomotion, than the country of Puritanism, of Conservatism of "Ancient Manners" is to the angry sea for its power of insulation. And it is this last quality of being isolated, which Englishmen most value in their country; which forms we believe the secret foundation of their grateful attachment to the sea. Even in these days when every body travels, and a continental mania is as rabid as it was among those young men who had made the grand tour, and whose absurdities we laugh at in the novels of the last century; when it is considered a mark not so much of fashion as of intellectual superiority to disparage every thing English and extoll every thing foreign, even in these days we are consoled to observe occasional symptoms that John Bullism, with all its unreasoning unreasonable accompaniments, is neither dead nor dying. We are very fond of our gallant Allies, but we like them, as a discreet Jacobite did a Stewart King—over the water. For our own part we have suffered our full portion of the common agony which befalls men in the Straits of Dover; but never have we in the middle of that channel so unfriendly to Landsmen, been tempted to so traitorous a wish as that the watery space were diminished by a single foot.

But Kurrachee possesses other attractions for the wanderer than those which are suggested by romance or patriotism; there smokes the Steamer which is to take him—to Aden? Alas no—but to Bombay! The fourth practical improvement of the existing route, the establishment of a direct steam communication be-

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tween Kurrachee and Suez, has not yet been accomplished; but of all which have been mentioned it is the one which will soonest be carried out. It was all but done last year, and will in all probability be effected this. The Reform was indeed decided when the "Duke of Argyll," an English merchant vessel of 1000 tons, brought troops direct to Kurrachee in 1852. It was confirmed when the formidable bar of hard rock at the mouth of the harbour was found on examination to subside into soft mud. It is strengthened by the attempt being made, we believe for the first time this very year, to demonstrate the practicability of Kurrachee as a port, by keeping up the communication with Bombay all through the monsoon. It will be carried out to its full length by the spirited association lately formed for the development of Steam Navigation between Kurrachee and Suez; which may be regarded as among the first fruits of limited liability in India; the most important application yet made of the joint stock principle, which is destined we trust to solve without the interference of Government the great problem of Indian Public Works. Under these circumstances it is not unnatural that Kurrachee should assume some of the airs of a "rising town," and Bombay express some of the selfish anxiety of a mart of which the monopoly is threatened. With regard to the promised prosperity of Kurrachee we will imitate the prudence which we have already commended, and utter no prophecy. We admit that there is everything to justify the most sanguine expectations; but on the other hand experience seems to prove that "a rising place" nascitur non fit. When a place has risen we can easily trace the causes, but it is not always safe to predicate that certain causes will produce a rise. Few people supposed even twenty years ago that Southampton was destined to become the most important mail and passenger port in England; again there was no limit to the prophecies of the prosperity which was to attend Birkenhead. Birkenhead itself looked proudly over the Mersey, proclaimed to all hearers that "it was going to begin," and warned Liverpool to look to herself. It is difficult to say what a rising place could want which Birkenhead did not possess; still it remains to this day not much more than a suburb of Liverpool. But whether or not Kurrachee rises so far as is expected, we do not share the fears which are expressed for Bombay. Not indeed but the most hard-hearted Kurrachee house speculator could wish otherwise than well to that beautiful city and Harbour. But experience proves continually that nature is far more liberal than our selfish fears. The prosperity of one place by no means always involves the ruin of another; the agricultural interests maintain a plethoric prosperity though foreigners may import their corn for a shilling duty. Were it otherwise, indeed, the corn must still have been imported free, though farmers

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had suffered; and we must in any case go to England by the best route though all the Bombay merchants walk in sackcloth; but it is satisfactory to believe that in this as in many similar cases we may both eat our cake and have it; may reduce the voyage to England by six days and yet not see the glory depart from the Harbour and Island of Bombay. But the opening of the Kurrachee and Suez route though immediately to be expected, is not yet accomplished; at present the traveller must make a four days' voyage to Bombay and wait at the Hope Hall, the best of Indian Hotels, till the departure of the first Steamer for Suez.

We are not in a condition to testify how the P. and O. Company treat our Bombay brethren. We have always thought the complaints regarding accommodation and provision on board these large Steamers exaggerated; but that the pace of some of the vessels still plying between Suez and Calcutta is wretchedly slow no body denies, nor can it be tolerated now that the Russian war, which the English Government was weak enough to accept as an excuse for the non-performance of a notoriously too favorable contract, has been brought to a conclusion. But it is not the quality of the food, nor the size of the berths, nor even the tardy revolutions of the paddles of the "Oriental," of which the Indian public has most right to complain. Nor is it even the monstrous fare of £120 from Calcutta to Southampton which chiefly invites adverse competition. This £120 is a fair, just, reasonable, moderate charge, when compared with that prohibition by which in the heyday of its prosperity, the P. and O. Company vainly hopes to close the Trieste route against Indian travellers. The fare to Southampton, including the Egyptian transit, is £120. The fare to Marseilles (now that the P. and O. occupy the Maltese station) is reduced to £115—and as the first class fare from Marseilles to London is £6—there is only £1 difference between the cost of these two routes. But the fare from Calcutta to Suez is £100; the traveller has then to pay £10 for his transit through Egypt; thus the whole fare from Garden Reach to Alexandria is just £10 less than the fare from the former place to Southampton. In fact the P. and O. Company asserts in distinct terms, the Indian public shall go by that route which our Steamers pursue and shall not go by any other. Now we repeat, we do not complain of this as unjust, or blame it as immoral: we condemn it however as impolitic, and we do contend most strongly that it is a bondage from which the public should most earnestly desire to be relieved. Relief can only come to us in the shape of competition, and the only two quarters from which competition can be hoped for, are America and the Austrian Lloyds Company. We can never wish to see an English driven out of the field by an American Company, but national sentiment cannot

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stand in the way of cheap fares. As to the Austrian Lloyds, whoever has travelled by their Steamers in the Mediterranean, would be glad to see them running in any part of the world. But we hear with great regret that the Austrian Lloyds Company is becoming disheartened by its long and unsuccessful efforts to secure its fair share of the Indian traffic; and that not only is the scheme of running on this side abandoned, but there is some fear of our losing their Steamers in the Mediterranean. May the Government avert the omen! we say the Government advisedly; for this is not an ordinary case of competition: it is not a fair field with no favour; were it so the P. and O. would have lowered their tone long ago: most unfortunately Government steps in to derange the running by a most arbitrary handicap, and every Company except the fortunate P. and O. is heavily weighted. If that be true which we have heard asserted on good authority, that a P. and O. Steamer can afford to run from Calcutta to Suez without a single passenger, paying her way by the mail contract, then two conclusions obviously follow: first that no independent Company can have a chance against such odds; secondly, that Government was deluded into giving or jobbing away their mail contract, on terms most unfair and disadvantageous to the public. This is now generally allowed to have been the case; and it is an error to which the Anglo-Indian public, and the English public also has a strong interest in getting corrected on the first opportunity. At present we see no signs of a reform. On the contrary the hands of the P. and O. have been lately strengthened by a renewal of the Australian* contract in which they have failed once already; nor has the subject of the Indian Mail contract been once mooted in the House of Commons during the past Session. If it be true that competing interests should be left to adjust themselves without the interference of Government, it is certainly not less true that when Government does choose to interfere, it should be as far as possible for the benefit and not the injury of the public. We should be glad to see the commercial community of Calcutta and Bombay exercise a gentle pressure on Lord Canning on this subject. His Lordship probably knows more about mail contracts than most of us; and the experience acquired in St. Martins le Grand may be most usefully employed for the acceleration of the Indian Mail, and the deliverance of the Indian public from a very galling monopoly.

This then is the 5th practical improvement to be effected in the existing Overland route; to induce Government by throwing its mail contract open to a fair competition, to deliver the public from the tyrannical tariff of an unquestioned monopoly.

* Since the above was written we have been delighted to see it stated that after all the P and O. have *not* obtained the Australian contract.

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Grumbling at the loss of a hundred pounds, but determined not to be deterred by going viâ Trieste, we make the best of our way to Aden: we make soon afterwards that great turn to the right which brings within the compass of our vision a main feature in the configuration of the globe: the creaking of the tiller, and the disturbed water in the wake of the ship intimate that we are setting our faces Northward, that we are approaching the dangerous Strait of Babelmandeb, and are about to enter the Red Sea. We fear that the abatement of the terrors of this crucial point of the existing route does not fall within our anticipated category of Overland improvements.

On reaching Suez we notice one of those alterations which slight and inexpensive as they are, go a long way in improving communication. From the roadstead to the Quay, a distance of little more than three miles, the passage used formerly to be performed in open boats. Some years ago a small Steamer was substituted, which carries passengers right up to the door of the Hotel; and to say nothing of the comfort of such an arrangement, it is probable that it saves half a day in the Egyptian transit. Were the comfort of passengers the main subject of this article, we could dilate on the wretchedness of Suez and the rest houses in the desert. Every body who remembers the accommodation to be found in the desert ten years ago will bear witness to the great deterioration which has taken place. But it is superfluous to complain of a grievance the days of which are already numbered. Already the most troublesome part of the overland journey, the passage of the Nile, is done away; and the Railway will shortly supersede the vans as it has done the Steamers. This latter change will not be so entire a subject for congratulation as the former. There will be few who will not regret the fun of the desert journey; that one day so utterly unlike all the other days of their lives; some will miss that long descent into Cairo, which enabled them to survey at leisure the City and the Pyramids. It is not impossible moreover that the Railway will deprive us of what always strikes an observing traveller; of the most marked contrast which occurs in the whole kaleidescope journey from Lahore to London; the absolute line of demarcation between Asia and Europe which is drawn at Suez. Poor Africa, always slighted, is lost sight of even on her own soil. It is at Suez that the homeward bound traveller takes leave of India. It is there that he eats his last leathery fowl; it is there he speaks his last word of Hindustani, it is there that he passes his last rupee. Up to this point India has been the only part of the world contemplated by the providers of travelling accommodation; but thenceforth the Indian passengers are but one important element in the mixed tide of universal travel. At Suez every man is journeying on

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business, at Cairo the Table d' hote is half filled by Englishmen and Americans journeying for pleasure. And by the time the Bengalee reaches Alexandria, he has shed his Indian skin altogether; the man who yesterday called for beer at tiffin, is to-day drinking wine at luncheon. But if our travelling is destined to become less picturesque, we are consoled by the fact that it becomes easier and more rapid: nay we have even a firm faith that much abused as Railways have been for their hostility to taste and beauty, they will be found in the long run to supply quite as many objects of interest as they take away; and to contribute their full share not merely to the ease and speed, but also to the pleasure of travelling. Be this as it may, what we want is to get home quickly; and it will be a notable step towards the fulfilment of this desire, when the sixth great improvement in the present overland route is wholly as it is already half completed: when the opening of the railway from Suez to Alexandria reduces the time of the Egyptian transit from three days to one, and enables mails and passengers to be landed one evening on the shore of the Red Sea, and embarked the next evening in the Mediterranean.

If the march of comfort keeps pace with that of progress, we may hope some day to see a tolerable Hotel at Alexandria. Certainly there is none at present; the square barrack at Cairo being the one oasis of comfort which the traveller finds in the whole of the Egyptian wilderness. Hotel keeping is likely to be an indifferent trade at Cairo, when the railway is completed, and we hope to see the spirited proprietor of the aforesaid barrack migrating to Alexandria for his own benefit, and that of afflicted passengers. But in truth it is not in a bad Hotel to afflict the Indian passengers when they find themselves on the shores of the Mediterranean; when every repetition of its name and every ripple of its blue waters is so laden with associations of that Europe which has so long been to them but a distant vision. Two Steamers lie smoking in the offing; one is huge and has the swollen look of a monopolist, the other seems stunted in its growth for want of proper support. The big ship belongs of course to the P. and O.; she is very large and very fast, being one of those vessels which are always kept on the home side to show the English Public what a magnificent fleet the P. and O. Company possesses, and to induce them innocently to conclude that vessels of the same class and capacity are to be found at every station of the overland route. To this large Steamer, those who are inclined or obliged to be comparatively economical, those who do not know the misery which awaits them between Malta and Marseilles, those who have a vague dread of the Austrian Police, and those few people of peculiar idiosyncracy who like the Bay of Biscay—now betake

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themselves. In four days that large ship will reach Malta; and those who there leave her for the Vectis or Valetta will learn what discomfort on board ship means. It is confessed however that this discomfort is cheaply purchased by landing after a three days' further voyage at Marseilles, by parting company with the P. and O.—by the rapid flight through the region of the olive and the region of the vine; by historical Avignon, by wine growing Dijon, by the blue Rhône, by Lyons, now alas lying desolated by the great water floods, but soon we trust to be restored to its normal beauty, industry and prosperity; through the rich valley of the Yonne to ever new, ever happy, ever recreating Paris! To the other victims of monopoly even the magnificent rock and still more magnificent Straits of Gibraltar; that passage of the pillars of Hercules perhaps the most interesting geographical feature of the world; that great turn to the right, yet more satisfactory than the turn made at Babelmandeb, for now the traveller for the last time sets himself Northward, and steers right on to the cold but welcome breezes of the English channel; all this is not enough to compensate those who suffer from the common misery, for the wretchedness of the Bay of Biscay.

Meanwhile the traveller who could not be diverted by the injurious arts of the P. and O. from pursuing his journey in a straight line, stands on the Quay at Alexandria, and looking not without a qualm of doubt at the receding English Steamer, counts the cost of his resolution. It is not to be denied that it will cost him something. That wicked fare £100 to Suez has been already paid: it cost him £10 to cross the desert. For £10 more he might have been landed at Southampton: but now his fare to Trieste will be £16—and from Trieste to London he cannot expect to travel for less than £15. His mere railway fares, if he travels second class (as he will) from Laibach to Cologne, and first class (as he must) from Cologne to London, will cost him £10, and cabs, Hotel-bills, fees—and the general effort to keep body and soul together will run away with £5 more. Allowing that it costs the Southampton voyager twenty shillings to get from that port to London, the penalty charged on the Trieste traveller for not going the way the P. and O. Company bid him, is not less than twenty pounds. But he who endures to be thus mulcted will certainly have his reward. He obtains a Consul's passport at Alexandria, and goes on board the "Bombay" Steamer. There are probably no more comfortable passenger ships in the world than those of the Austrian Lloyds. To the general courtesy which characterises all German and especially all Austrian officials, is added the particular civility paid by all along the line, nay, the special privileges allowed by the unconceding Austrian Government to passengers of a class whose custom they

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are so anxious to secure. We spoke of obtaining a Consul's passport at Alexandria, but this precaution though advisable is not necessary, for passengers by these ships are of all people in the world, alone allowed to set foot on Austrian soil without a passport. This document, however, must of course be obtained before leaving Trieste, and it is as well therefore to get it, when there is plenty of time to spare, at Alexandria. Those who like what they call being really at Sea; that is with no prospect but sky and water for days together, should by all means go by the Bay of Biscay; but those who when on board ship feel conscious of a lubberly pleasure in keeping land in sight, will find this taste gratified in the Trieste voyage. The first European land which comes in sight is the island of Candia; then are seen the headlands of the Morea, the coast of Albania; and then come the Ionian islands. The sea among these islands assumes the character of a lake; after passing the currant-bearing Zante, the Steamer passes into a narrow strait between Cephalonia and Ithaca. The greater part of a day is occupied in steaming between these islands; then follows Leucadia, and before nightfall the ship drops anchor in the harbour of Corfu, having accomplished three-fifths of the voyage from Alexandria to Trieste. Passengers are not allowed to land at Corfu, a mortifying prohibition, rendered however more tolerable by finding that the ship does not wait there more than six hours, a brief space indeed to those who have learnt on board the P. and O. ships to associate the process of coaling with a halt of twenty-four hours; a prohibition moreover of which they are to reap the benefit on reaching Trieste, for they there find that in the course of their five days' voyage they have performed their quarantine.

A few hours after leaving Corfu, we enter the Adriatic; the waters of which are enlivened by the number of ships passing up and down between Venice, Trieste, Ancona, and the ports of the Mediterranean. The Steamer leaves the Italian coast out of sight, and creeps up the shore of Dalmatia and Illyria. It is on the evening of the 5th day out from Alexandria, that we see the wood fringed semi-circular hill which overhangs the port of Austria, and then the white houses, the increasing size of which denote our rapid approach to the Continent of Europe. Now comes the testing time of the first of our terrors, the rigour of the Austrian quarantine. We will narrate briefly our own experience of this awful process. We have said that the Trieste route is but too little appreciated, and on the occasion referred to, we and our immediate party and an Austrian gentleman were the only passengers on board. We had entered Trieste harbour in the night, and next morning were dressing with a pleasing consciousness that Europe was within a stone's throw of the port, but with a

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counteracting uneasiness concerning the yellow flag whose ominous shadow we could see reflected in the water. Presently we were informed that the Doctor was come to give us pratique. We felt very much as a man does who is going up for an examination, a comparison which in these days is sure to come home to every reader's experience. Presently we heard a voice shouting at us from the deck in language which we regret to say we not only did not understand, but hesitated whether to set it down as German or Italian. We replied in Hindustani, which had the satisfactory effect of inducing our Interlocutor to change his language. We proceeded to the foot of the ladder, and there caught a glimpse of a little man stooping down to try and get a view of us. He then asked in French whether we had the plague. We replied up the hatchway that we were free from that malady. He repeated the question (with due formality with regard to Madame our wife and Monsieur our infant,) and receiving an equally satisfactory assurance with regard to both of them wished us good morning; and by the time we had completed our interrupted toilet, the yellow flag was down, and we were free to take leave of our comfortable ship and her obliging officers. The fact is that the quarantine for these Steamers coming from Alexandria, is fixed at five days from the hour of leaving the Egyptian port; and as this is precisely the period consumed by the voyage, the quarantine is reduced to a practical nullity, operating only at Corfu, where a passenger would by landing break his quarantine and of course lose his pratique.

The first bugbear of the Trieste route being thus disposed of, then remains the Custom House and the Police. We are not going to deny that both luggage searching and passport examining are abominable and barbarous customs. But it is quite certain that the Austrian Custom House is rather better than worse than others; indeed the *amour proper* of the Indian voyager cannot fail to be gratified by the obvious attention shown him, for the reason we have above stated. Every body knows instinctively what articles are contraband. If an officer will fill his portmanteau with cigars or tobacco, he will doubtless have sufficient reason to complain of the Austrian Custom House—and probably the suspicions of one department will extend to another: he will be wearied with doubts and questions concerning his passport; will find the Police as bad as the Custom House officials, and will heartily abuse the Trieste route. But the man who carries his bonâ fide luggage and nothing else, will find that the utmost of his trouble consists in unlocking and relocking his portmanteau. The scrutiny will probably be rigid, for Austrian officials have a natural inquisitorial taste, and are moreover drilled to do their business thoroughly; but he will meet

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with perfect civility, and every reasonable assistance in resettling deranged property. The search will be repeated at the barrier at Vienna, at Bödenbach on the Saxon frontier; on entering Belgium; on entering France, and finally at Dover or London; and the force of the Custom House objection to the Trieste route may be ascertained and arithmetically represented by multiplying the trouble of arranging a disturbed portmanteau into five: we do not reckon the Dover search, which is cancelled by that which Bay of Biscay voyagers have to encounter at Southampton.

But the Austrian Police! These terrible individuals are not unnaturally associated in our minds with persecuted patriots, with oppressed Italy, with injured Hungary. But the Police who carry out a Radetskian policy have no authority to molest but rather to help the travellers by the Austrian Lloyd's Company. The worst of it is that an Englishman does not like being helped, whereas the Austrian Government is so accustomed to its paternal attitude that it cannot forbear helping those who would much rather be let alone. But at least this helping interfering system has one advantage. Let a man land at Trieste knowing no word of any language except English and Bengalee, let him have his passport and five pounds to his pocket,—let him set his face as one that would pass through Austria—and we defy him to go wrong till he is across the frontier. Let him take his ticket and thenceforth be at ease. He is a parcel and may be quite sure he will be delivered as addressed. It may be degrading to be treated as a chattel, but it saves a world of trouble and anxiety. Three things only a man must not do; he must not lose his passport, he must not lose his purse, and he must not smuggle. Of course if a man understands French, so much the better, and if German, better still. He will then find Austria the easiest country in the world—we do not say to travel *in*—but to travel through. But were the terrors of the quarantine, the Custom House and the Police really as great as they are sometimes supposed to be, it would be worth some trouble to get rid so soon of the Sea, to ascend slowly the long hill out of Trieste, looking right across the Gulf of Venice, and on a fine day catching a hazy view of the Queen of the Adriatic herself, to pass over those wild swelling ridges of the Julian Alps and into the magnificent gorges of Illyria. But beautiful as is the drive of 70 miles from Trieste to Laibach, it is not to be concealed that it is here we have to look for the seventh practical improvement of the present route. The country is difficult for a Railway, and the resources of the Austrian Government were exhausted by making the yet more difficult line from Laibach to Vienna. But though the Austrian Government, has not been able to make the Railway

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itself, it is far too paternal to suffer any body else to do so : the Germans, good easy folks, have not yet contracted that insatiable desire for going fast which pursues the English and Americans, and now every day with increasing force the French, and urges those nations forward like a fate : they do not yet seek "*Quadrigis bene vivere :*" they are perfectly content to travel 70 miles by post, and wait till such time as the Austrian Government shall have finished the task which it performs with studied and politic tardiness. To our more impatient Anglo-Indians it is satisfactory to know that the work is and has been for many years in progress. In 1854 it was stated that the railway was to be opened in four years. How far this promise is likely to be kept, we have no means of knowing ; our only recent authority, the great Bradshaw, excellent, painstaking, and accurate as the foreign guide for the most part is, being singularly deficient in information concerning the Austrian lines. But allowing the usual percentage for contractors' promises we may fairly hope to see the work completed in 1860, and then the iron bars will run in an unbroken sequence from Trieste to Calais. At present the Railway starting place is Laibach : and a traveller returning from India could scarcely light on a more remarkable illustration of European skill and energy, than this wonderful railway through Illyria. If ever there was a country which romance might seem to have separated for its own, it is this. For our own part we were not prepared to admit that an occasional wreath of steam gliding through these narrow valleys need offend the fondest lover of nature. But if the very existence of a railway be an offence to the picturesque, it is sad to find that high hills, narrow gorges, rushing streams and solid rocks are powerless to keep a railway out. The last wonder of this wonderful line is the passage of the Semering mountain. For several years this obstacle separated the Austrian from the Illyrian line by an awkward interval of twelve miles, which had to be crossed in carriages over a mountain pass. The railway Engineers paused, but did not hesitate. We do not doubt that every wild scheme which could occur to a scientific imagination was suggested and discussed. At last when all seemed hopeless; when tunnelling and circumventing appeared equally impossible, the perplexed mind returned from its hunt after the remote to the contemplation of what lay straight before it. Why not do as the carriage road had done, and go right up and down? There is an orthodoxy of Engineers as well as of divines, and the heretic of Railways is the advocate of a bad gradient. To go right up and down a mountain, like a vulgar cart track, was below the dignity of science. It was however the only way to carry a railway across the Semering. And it has been actually done. The traveller descending on the plain of Glognitz, sees many hundred feet below him another train toil-

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ing up one of the zigzags of this extraordinary pass. What may be the cost of wear and tear involved by this successful defiance of mechanical laws we cannot tell, but far less doubtless than was caused by the twelve miles *hiatus*. The passenger will not expect to travel up and down the Semering at the pace of the Great Western Express; but to enter a carriage at Laibach which he need not quit till he reaches Vienna; nay to see that bold innovation on all existing railway practice, is enough to extort from him a hearty commendation of the gallant Engineer, who in so preposterous a manner defeated the Semering.

But if our admiration of the engineering of this Austrian line is great; if our delight in the surpassing beauty of the scenery is equalled only by our wonder that its fame is not more wide y spread, it is impossible not to feel also something like respect and esteem for the Austrian Government. There may be some who will see in the tranquil, placid, and perhaps subdued air of the people, nought but the accursed traces of absolute power: as there are certainly some who can loo on these peaceful villages with their church spire and cross, so conspicuous an object, and the quiet grave yards overshadowed by the protecting crucifix, with no other feeling that resentment at the power and extent of an abominable superstition. But it is possible also to regard those secluded villages set in such a landscapes of beauty with other thoughts than these: to acknowledge that the phrase "paternal government" contains in it something that is not to be sneered at: that however impossible a form of government for the Anglo-Saxon, it may not be altogether unsuited for all the races even of Europeans. If we think with just pride of our own free institutions, and say—as we well may—that these are indeed the meat by which strong men should live; yet it is possible to admit when we notice the solidity which characterises every public work, the accuracy and method, slow but very sure, which accompanies the working of every Public Institution; and above all the air of old world, simple, cheerful, pious, contentment which marks the people and their villages, that these Southern Austrians would possibly be no great gainers by exchanging their attitude of depending confidence on a strong paternal Government, for the agitated search after political power; nay that it is even possible that those crosses on the Church spire, those crucifixes in the church yards, may exercise some other than a baneful influence on the hearts of a simple people. We are not going at this time of day to commit ourselves to so foolish a paradox as the praise of absolutism: but it may be just to recollect that odiously selfish and hostile to freedom as the foreign policy of Austria is and almost always has been: deep as is the

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interest of every good man in seeing her expelled from Italy, and punished for her crimes towards Hungary; yet few governments are perhaps more free than that of the House of Hapsburgh from reproach as to its relations towards its own natural subjects; that if Austria as a foreign power be the legitimate object of our suspicion and dislike, she may yet be entitled to the praise of having carried out the Know-nothing Doctrine of "Austria for the Austrians:" that that absolutism may not be altogether evil which is repulsive to the foreign spectator rather than to the governed citizen. The Anglo-Indian may take another and a better lesson with him across the Austrian Frontier than mere declamatory indignation against political servitude. He may well indeed thank God that he is not as an Austrian is, but he may also remember that to England of all countries in the world he has no need to carry the doctrines of political freedom: that the danger there is rather that of anarchy among a people whose liberties are so secure as to make Government a difficult task; he will see in England with reverent patriotic gratitude the blessings of political liberty; it will be well if he has had some admiration to bestow in Austria on the blessings of a strong Government.

We are not writing a guide book (though a guide book of the Trieste route is much wanted) and cannot therefore give our readers that information respecting hotels, cab-fares and the like which belongs to the province of Messrs. Murray and Bradshaw. Neither can we follow out the route: but we may notice that long curve of the Railway above Brünn, delightful as the sweep of the Steamer into the Red Sea; for it indicates that the turn to the left is being made at last; that the traveller whose geographical notions have been disturbed ever since he left Trieste by finding himself still moving Eastward, has now set his face to the North West; away from Russia, towards the centres of civilization and—what he values more—his home.

The combined Oriental and Western beauty of Bohemian Prague; the line of demarcation at Bodenbach, on the bank of the rushing Elbe, between Austria and Saxony; the glories of the Saxon Switzerland, as the train passes through a deep ravine where the gloom of the grey forest-covered crags overhanging either side of the narrow gorge, pierced here and there by deep clefts, is relieved by the sparkling waters of the Elbe and the bright belt of green turf which separates the river from the wooded rocks; and presently debouches, before the passenger has had time to become satiated with excess of this beauty on the sunny plain of Dresden; the charms of that exhilarating city; the literary claims of Leipzig; the once battered walls of Magdeburg, where we take our leave of the Elbe, and passing through

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Brunswick and Hanover—the homes of our kings, find ourselves more than compensated for the loss of the Elbe by the presence of the Rhine; the entrance to the city of the vast Cathedral, having crossed the last of those great rivers, the Nile, the Danube, the Elbe and the Rhine, which lie between the Indus and the Thames,—all these things belong to Bradshaw, and there they are written.

On quitting Cologne, with a ticket for London in our pocket, we soon leave the valley of the Rhine, and winding and twisting through the beautiful hill district which guards the right bank of the valley of the Meuse, enter on the wide level plains of Belgium. From Liege to Calais is perhaps one of the dullest routes in Europe. Of the great Flemish cities the railway with which we are concerned touches none but Malines and Ghent. At the former we catch a scanty view of the Cathedral tower, of the latter we see nothing. The only incident which breaks the tedious journey is the constant change of carriage. It is characteristic of the effect of luxury on the human mind that the man who cared nought for the difficulties of Himalayan travel, who could laugh when his doolie broke down in the middle of a jungle, who retained his cheerfulness amid the chafing waves of the Indian ocean and the fierce heat of the Red Sea, is now full of grumbling, and thinks himself hardly used because he has to change from one glazed, padded, luxurious first-class carriage to another. It should be some consolation to him that he enters a new country with every new carriage. Indeed it almost repents us to have called the route from Cologne to Calais dull when we recall the strange effect, so utterly unknown to our fathers, of passing in a few hours through the homes of three different and strikingly contrasted nations. It is worthy of remark how national boundaries which seem to be capricious, nevertheless serve to divide national peculiarities. From Herbesthat to Verviers is not ten miles, but in those ten miles we perceive an entire change of physiognomy, dress and language. The traveller who at breakfast is surrounded by bearded guttural-loving Germans, and at supper is cheered by the accommodating "yes, Sir," of an English waiter, has in the interval seen the quaint Flemish names over the shops which remind the passer by that Belgium is not France, and been deafened by the unceasing clamor which attended him from the time he entered to the time he quitted the latter country.

More and more sensibly do we become involved in the force of that tide which sets stronger and stronger as we approach its great heart—London.

The easy-going German railways may have seemed to us a miracle of speed after ten years of palkis; but here is Lille,

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and Lille is on the direct line between Paris and London, the whole of which is traversed four times daily in twelve hours. Again we are shot out on to a platform; again driven for want of other occupation to one of those Railway *Restaurants* the excellent arrangements of which make us admire the taste, while their endless quantity makes us marvel at the appetite of our continental brethren; till it is announced that the Paris express is in, and the Paris express is timed so as to leave no margin for long stoppages.

And now we find as our pace mounts gradually above the three miles of the palki, above the ten knots of the Steamer, above the fifteen miles of the Calcutta or the twenty miles of the German railways, to thirty and forty miles an hour, that we are indeed on the high road to London, and that to London all traffic must be hurried with imperious haste. We have scarcely time to feel we are in France, to catch a glimpse of the old Jesuit towers of St. Omers, to cast a glance at the neglected high-road and think of the days that road has seen: of the English tourists posting along to Paris in those recent times when continental travelling was the exclusive luxury of the rich; of the diplomatists, the special messengers, the armies, the despatches of war or peace, which have been borne clattering over that now desolate looking pave; happily we have scarcely time to agitate ourselves about the wind; to watch with recreant heart the fluttering of the leaves or to estimate with self-deceiving moderation the rapidity of the wind mills; hardly time in short to inflict on ourselves the needless misery of a voyage in anticipation;—when the shrill sustained whistle of the engine, the uneasy motion of the train round a long curve, the sight of an old fortified town, the sudden upstarting of a little wood of masts, informs us that we have reached the Western terminus of the 'Calais and Mooltan,' that we have come down to the Straits of Dover.

Another *restaurant;* then the last rapid interview with the police; the 'permit' willingly accorded and so thankfully received—to quit France, the deck of the Steamer, the bold face, the gradual movement, the first heave which denotes that we are across the bar, the drooping countenance, the common misery.

Wonderful indeed is the misery suffered yearly in those straits; wonderful is the energy of the English race which makes them rush every year in myriads to endure it; wonderful to the home-bound exile is the illustration here afforded of the great secret of life that pleasure must be purchased by pain!

But a man may well bear pain for an hour and three quarters, which is to purchase for him at the end of that time the pleasure of standing on English soil, of speaking freely the English tongue, of seeing English faces, of being asked in the English language

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for an English sixpence, of eating at an English hotel an English dinner.

But it remains to reach London. Two hours and a half are granted by the South Eastern Railway; the difference of French and English clocks gives nearly half an hour more. Three hours amply suffice to do justice to the hospitality of the Lord Warden hotel; to pass luggage through the Custom house by means of an agent; (we hear much abuse of the English Custom house; but surely that is no very terrible ordeal which may be escaped altogether by abstaining from smuggling, and the payment of eighteen pence to a Commissioner) and to walk across to the London station. And now it grieves us to find room for the 8th practical improvement of the existing route in our own country; but there is no concealing the fact that the carriages of the South Eastern Railway Company are a national scandal. Foreigners form a silent but unfavorable judgment, as they contrast the comfortable spacious well warmed carriage which they left at Calais, with the narrow, crowded, cramped, barred and grated den which they are forced to enter at Dover. They judge, falsely indeed but not unnaturally, of all English Railways from the one which they first see: and the London and North Western, the Great Northern and the Great Western Companies, lose credit for their handsome and costly carriages because of the shameless parsimony of the South Eastern. But this grievance is soon forgotten: the cockney who has for the first time in his life made a ten days' trip to Paris and back, is tired of telling people how uncomfortable he feels after the ease to which he has grown accustomed on the Continent; the Indian traveller, who has been forced to confess that his present seat contrasts most unfavourably with that which he occupied from Raneegunge to Howrah, from Cairo to Alexandria, or in the second class carriages of the honest Germans from Laibach to Cologne, is consoled for this first national disappointment by the sight of the rich quiet meadows of Kent, by the consciousness, as he flashes by the stations—from Folkestone to Ashford, from Ashford to Tunbridge, from Tunbridge to Reigate, that after all it is an English railway which alone knows how to go the pace.

Reigate is passed—and Croydon. Many an old Indian looks out into the darkness, trying to catch some light which may point out to his recollection the exact situation of Addiscombe.

Sydenham is past: and the moon just shines sufficiently to show the ghost-like outline of the Crystal Palace; two lines of rail are multiplied into four, and four into six, and six into eight, as the main line is successively joined by those from Epsom, from Sydenham, from Gravesend, from Greenwich. A short train from the last place runs in to the station side by side with the

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Dover express; and the man who has been dining at the Crown and Sceptre, and the man who has come from Calcutta, enter London together. London is reached; the last fragment of the Cologne ticket is given up; a cab is called, and the Indian traveller is one more unit absorbed into the millions of the London population.

It remains for us to recapitulate the points wherein we may reasonably hope to see the existing overland route improved within not very many years, and to state the saving of time which the sum of these improvements would effect. We hope to see a railway from Umritsir to Lahore; another from Lahore to Mooltan. We hope to see the enterprize of the Scinde Company successfully carried out, and their trains running from Mooltan to Kurrachee. We hope to see the shareholders of the Suez and Kurrachee Steam Navigation Company rewarded for their public spirit, and in possession of a fine fleet of steamers between those two ports. We hope to see the Pascha of Egypt keep his word, and the whole length of the Egyptian Railway opened in 1857.

We hope to see the P. and O. Company reduced by a fair competition to their proper position, to be the servants instead of the masters of the public. We hope to see the natural advantages of the Trieste route left to exercise their proper influence, no longer counteracted by the crushing prohibitory rates of a jealous monopolizing company. We hope to be able to congratulate the Austrian Government on the completion of what will rank as one of the most magnificent railway achievements in the world. And we hope to see the disgraceful boxes in which the South Eastern Railway Company carry their 1st class passengers put to their proper purpose, and used for fire wood. The result of these improvements would be that whereas it is now impossible to reach London from Lahore viâ the Indus in less than 56 days, and few do reach in less than 64 days, the journey will—when the route is fairly developed, be accomplished easily in 31 days. This result may sound poor as compared with the magnificent prospect which Mr. Stephenson and others hold out to us for the future, but it is not to be despised when compared with the present. It involves no work of even doubtful practicability; none of very enormous expense. We hope that attention will not be so absorbed by speculations which however magnificent cannot be immediately or even speedily realized, as to neglect those possible improvements which lie close at hand. By all means let our children travel to England in ten days, but meanwhile let us make an effort to get there ourselves in thirty. The P. and O. alone are against us; nature, commerce and capital are on our side.

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ART. VII.—*Unpublished Manuscripts.*

A CLOUD of mystery overhangs, in the Hindoo mind, the nature and character of the Honorable the East India Company. The people of this country have known Rajahs and Maha Rajahs, Ranees and Maha Ranees as rulers of their destinies; but all these personages and visible divinities (pratyaksha devatas) have had their ascertainable places of residence, their tangible capitals, palaces, and thrones; they have conquered and have been conquered; they have lived and died. Not so the "Kumpani." Her dominion stretches over the whole land; her name is a tower of strength; her fame fills the world: yet no where is she seen in her royal splendour. She appoints Governors great and small, and through them rules untold millions; she gives salt to an enormous army, wages wars, subdues kingdoms, deposes princes, gives laws to nations. But who is, where is, this High Mightiness, that presides over the vast household of Hindustan? Is she some Devi, dwelling high above this nether world in the regions of Kailasa and Vaikunta, or some great Ranee, sitting on a throne of Devendra in a palace of pearls and gold on a Genii-guarded island in the far ocean? Her power is ever on the increase, her glory ever rising, her wonders multiplying in the land. Her chariots run over rivers and through hills by the joint powers of Agni and Varuna, reduced by her to servitude. Her messages fly from sea to sea, outstripping Marut and Vijing with the bolts of Indra. She was never born and never dies. Continual changes take place among the grandees of her empire, but the centre of all power remains unchanged. *Who* is the Kumpani?

The schoolmaster is abroad. The dreams of night and the mists of morning will soon vanish, and the Hindu mind awake to the broad daylight of the nineteenth century. Then it will be seen by all eyes what the Company is. The virtues and vices, the power and weakness, the resources and the burdens of its government of India will be known by all men; and the peoples of Hindusthan may then judge and act according to their knowledge, admire and obey, love and bless the great guardian power of their country, or despise and hate, and throw off the yoke of foreign selfishness. The next volume of the East India Company's history will contain an account of its trial in the face of the world, and of the judgment of God upon its character.

There is, however, some force of truth in the popular personification of the "Kumpani," which has established itself in the Hindu mind. The East India Company's government up to the end of the last and the beginning of this century has had a peculiar character of its own—thoroughly heathen, affectedly half

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Hindu, half Mussulman, as much at variance with the growingly European character of the East India Company of the first-half of our century, as the temper and principles of any ill-favoured mother can differ from those of a daughter born under happier auspices and belonging to a better generation. And there is much hope, that the mind and heart of the Company of the second-half of the nineteenth century will rise to a still higher standard, political and religious. The year 1853 has been the commencement of a new era. The old Ranee of the ancient regime, living in the fashion of the land, ordering salutes in honor of devils, male and female, great and small, almost worshipping holy Brahmans, and their gods, looking complacently on the burning of widows and the destruction of infants, and jealously guarding her domain against the entrance of the Bible and of Missionaries, appears a thorough Asiatic—licentious and brave—avaricious and prodigal—faithless and intolerant. Her daughter of the present century has the air of an European Princess, enlightened, liberal, humane, averse to and disgusted with the abominations tolerated or cherished in her mother's time. She has dared to avow her religion, to open the country to Missionaries, to suppress Sati (Suttee) and infanticide, to import Bishops, build churches, and gradually to withdraw from the open support of idolatry. At the same time she has been nervously anxious to preserve a so-called strict neutrality, and quite zealous in disavowing any care whatever for the spiritual welfare of the millions entrusted to her keeping by the king of kings.—Her daughter, of the present generation, can scarcely be recognized as the grand-daughter of the old godless Begum. She harbours noble thoughts in her mind, and meditates vast schemes of reform, worthy of her high calling. The fear of God and the love of man seem to exercise a holy influence upon her heart; a generous ambition appears to animate her soul, in short, she looks as Christian-queen-like as her Royal Mistress, Victoria.

It was during the latter end of the eighteenth century, that Coorg was first brought within the influence of the East India Company, during one of those great struggles through which the latter has risen to the height of its present power. Old Vira Rajendra Vodeya, for his important services during the war with Tippoo Sultan, was taken under British patronage, received the thanks of the Supreme Government, a splendid sword, a costly bracelet "as an amulet!" (quite in keeping with the character of Begum Company,) and a solemn promise of protection to his favorite daughter and designated heiress, which was not kept. Of Christianity he seems to have seen and heard nothing from his British friends and patrons.

In 1834, during the second period of the development of the

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East India Company's character, Coorg was delivered from the grasp of a chief as cruel, licentious and cowardly as any of the Indian puppets, whom the Company has too long permitted to play their fantastic tricks upon their tottering thrones, and to spread contagion and wretchedness all around them,—by Lord William Bentinck, and transferred to European rule. For 20 years, however, the country has been almost left to take care of itself. The power of the Commissioner for Mysore and Coorg being paralyzed by a most unhappy arrangement by which the Supreme Government kept Coorg under its own immediate control. The consequence was, that the poor principality was almost forgotten by the great men at the helm of all India; doing nothing themselves, for the improvement of their little charge, they prevented, by the customary system of checks and endless references one of their ablest administrators, under whom Mysore has revived and prospered, from extending the blessings of his rule to the unfortunate appendage of the great kingdom under his charge.*

* Lieut. Genl. M. Cubbon, Commissioner for the Government of the territories of His Highness, the Rajah of Mysore, and of Coorg, is one of that race of gentlemen Kings, whom the British nation alone, in modern times, seems to be capable of producing, and certainly has alone the means of aptly employing in the government of dependencies which encircle the globe. A Persian Satrap, an ancient Subadar of the Mogul, a Roman Proconsul may be more attractive to the imagination, in their glitter of "barbaric pearl and gold," their pomp and pride of office, or their stern, invincible power. The statesmen of the East India Company, who are placed in charge of countries as large as great kingdoms in Europe, affect no other character but that of English gentlemen. While the Rajah of Mysore idles away his time with trivial amusements and in despicable company, and squanders lakhs upon lakhs in thriftless extravagance, the real ruler of the country quietly and unostentatiously performs the hard work of Government, leading the life of a country gentleman of property. Half his day is spent in his Cutcherry, where he arrives as regularly as his clerk, and much of his time at home, too, is filled up with hard office work. There is no parade, no assumption of consequence. The Governor of some millions of people is as courteous to all comers, high or low, as affable and kindly in the intercourse with his subordinates, as frank, and urbane in his whole deportment as any private gentleman could be. Lieut. Genl. Cubbon has long ago reached the time, when men generally cease to be equal to the severer duties of life; but age seems to have taken most kindly to him; he has retained much of the liveliness and energy of youth. You may hear him relate from the stories of his unfailing memory, some anecdote with keen relish, introduced by "The other day" The names of the persons mentioned point to days long passed; but you are quite taken aback when you happen to hear "it was in 1805 or 1806," half a century ago. General Cubbon came to India in 1800. Of his merits as a ruler, the Marquis of Dalhousie has borne a better and a more competent testimony, than the writer of these pages could give, in the subjoined despatch.

Dated Fort William, the 7th February, 1856.

SIR,—I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter dated the 24th November last, No. 84, and the five printed papers, which accompanied it, comprising all the information procurable on the principal points connected with the administration of Mysore.

The Governor General in Council has read with attention, and with very great interest, the papers submitted by you. They present a record of administration highly honorable to the British name, and reflecting the utmost credit upon the exertions of the valuable body of officers, by whom the great results shewn therein have been accomplished.

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In 1852, Gauramma, the favorite daughter of the Ex-Rajah of Coorg, was baptized in London, Her Majesty being sponsor. In

In the past autumn, the Governor General had the opportunity of witnessing some portion of these results with his own eyes, during his journey from the Neilgherries through Mysore to Madras. His journey was necessarily a hasty one. Even the cursory examination of the country, which alone was practicable during the course of a week's visit, enables him to bear testimony to the extent to which works of public improvement have been carried in Mysore, and to the favorable contrast, which the visible condition of that territory and of its people presents to the usual condition of the territory of a native prince, and even to the state of districts of our own which may sometimes be seen.

During the period of 25 years, which has elapsed since Mysore came under the administration of British officers, every department has felt the hand of reform. An enormous number of distinct taxes have been abolished, relieving the people in direct payment to the amount of 10¾ lakhs of Rs. a year, and doubtless the indirect relief given by this measure has exceeded even the direct relief. Excepting a low tax upon coffee, (which is raised on public land free of rent or land tax) no new tax appears to have been imposed, and no old tax appears to have been increased. Nevertheless the public revenue has risen from forty-four to eighty-two lakhs of Rs. per. annum.

In the administration of Civil and Criminal Justice vast improvements have been accomplished regularity, order, and purity have been introduced, where, under native rule, caprice, uncertainty and corruption prevailed: substantial justice is promptly dispensed, and the people themselves have been taught to aid in this branch of the administration by means of a system of Punchayets, which is in full and efficient operation. And in the department of Police the administration of British officers has been eminently successful. In short, the system of administration which has been established, whether in the Fiscal or Judicial Department, although it may be, and no doubt is, capable of material improvement, is infinitely superior to that which it superseded; and has, within itself, the elements of constant progress.

The chief merit of the conduct of this good work, of which the formal record is now before the Government, will, the Governor General in Council, remarks, be assigned by all, without dispute or cavil, to you, as Commissioner.

To your ability and judgment, to your long continued and vigilant superintendence of the interests committed to your charge, and to the vigorous yet kindly control by which you have drawn zealous and willing service from all who were placed under your authority, the Government of India owes in a great measure, the successful issue of its interposition in the affairs of the principality of Mysore.

These services, His Lordship in Council trusts, may yet receive a more honorable recognition than it is in the power of the Government of India to bestow upon them. General Cubbon, by the latest news, has been created K. C. B. It confers as much honor upon the Government to have offered this mark of distinction, as upon the General to have received it. But His Lordship in Council desires me in the mean time to convey to you the sentiments expressed above, and to tender to you the most marked acknowledgments and most cordial thanks of the Governor General in Council.

The Officers of the Commission, in the opinion of His Lordship in Council, are fully entitled to share in this approbation. It is therefore requested, that you will make known to them the great satisfaction with which the Government of India has received the high testimony which you have borne to their merits; and you are authorized to convey to them all, (especially to Major Haines whom you specially name,) the thanks of the Governor General in Council, for their praiseworthy and successful exertions in the administration of Mysore.

The points of detail in your letter will be separately noticed.

I have the honor to be, Sir,
Your most obedient Servant,
(Signed) G. F. EDMONSTONE,
Secretary to the Government of India.

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the following year the first Protestant Mission was established among the Coorgs, and one family baptized. Now Engineers are at work, making roads, and carrying the Electric Telegraph line though the forest. A liberal system of education is on the eve of being introduced, in accordance with the spirit of the third era of British Indian Government, the inaugural manifesto of which is the education despatch of 1854.

The affairs of Coorg have seldom, and for short seasons only, attracted public attention. The campaign of 1834 speedily ended in the deposition and deportation to Benares of Vira Rajah, the last of Coorg princes, whose impotent and insolent tyranny was gladly exchanged by the chief men among the Coorgs, for the civilized and equitable dominion of the East India Company. A badly contrived and bootless insurrection in 1837 was quelled without much ado by the chiefs of the Coorgs themselves, under Capt. Le Hardy, the first Superintendent of Coorg. Some stir was created in England and in Coorg by the Ex-Rajah's voyage to England, and the baptism of his daughter; but it has died away gradually. Little Victoria's growing up into womanhood, under the fostering care of her illustrious sponsor, is no matter of public importance, and the Rajah's law proceedings against his over indulgent patrons of Leadenhall Street, for the recovery of a large sum of money (the principal amounted originally to about ten lakhs of Rupees or £100,000) invested about the beginning of the century in Company's paper by old Virarajah, in the name of his beloved eldest daughter, Devammaji, do not seem to be very successful, except in transferring part of the Rajah's remaining wealth to the pockets of some legal friends in London; at all events, they do not much interest the British public.*

A little book, entitled, "Coorg Memoirs," by the Rev. H. Moegling—Bangalore, 1855—contains the first published descrip-

* Poor Devammaji received of her father a treasure amounting to a lakh of Pagodas or £40,000, besides the above sum invested in Company's paper. According to the will of her father, which was solemnly guaranteed by the Supreme Government, she was to have succeeded him; but her uncle, Lingarajendra, the father of the Ex-Raja, contrived to induce the Supreme Government first to acknowledge him as Regent, and then as Rajah of Coorg. On his death, his son succeeded him. Yet nothing effectual was done or even attempted for the ladies, and they died in the Fort of Mercara, a short time before the annexation of the country. It is the property of this cousin, invested in Company's paper fifty years ago, in the name of Devammaji, for which it was somehow managed to substitute Viraraja's name, which the Ex-Rajah now claims from the Court of Directors, together with the interest of half a century. This large sum ought, in strict justice, perhaps to have been given up as prize-money to the troops of the expedition in 1834; or to have been confiscated at once as State property, and generously expended on the improvement of Coorg. By some mismanagement, neither of these courses has been adopted; a separate account is still kept of the deposit of old Viraraja, and thus the wily Ex-Rajah has been tempted to trust in the ignorance of Indian matters prevailing at home, and to claim the property as his own.

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tion of the Coorg country. Copious extracts are given in it from the Puranic history of Coorg, preserved in the Skanda Purana, and from a tolerably correct history of the fortunes of the Coorg Rajahs, since the middle of the seventeenth century, composed under the eye of Virarajendra Vodeya, who died in 1809. A full account, also, of the customs, manners and religion of the Coorgs is presented in a condensed form. The small volume, however, has been printed in an edition of 500 copies only, and, though favourably reviewed by some Indian papers, it can scarcely be said to have obtained publicity. The following pages, therefore, have the advantage of telling most of their readers a new tale.

Coorg is the only native principality which has been added to the territory of the East India Company by Lord William Bentinck, the most liberal, the most peace-loving, and, among the land-devouring Governor Generals of India, the most abstemious. In ancient times the Rajahs of the Coorg Hills were subject to the Ikkeri Government. They were perhaps an offshoot, originally, of that dynasty. Certain it is, that they have imported upon the wild soil of their fief the Shaiva religion and an establishment of Jangams. Adopting the policy of constant intermarriage with daughters of principal families among the Coorgs, the Rajahs succeeded in naturalizing themselves. They, adopted also the superstitions of the country by the side of their own Lingaitic worship; their subjects, however, did not return the compliment, but, with few exceptions, adhered to their ancient worship of the Kaveri Amma (Mother Kaveri) the Divinity of the principal river of Coorg; of the spirits of their departed fathers and grandfathers, (ancestral worship does not go farther back among those mountaineers,) and of innumerable demons and goblins which people their forest-solitudes, pasture-lands, fields and gardens. Brahmanism has spread its polype-tendrils into Coorg. Haviga priests have immigrated from the Tulu country, and established themselves at the sacred fountain of the Kaveri, in the room, probably, of an indigenous priesthood, the Amma Kodagas, (Coorgs devoted to "Mother Kaveri,") who have entirely ceased from the performance of priestly offices, and of whom but a small number of families now remain, as they intermarry only among themselves. Yet Brahmanism also has found the Coorg a tough material.

When Hyder Ali took Ikkeri, which was thenceforward called Hyder Nagara, (Nuggur,) and incorporated the kingdom with his growing territory, he considered himself the liege-lord of Coorg, and, though foiled for a long while in his assertion of suzerainty, at last succeeded by dint of fraud and force, in coercing the refractory Hill chiefs into a state of vassalage. Lingarajah

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of Haleri agreed about the year 1774, to pay an annual tribute of 24,000 Rs. to Hyder Ali. Virarajendra Vodeya, in his Rajendraname, admits also the fact, that one of his ancestors, Dodda Virappa, with the harelip, paid an annual tribute for some towns in the Yelusaviraskime district of Coorg, which he held from Chicka Deva Vodeya of Mysore. But the two awkward proofs of the dependency of the Coorg Rajahs on more powerful neighbours are carefully disguised.

In the year 1780, Lingaraja, who had betrayed the Horamale branch of the family into the hands of Hyder Ali, died, leaving a natural son, Appaji, and two sons by his queen, Viraraja and Lingaraja. Viraraja was then 17 years old; Lingaraja still of tender age. Hyder Ali, who had destroyed the entire Horamale family, now declared himself guardian of the two young Coorg princes, and appointed a Brahman, Subarasaga, who had formerly been in the service of the Coorg Rajahs, Mamaldar of Coorg. In the same year he led his army against Arcot. The Coorgs were indignant at the seizure of their princes and the ascendancy of the Brahman. In the Monsoon of 1782, they broke out into open insurrection. The Mamaldar reported to his master, who replied from Arcot, that the princes must be secured in Garuru, a Mysore fort, but at the same time promised to inquire by and bye into the grievances of the Coorgs. The princes were deported to Garuru, in September 1782. The Coorgs flew to arms, and swept the Mussulmans from the country. Hyder Ali died before the close of 1782. In 1784, Tippoo, after having treacherously seized General Matthews and his officers at Nuggur, and reduced Mangalore, marched through Coorg on his way back to Seringapatam, and compromised matters with the insurgents. The young Coorg Rajahs and their families were kept prisoners at Periyapattana. They were ill-treated and starved, and the small-pox carried off several of the family. Before the lapse of a year, the Coorgs rose again, defeated a force of 15,000 men, sent against them from Seringapatam, but afterwards submitted to Tippoo himself, who treacherously seized large numbers of them and carried them into the Mysore. They were replaced by Mussulman landlords, whom Tippoo supplied with laborers from Adwani in the Bellary district. Nagappaya, a nephew of Subarasaya, was charged with the government of Coorg; but was soon convicted of embezzlement, and condemned to the gallows, when he fled to the Kote Arasa in the Maleyalam.

In December 1788, Dodda Virarajendra Vodeya, by the help of his Coorg partizans, escaped from Periyapattana with his family, for whom he found a refuge at Kurchi, a sequestered spot in Kiggadnad, near the sources of the Lakshmanatirtha river. He now sallied forth, at the head of his Coorgs, to fight

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the Mussulmans. In a short time he had cleared the country of the usurpers, from Bislighat to Manantwady. Successful plundering expeditions into the Mysore were carried on at the same time, and large supplies of cattle and grain carried away into Coorg, where they were divided among the adherents of the Rajah. During this season, full of daring and successful exploits, the gallant Viraraja once, on his return from an expedition into the Mysore, found the residence of his family, at Kurchi, a heap of ruins and ashes. Every soul of his family had been destroyed, and all the old family treasures carried off. The runaway Mamaldar had shewn the way to a troop of Nair Banditti despatched upon this errand of treachery and blood, by the fiendish foe of the Coorg Rajahs, the Kote Arasu. Tippoo now ordered a large force into Coorg under the command of Golam Ali, who carried fire and sword all over the country. Virarajah must soon have succumbed to the superiority in numbers and discipline of the Mysoreans, had not a revolt of the Maleyalam Rajahs compelled Tippoo to order Golam Ali with his army to the Western coast. The latter was not, however, permitted to leave Coorg unmolested. On his march he was fiercely attacked at the Kodantur-pass, and suffered severe losses. Thereupon Tippoo despatched a considerable reinforcement to Golam Ali's assistance under four Captains. Virarajah lay in wait for them at the Heggala-pass. The Mysoreans left 800 men dead on the ground, and 400 wounded. Their baggage and stores fell into the hands of the Hill men; the whole force might have been destroyed, had not the Coorgs prefered plundering to fighting. Viraraja sent his prisoners back into Mysore. Tippoo was alarmed, and despatched Buran-u-din, his own brother-in-law, with a strong army and large supplies to secure Coorg. Buran-u-din was attacked and beaten on his way from Kushalanagara (Fraserpet.) He escaped into the Fort of Mercara, with the loss of one-half of his military stores. Thus Viraraja sustained a successful contest against his mighty neighbour, in whose eye Coorg had acquired great importance, as a decisive struggle with the rising power of the East India Company was impending, when the possession of Coorg by the enemy might seal the fate of Seringapatam. The Company's Government, on the other hand, was equally aware of the strategical value of Coorg. They had with difficulty, maintained their ground at Tellicherry against the Mussulman forces under Pajal Khan, aided by the treachery of the Bibi; and Abercromby, the Governor of Bombay, who was preparing for an attack on Mysore, from the Westward, knew, that the shortest way for his army from Cannanore or Tellicherry, lay through the passes of Coorg, which, by an enemy, might be closed against him with ease. Virarajah

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dreaded and hated Tippoo, from whom he could expect no mercy, and whose assurances and promises he knew he could never trust. His hopes depended on his success in gaining the support of a powerful ally. His eyes were directed towards the rising star of the Company. The union of Tippoo's enemies was effected without difficulty. Muttu Bhatta, an agent of Viraraja, arrived at Tellicherry, ostensibly for the purpose of purchasing a superior horse and other articles. Robert Taylor, the English chief at Tellicherry, had an interview with the Coorgman, who gave him an account of the long feud between his master and Tippoo. Robert Taylor said: Tippoo is the common enemy both of the Rajah of Coorg and of the Government of the Company. The two latter parties ought to be good friends and allies. Muttu Bhatta carried a letter back to Coorg, containing a proposal for a cordial alliance. Viraraja cheerfully responded to this offer of friendship between the Company and himself. He agreed to procure draught cattle for the Bombay army, and immediately commenced forays into the Mysore, for Tippoo's cattle was superior to that of Coorg. In a short time, he despatched upwards of 500 heads to Tellicherry. Soon after, the Rajah was informed, that despatches had arrived from Bombay with orders to conclude in the name of the English Government, an offensive and defensive alliance with the Rajah of Coorg. Viraraja repaired to Tellicherry in the beginning of October 1790, accompanied by Captain Brown, who had been sent to conduct him to the then head-quarters of the Company on the Western coast.

A formal treaty was concluded with the following stipulations:

1. While the sun and moon endure, the faith of the contracting parties shall be kept inviolate.
2. Tippoo and his allies are to be treated as common enemies. The Rajah will do all in his power to assist the English to injure Tippoo.
3. The Rajah will furnish, for fair payment, all the supplies his country affords, and have no connection with other "topiwallahs."
4. The Company guarantee the independence of Coorg, and the maintenance of the Rajah's interests in the case of a peace with Tippoo.
5. An asylum and every hospitality is offered to the Rajah and his family at Tellicherry until the establishment of peace.

God, sun, moon and earth be witnesses!

Signed: Robert Taylor, Esq. on behalf of the Governments of Madras, Bombay, and Bengal.—Virarajendra Vodeya, Rajah of Coorg. When Sir R. Abercromby arrived on the coast, the

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Rajah was invited to an interview, and was escorted by an officer and a company of Sepoys.*

A passage was prepared through Coorg for the Bombay Army. The route of the Heggala-pass was chosen. Viraraja provided again, in his old fashion, a supply of upwards of a thousand draught cattle from Mysore. When Sir R. Abercromby had ascended the Heggala-pass, Viraraja came from Nalkanad to wait upon him. He had collected a great quantity of grain, which was made over to English officers. Viraraja accompanied Sir Robert before Seringapatam. When the Monsoon of 1791, suspended active military operations, and Lord Cornwallis and Sir Robert retired, the former to Bangalore, the latter to Bombay, the Artillery, stores, and ammunition, belonging to the Bombay Army, were left in the charge of the Rajah, who, during the rainy season, was engaged in purchasing all the grain he could from his own people, and from the Pindari contractors of Tippoo. The latter now condescended to send a confidential officer, Kadar Khan Kesagi, a friend of Viraraja, with an autograph of Tippoo—and letters from Mir Saduk, the Prime Minister, and Purnayah, the Minister of Finance, soliciting Viraraja's forgiveness and friendship. Viraraja shewed these letters to Sir Robert, and replied to Tippoo: "By similar fair speeches and promises, you have formerly deceived and ruined Coorg. God has given me one tongue, with which I have pledged fidelity to the Company. I have not two tongues like you." Mussulman violence and treachery had now their reward. Viraraja remained faithful to the Company, and the Bombay Army had a safe road through a friendly territory into the heart of Mysore. Lord Cornwallis made peace with Tippoo under the walls of Seringapatam, on severe, but still too easy conditions. Tippoo had to pay three crores of Rupees, and to cede one-half of his dominions to the Company, and to its allies, the Nizam and Peishwa, "from the countries adjacent, according to their situation." Coorg was in danger of being overlooked and sacrificed. It required the zealous intercession of Sir Robert Abercromby to induce the Governor General to make an after demand for the cession of Coorg, though not adjacent to the Company's territory, in order to keep faith with Viraraja, and to save him from the fangs of Tippoo, whose first move after the peace,

* He on this occasion, interceded with his new friend, Sir Robert Abercromby, for the poor Bibi and her son. She had made an attempt at decoying to Cannanore, and betray into the hands of the Mussulman army the English detachment at Tellicherry; and Sir R. Abercromby had resolved on deposing her, and sending her with her son prisoner to Bombay. Virarajendra effected a reconciliation, and thus requitted the service, which the Bibi's ancestor, Ali, had rendered to his ancestor, Dodda Virappa with the harelip, by delivering his Captain from the hands of the Charakal Rajah.

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would, no doubt, have been to wreak his vengeance upon his former vassal. The rage of Tippoo was unbounded. "To which of the English possessions, he cried, is Coorg adjacent? Why do they not ask for the key of Seringapatam?" The treaty was in danger of being broken off; but Lord Cornwallis remained firm. English guns, which had already been sent away, were ordered back, and Tippoo began to prepare for defence. At the last moment he gave in, and peace was concluded.

Viraraja was now asked to give back the districts which he had lately wrested from the Sultan, and informed, that he was expected in future to pay his tribute to the English Government. He was indignant at both these propositions, for he had expected some better reward for his important services. Sir Robert Abercromby did all in his power to pacify the brave ally, who had served him so well, but, of course, the Mysore territory had to be restored, and the dream of an "independent principality of Coorg" could not be realized. Sir Robert humored, however, Viraraja by the drawing up of a document, at his last meeting with the Rajah, in March 1793, when, proceeding from Bombay to Calcutta, he touched at Cannanore. In this paper, the Rajah was permitted to assert, that he had been an independent prince, and had never paid tribute to Mysore, while, at the same time, he declared his willingness "to pay, of his own free will, the sum of 8000 Pagodas to the Company every year, for their friendship and protection." The Company, on the other hand, engaged, to give no molestation to the Rajah, and in no wise to interfere with the Government of Coorg, as the Rajah was quite competent to take care of his own affairs; the tribute of 8000 Pagodas was to be paid at Tellicherry.

From this time to the end of his life, Viraraja remained the trusty friend of the Company, and his affairs prospered. In 1795, the Rajah communicated to the English Government the intelligence he had obtained through some spies, that Tippoo Sultan was concerting plants with the Mahrattas. He himself had to guard against assassins, secretly despatched into Coorg by his mortal enemy. In 1793, Viraraja took up his residence in a new palace built at Natkanadu, and in the following year celebrated there his second marriage in the presence of a deputy from the Commissioner of Malabar.

In the beginning of 1809, the Rajah was again actively employed in assisting the Bombay troops marching towards Seringapatam, with coolies, draught of cattle and elephants, grain and sheep. An hospital was erected for the sick of the Bombay army, whom General Stuart left in Coorg, when he marched against Seringapatam. Viraraja offered to accompany the English force into Mysore; but was politely requested to stay behind with his Coorgs to protect his own country and secure the

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rear. The Coorgs were rather troublesome auxiliaries to a regular army, as bad as the Mahrattas, if not worse. Captain Mahoney, who had been appointed Resident to Viraraja a short time previous to the commencement of the last war with Tippoo, communicated to the Rajah, the Earl of Mornington's proclamation of war, dated Fort St. George, 22nd February, 1799, and asked him, in the name of the Company's Government, to exert himself to the utmost of his power, as he would necessarily share the fate of the English, if Tippoo were victorious. In the early part of March, Tippoo moved with a large force towards the frontier of Coorg, to oppose the Bombay army. He encamped near Periapattana. The battle of Siddapur ensued, when two Battalions under Colonel Montresor and Major Disney held their ground from morning until 2 o'clock in the afternoon against the whole army of Tippoo, and two European regiments, led by General Stuart to their assistance, broke Tippoo's line, and obtained a complete victory, after a hard fight of three hours and a half, over the Mysoreans. On the 11th of March, Tippoo retreated towards Seringapatam. Viraraja was present at the battle of Siddhishvara. While Seringapatam was besieged, Viraraja sent an expedition of Coorgs, under Subaya and Bopu, into the Tulu country, the greater part of which was wrested from the Mussulmans and plundered in Coorg style. On the 4th of May, Seringapatam was stormed, and Tippoo himself killed in the fray. On the 23d of May, General Harris, the Commander-in-Chief, sent a letter of thanks to Viraraja, accompanied by a present of one of Tippoo's own horses, one of his palkis, and one of his howdas. The promise was also given, that the country of Coorg would be restored to the Rajah. The annual tribute was remitted as an acknowledgment of the services of the Rajah to the Company in their wars with Tippoo, instead of which Viraraja was requested to send a yearly present of an elephant. Purnaya, the Brahman Minister of Finance under Tippoo, was placed at the head of the Government of Mysore, which the Company restored to a descendant, then a child of six years, of the ancient Rajahs. Viraraja had to restore to Mysore the districts he had occupied during the season of hostilities, and Karanika Subaya had to evacuate the Tulu country. Viraraja did not consider himself well treated, and was mortified by the withdrawal of the Resident, and the request addressed to him, that he should for the future put himself in correspondence with Colonel Close, the Resident at Seringapatam. Yet he never wavered in his faithful allegiance to, and his perfect confidence in the friendship of the Company. In 1801, Rajapumoji, a daughter of Viraraja, by his first Ranee, to Basaralinga, the Rajah of Sode. Viraraja wrote to the Governor General to apprize him of the intended marriage, and of his wish to settle one lakh of Rupees of the pro-

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perty held by him in Bombay Government paper, upon the Sode Rajah, as Rajaminaji's portion. In 1804, Captain Mahoney arrived at Mercara with a letter from the Governor General, informing Viraraja, that six Maganes of the province of Canara would be transferred to him by Mr. Ravenshaw, the Collector of Mangalore, in return for the supplies he had furnished, and the services he had rendered to the British Government during the late wars. The districts, thus added to Coorg on its western frontier, yielded 24,897 Pagodas. In the same year, the boundary between Coorg and Mysore on the Subrah Manya side, was finally adjusted. Before the end of 1805, Rajaminaji, the Ranee of Sode was delivered of a son, who received the name of Sadashivaraja.

Viraraja was now left in the free and full possession of his principality; he lived on the most friendly terms with the Mysore Residents, the Madras Governors, Sir George Barlow, and Lord W. Bentinck, and of the Governor General, the Marquis of Wellesley, from whom he received a splendid sword of honor. About the time his first grandson was born to him, at Sode, he was fondly attached to his new wife, Mahadevaranee, who had borne him two daughters, and might have lived and died a happy man, if he had had a son and heir, if he had not distrusted his nearest relatives, and if his violent temper had not often carried him beyond the bounds of humanity. He lived in constant dread of poison, and it is difficult to say, if the frenzy which seemed at times to seize him, was not caused by drugs administered to him in spite of all his caution. In 1807 he caused a history of his house to be written, which is still extant. An English translation of this work was completed by a "Robert Abercromby,"* probably an officer in the service of the Company, perhaps a relative of Sir Robert Abercromby, on the 10th of August, 1808, at Mangalore. The Rajendraname, in its conclusion, affords a glimpse of the alternations of hope and fear, which agitated the poor Rajah's heart. His last words are—"On the 7th of the Pushya month, Ractaxi year, (1805) Captain Mahoney brought the sword, sent by Marquis Wellesley from Bengal, and fastened it round the Rajah's waist. In the Magha month, (February 1806), Viraraja told Captain Mahoney for the information of the Governor General, that on the day of his second marriage, when he sat on the throne with his Ranee, he had determined, that any son of his by this wife should be his successor; that his wife had borne him two daughters. If any son be hereafter born of her, he would be the heir; but if it was the

* Both the Rajendraname of Virarajendra Vodeya, and the translation of Robert Abercromby, are in course of publication by orders and at the expense of the Government of Madras.

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will of God, that she should bear no son, then the three sons of his concubine, called Rajashekarappa, Shishushekappa, and Chandrashekarappa, should succeed to the throne. Since the above date, two more daughters, in all four, have been borne by Mahadeva Ranee, who died at 3 o'clock on Sunday, the 7th day of the month Jeshta, 4909, Prabhava year. As by her death the Rajah's hopes of having a son by her were blasted, and he was afraid, lest, if the succession devolved on the sons of another mother, they would create trouble to the four daughters of his lawful Queen, the Rajah determined, that of the four daughters, who are named Devammaji, Muddanmaji, Rajammaji, and Mahadevammaji, the eldest should be married, and whatever son she might have, he should be named Virarajendra, receive the Rajah's seal, and the sword which was presented to him by Marquis Wellesley, and be the successor to the throne. If she should, however, have no son, the son of either of her younger sisters, according to seniority, should be the successor, and so long as the line of any of his four above-mentioned daughters continued, none of the heirs of the other mother should succeed to the throne; but, upon the family of his four daughters being extinct, the fittest of the above three sons, or their posterity, should succeed. The Rajah, sensible of the instability of human life and all other things, has thought proper, now to determine and record this matter, in order that no wrong may hereafter occur; and he requests, that the English Sarkar will be the guardian of his family, and see the execution of the above written will attended to.

In order, that the Rajah's heirs may be acquainted with his resolution, he has written a copy thereof, to which he has affixed his seal and signature, and which is lodged in the Palace treasury."

This passage shews distinctly enough the Rajah's fondness for the four daughters of his beloved Ranee, his morbid anxiety for being succeeded by a grandson at least, of his own name, his fears regarding the safety of his beloved daughters in case of one of his other relatives (brothers) succeeding him, and his absolute confidence in the English Sarkar.

In May 1807, Mahadeva Ranee died; and now commenced the last act, full of blood and horrors of the drama of poor Virarajendra's life. His beloved wife had, he suspected, been destroyed by sorceries; he dreaded a similar fate. The spirits of the many victims he had sacrificed in fits of passion, or in whims of suspicion, began to trouble him. A conspiracy in which all his Coorg guards were implicated, nearly succeeded. He extinguished it in a flood of blood; 300 Coorgs were massacred by his band of Africans, in the palace yard. The Rajah himself shot

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dead 25 of the conspirators, from a balcony window. Many of their families also appear to have been destroyed on that occasion. The shades of death thickened around him. From the settled gloom of his melancholy, he was roused now and then only to deeds of cruelty. The only object, for which he yet cared to live, was to obtain the sanction of the Supreme Government for his settlement of the succession, upon which, he thought, the future happiness, yea the safety of his beloved daughter and her sisters depended. His requests were never distinctly granted, but he thought they were. His daughters, however, were solemnly taken under the protection of the Company by Mr. Cole, the Resident of Mysore. The Madras Government took charge of 186,000 Star Pagodas, in behalf of his favorite daughter, Devammaji. His wishes were thus, in a great measure, accomplished. Yet he had no rest. He suspected his two brothers, Appaji and Lingaraja. One morning he sent executioners to fetch their heads. His repentance came too late for saving Appaji's life: Lingaraja escaped. Another day, in a fit of rage, he ordered four of his principal officers to be destroyed, and was overwhelmed with remorse, when, on calling for them, after the cooling of his frenzy, he was informed, that they had been executed by his orders. These deeds, he feared, would be reported to the Supreme Government. He dreaded their displeasure. Twice he attempted his own life, perhaps *pretended* to do so; once he cut his throat with a razor; once he swallowed poison. On both occasions he was restored by Dr. Ingledew. The Supreme Government, in answer to the reports sent to them, pitied, pardoned, and comforted by kind assurances the poor distracted Rajah. All was of no avail. When the gloom of the monsoon 1809 set in, he sunk by degrees. His violence diminished; he felt more kindly towards the Sode Rajah, his son-in-law, and appointed him Dewan during Devammaji's minority. But his mind never fully recovered its tone. On the 9th of June, he sent for his favorite daughter, gave his seal into her hand, and expired. He lies buried in one of the Mausoleums, which grace the hill overlooking the town of Mercara.

His brother, Lingaraja, a man of consummate hypocrisy, and of a depth of cunning extraordinary even among Coorgs, stealthily crept into power. The Sode Rajah, Dewan and guardian of Devanunaji, was frightened away. He was paid off with a lakh of Rupees. Lingaraja contrived to obtain the sanction or at least acquiescence of the Supreme Government, as he proceeded, slowly but surely, to the fulfilment of his schemes. He first made himself Regent of Coorg, and guardian of his niece, the Ranee, (as such Devammaji was acknowledged in a letter of the Marquis of Hastings, dated 2nd April, 1809) before the

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end of 1810. In 1811, he announced to the Government of Fort St. George, that he had assumed the Government of Coorg in his own name. Mr. Cole, the Resident of Mysore, was ordered to make enquiry in Coorg as to the lawfulness of Lingaraja's claim to the throne. The enquiry was not made; it would have been futile. The Resident's own opinion was, that female succession in Coorg was contrary to the Shastras, (Query—what Shastras? the Coorgs have none) and the usages of the country. (But Ranees have reigned in Kokeri, of which Coorg, in ancient times, probably was a dependency, and elsewhere.) The Supreme Government put off the decision of the somewhat intricate question until the Ranee would obtain her majority, when she might prove her claims. There was no protest against Lingaraja's assumption of power. He now tried to obtain possession of three lakhs of Rupees in the Bombay funds, left to Devammaji, by selling the bonds to Messrs. Forbes and Co. But the Government refused the payment of the money, until Lingaraja proved, in a Court of law, that the property was his own. The attempt was not made. He succeeded better at Madras. There he obtained permission to draw the interest of five and a half lakhs, in behalf of Devammaji, through Messrs. Binny and Co. Before the end of 1812, Lingaraja had substantially succeeded in his schemes. He continued, however, to feel uneasy. He dreaded enquiry, and a change in the measures of the Supreme Government. He prevented, as far as lay in his power, all communication between Coorg and the surrounding territory of the Company. The frontiers were guarded, and, nobody was allowed to pass out or in without the Rajah's leave. European visitors were treated with profuse hospitality, and overwhelmed with civilities, but all communication between them and the natives of the country was carefully prevented. During his first years, the Dewan Kshoury Karyappanna, to whom he owed his first successes, was a check upon him; but, when he found himself safely established, he charged one day his patron and advocate with treacherous designs, and tormented him to death with several of his friends nailing them to large trees in a forest not far from Mercara. A great slaughter of relatives and friends of the so-called traitors accompanied the cruel destruction of the principals. In 1820, Lingaraja died, after having held possession of Coorg for eleven long years, at the age of 45. His elder brother had died at about the same time of life. Like him he suspected, that he died a victim to magic arts, employed by enemies among his own people. No doubt, many hated him in secret, and poison may have been administered to him; for poison was as freely used in Coorg (perhaps still is) as sorcery. A little tank at the foot of the hill on which the fort of Mercara stands, the water of which the Ra-

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jahs used to drink, was once poisoned in the time of old Viraraja, and he suffered long from the effects of an unsuspected draught of water. Lingaraja's Ranee swallowed diamond powder in order to escape from the hatred of the young Rajah, and was buried with her husband in one of the above-mentioned tombs.

The present Ex-Rajah succeeded. He was acknowledged by the British Government without any difficulty, it appears. Devammaji's claims, and the promises of the Supreme Government given to her father were overlooked. The resolution of the Marquis of Hastings, that the Coorg question should be investigated when Virarajendra's daughter would reach majority, seems to have been forgotten. The new Rajah was under twenty when he became his own master. His education, in the European sense of the word, had been entirely neglected. He was a proficient, however, in all Coorg accomplishments, good and bad. An excellent rider, a good shot, dexterous gymnastic, a deep philosopher, deadened by the pantheistic Guana, on which he prided himself, to the feelings and scruples of common humanity, surrounded by trembling and flattering slaves, and possessed, he fancied, of absolute power within his own territory, he commenced life, the life of a Hindoo Rajah. No wonder, that he followed the example of his father, and that, being destitute of Lingaraja's caution, and aided, if not led, by an infamous upstart, a creature of his father's, the Dewan Kunta Basava, he rendered himself an object of hatred and contempt to his chiefs, provoked at the same time the just displeasure and resentment of the British Government, and thus forfeited his fief and his liberty in 1834. He is generally represented by the natives as more licentious, but less cruel than his father and his uncle, Virarajendra. On his accession to power those who had, in the lifetime of his father, incurred his displeasure, or thwarted his wishes, were sacrificed to his vengeance. Several of his male relatives, also, seem to have fallen at this season. The idea seems to have established itself in the Rajah's mind, that he would be more secure in the possession of Coorg, if no other male member of his family existed, by whom the British Government could displace him; for, on an occasion, when a Mysore Resident enquired after the members of his family, he replied with evident satisfaction, that he had none but female relatives; I am quite alone, he said—the only male of the family. Chaunavira, a relative of the Rajah, fled into the Mysore territory with his family, in 1825. Viraraja immediately applied to Mr. Cole, the then Resident, for the seizure and extradition of the fugitives, describing Chaunavira as a Coorg farmer, who had fled from justice. Mr. Cole complied with the false request. Chaunavira was seized in the neighbourhood of Periapatna and delivered to the Coorg peons.

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The Resident contented himself with a letter in which he requested to be informed of the man's guilt, and the punishment awarded to him. The whole family, consisting of 22 souls, was destroyed on one day at Kantamuranadu; and, when Mr. Casamajor, Mr. Cole's successor, in 1826, enquired through Captain Monk, after the fate of Chaunavira, the Rajah told the Captain, that Chaunavira and his whole family had been carried off by cholera. In spite of the strict frontier watch, rumours of frequent executions by the Coorg Rajah spread into the Mysore, and came to the notice of Government. The Resident was instructed by the Supreme Government to demand of the Rajah a regular report of every case of capital punishment inflicted by him. Viraraja protested against this assumption of authority; but the Supreme Government insisted upon his obedience; its orders, however, were never complied with. In the beginning of 1832, Mr. Casamajor heard, that the Coorg Rajah had raised a troop of female cavalry, and had shot in effigy a Coorg Nagah, who had fled the country. The Resident thought the young man had gone mad. In the month of September of the same year, Devammaji, a sister of the Rajah, and Chaunabasava, her husband, suddenly appeared at Yelwal, as fugitives from Coorg, and implored the protection of the Company. Chaunabasava told Mr. Casamajor, that they had fled for their lives. The story found full credit, and great interest has taken in the two Coorg refugees. Viraraja immediately demanded the surrender of his relatives. Mr. Casamajor demurred, and wrote for instructions; the Supreme Government ordered Chaunabasava and his wife to be kept under protection. Now the real state of Coorg affairs gradually came to light, and the Rajah was detested by all who heard of his misdeeds. Aware of the consequences of Chaunabasava's and Devanunaji's escape, the Rajah was irritated beyond measure and was excited to mad schemes. Mr. Casamajor, who resided at Yelwal, was to be seized at night, and carried off to Mercara by a party of Coorgmen. Chaunabasava and Devammaji, who had been removed to Bangalore, were there to be assassinated by some emissaries of the Rajahs. He went headlong into treasonable intrigues; harboured Suryappa, a rebellious Polygar of Nuggur, plotted with the Rajah of Mysore, yea, sent an Agent to Ranjeet Sing. Messrs. Binny and Co. were now prohibited from continuing to draw, in behalf of the Rajah, the interest of Virarajendra's legacy to his daughter; still the British Government was reluctant to resort to violent measures. In January 1833, Sir Frederic Adam, Governor of Madras, addressed a long letter to Viraraja, full of sound lessons on good government, and positively demanded compliance, in future, with the

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order of 1827, that all capital punishments, which took place in Coorg, should be regularly reported and explained. Mr. Casamajor carried the letter to Mercara in person, and had several conferences with the Rajah. The latter at first talked, as if he were an independent prince; the Resident reminded him of the tribute formerly paid by the Coorg Rajahs to the rulers of Mysore, and of the elephant Viraraja himself had annually to present to the Company in lieu. When Mr. Casamajor proceeded to hint that strong measures were in contemplation, the Rajah declared, that he was an ill used and much calumniated man, and made great professions of most dutiful allegiance to the British Government. The Resident returned from his bootless visit. The accounts from Coorg continued as bad as ever. Mr. Casamajor recommended the quartering of a native Regiment in the neighbourhood of Mercara, to act as a check upon the Rajah, but Government were still loath to proceed to extremities. Mr. Graeme was despatched from Madras to Coorg, and charged to make a last attempt at an amicable settlement. The Rajah seized and kept in durance a native deputy of Mr. Graeme, would not see the British envoy, and refused to set Kalpavaty Karyakara Menou, at liberty; until the Rajah's relatives were given up to him by the Government. He addressed moreover insolent letters to Sir Frederic Adam, and Lord W. Bentinck, and resolved on going to war with the Company. Troops were collected, (this was a very farce; the blind, and the halt, and the maimed were swept together and assembled for drill on the open space in front of the Mercara Fort) and the Coorgs were ordered to prepare for the fight. The Maharajah of Coorg issued proclamations to the people in the Company's territories, calling upon Hindoos and Mussulmans to rise against the foreign despots, who aimed at the spoiling of castes, and the destruction of the religions of Hindusthan, under the banners of the Haleri dynasty, etc. In order, however, to keep his own person out of harm's way, the Rajah removed twenty miles to the Westward of Mercara, to the palace, built by his uncle, at Nalkanadu, a place almost inaccessible to an army. He took with him his women, his band, his treasures,* and what remained of the members of the Coorg Rajah's families. The Company's

* The Coorg Rajahs were possessed of great wealth. Old Viraraja's lamentation that he had lost every thing he had at Kurobi, is probably far from correct. The Ex-Rajah, before his retirement to Nalkanadu, buried at Mercara, one night, 40 pare (one pare is equal to ten seers) of Rupees. A still greater amount of treasure he buried in the jungle behind the Nalkanad Palace, which has never been detected. The prize money, distributed to the Company's troops, amounted to sixteen lakhs of Rupees; yet the Ex-Rajah has carried away with him great wealth, in jewels. Devammaji's treasure, worth a lakh of Pagodas, a person might have put into his pocket; it filled but half of a small brass vessel, (lota.)

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troops advanced from East and West towards Coorg. Affairs began to look serious. The leaders of the Coorgs, who, in their ignorance, had boasted before the Rajah,* that they would sally forth and exterminate the English, were true enough to their words, and took up their posts at the different passes, where they might have defended themselves most effectually, and would, perhaps, have repulsed the Company's troops, had not the Rajah, incited partly by the hope (founded probably on him unaccountable and really accessive of the British Government,) that a reconciliation was yet possible, partly by the fear, that he might lose all, if matters went to extremities, sent orders prohibiting the Coorgs from encountering the troops of the Company. To this vacillation of the Rajah, the several divisions of the British expedition, then marching into Coorg, were more indebted for their success and even safety, than to the skill and talents of their commanders. Colonel Lindsay, especially, who marched from Fraserpet towards Mercara in his approved style, guns foremost, through the narrow passes blocked up by trees, that had been felled and thrown across—with the greatest difficulty, might have been destroyed, and his ammunition blown up, simply by setting fire to the high jungle grass, which, dry as tinder in April, abounded on his road. When Viraraja had gone to Nalkanad, the Dewans Bopu and Ponappa, who were left at Mercara, considered matters for themselves, and with

* Not all the advisers, however, of the Rajah bragged like Kuntabasava, who may have wished to ruin his master, and eventually to betray him to the British Government. Nor is it unlikely, that the Rajah at last suspected his intentions. After he had surrendered to Colonel Fraser, and returned to the Mercara palace, Kuntabasava, for whose apprehension a reward of 1000 Rs. had been offered, was brought in from the Nalkanadu jungle; but, as the story goes, strangled in the Cutcherry at the foot of the Mercara Hill, by orders of the Rajah, before he could divulge secrets and compromise his master. One moonlight night, a short time before the commencement of hostilities, the Rajah walked with Kuntabasava, and the Parsi, Darashetty, (Darasct) on the Maidan before the Fort of Mercara, accompanied by two torch-bearers, and one of the lads of his band. Viraraja, talked of the war; Darashetty ventured to give hints of caution. Call Ponappa, exclaimed the Rajah suddenly; let us hear his opinion. He appeared forthwith (he was one of the Dewans, a member of an old and wealthy Coorg family of Kiggatnadu; he has a good name in Coorg as an honest man who took no bribes, even under the Company's Government.) He stood before the Rajah in the position required by the slave etiquette of Coorg. The palms of his hands shut upon his breast, the head bowed down almost to the knees. His master asked: what do you think of our war with the Company? they refuse to surrender Chaunabasava, what can I do? Honest Ponappa answered: "It is impossible for us to fight with the Company; they are like the sea; we like a ditch; they are our protectors; the old treaties ought to be remembered." Before he had well finished his short reply, Kuntabasava, with his balled iron fist, gave him a blow on the temple, which sent him to the ground for dead. The torch-bearers wanted to lift him up, but the Rajah cried: "let him alone!" From that moment he was in disgrace. After the Company had taken possession of Coorg, Ponappa became the principal man in the country; he was made first Dewan, and was much respected, both by his superiors and the people.

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their friends, and came to the resolution of surrendering to the Company, and of exchanging, if possible, a master, from whom they had every thing to fear, the life of no man and the honor of no family being safe under his rule, for the just and peaceable dominion of the Company. Accordingly Dewan Bopu with a party of 400 Coorgs, went to meet Colonel Fraser, the Agent of the Governor General, surrendered to him and offered to conduct the Company's troops to the capital. On the 10th of April, 1834, the English flag was hoisted at Mercara. Viraraja in the mean time, had at Nalkanadu, buried part of his treasures, and murdered the remainder of his relatives, with the exception of some aged females.* Life and honorable treatment being offered

* There was a rumour in Coorg, during the ex-Rajahs time, that one of the Haleri princes was still alive, but wandered about in other parts of India. The Rajah himself seems to have given some credit to the rumour. When the palace at Virarajandrapet was built, under Lingaraja, the people said, that the residence was intended for the Haleri Prince; no man, however, in Coorg had seen him for many years. In 1833, the news spread in Coorg, and reached the Rajah, that a Sanyasi, an extraordinary man, went about in the Munjerabad district, (North of Coorg) that he had a number of followers, performed miracles, and composed extempore songs like Dasapadas. Some of his verses were brought to Mercara, and sung in the palace. The Rajah became curious to see the man. At last a report came from the Northern frontier gate, that Abhrambara wished to enter Coorg. He was desired to come to Mercara. On his arrival, he was brought into the palace, and introduced to the Rajah. He was a tall powerful man; his hands reached almost down to his knees; he was dressed very sparingly, and wore a large beard, looking more like a Mussulman Fakir than a Hindu Sanyasi. The Rajah asked him: Who are you? "A man," was his answer. "R. Where is your home?" S. "Here." R. "Who was your mother?" S. "The womb." R. "Who is your father?" The Sanyasi continued to give the Rajah short, contemptuous, and more and more indecent answers, so that he was greatly annoyed, and, though afraid of maltreating him, (for the man had an imposing appearance,) he sent him abruptly away, and ordered him to live near the Rajah's tank, which was carefully guarded, where he should receive, whatever he required for food the Sanyasi, however, wanted very little; he used to eat one or two small brinjals, and a few tender shoots of rushes, every day, without touching any thing else. The tank guards were ordered to have a sharp eye upon him; but on the third morning, about 10 o'clock, after he had performed his ablutions, while the guards were walking about, he suddenly disppeared. Report was made to the Rajah, who caused strict search to be made, and immediately despatched messengers to the different frontier gates. All in vain. Abhrambara was no more seen in Coorg till after the establishment of the Company's government, when he appeared again in the North of Coorg with a retinue of about 100 people, Sanyasis, Brahmins, Jangamas, &c. It is said, that he visited Haleri in order to see his wife, one of the women, who live in the old palace on a pension from the Company; that he there held a kind of Durbar, which was attended by a number of Coorgs and others, who, however, entreated him to leave the country again for fear of the new Sarkar, that his followers gradually increased to 500, whom he fed every day out of one dish of rice, which never failed. Abhrambara's story moves altogether on the confines of reality and myth. Captain Le Hardey, the then Superintendent, heard of the man, and wished to apprehend him; but he was not to be caught. Two of his followers, Kalyanabasava, and Puttubasava were seized at Baitur, in the Maleyalam, and brought to Mercara. Lakshmanarayana, one of the Dewans, began to meddle in these matters, and eventually was sent prisoner to Bangalore. His brother at Sulya was at the head of the so-called Coorg insurrection of 1837.

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to the Rajah by Col. Fraser, if he would surrender; he was not slow to avail himself of so favorable terms. On the 12th April he came to Mercara, and had an interview with the Agent of the Governor General. The new aspect of things boded him no good, he had yet pleased himself with the hope of being allowed to remain in Coorg, though, it might be, under sharp control; but he found out, that his deposition and removal were determined upon; he felt uneasy also at the thought, that Kuntabasava, the accomplice of all his acts, was likely to be delivered, or to give himself up to Colonel Fraser. Only after he had succeeded in delivering himself from the wretch, he breathed a little more freely, and commenced to represent himself as a misguided young man, led astray by a wicked minister. Some fighting had taken place at Somavarpet, where a stockade had been incautiously attacked by Colonel Miller, and well defended by Appachanna, afterwards Subadar of Beppanad, and Kengala Nayaka, a reckless fellow of the Bedar caste, who shot the silver-haired Colonel whilst sitting on the ground at the foot of the Hegala-pass, which leads from Cannanore into Coorg, where also one or two officers lost their lives. With these exceptions, Coorg was peaceably taken possession of, and the expedition earned their rich prize-money very easily.

The Representative of the Governor General now entered into negotiations with the remaining Dewans and other principal men, which must have puzzled them not a little, but which they turned to pretty good account, after having comprehended their novel position. They, no doubt, had expected that the principality would, without much ado, be converted into a Company's talook. They were surprized to find themselves treated almost as an independent body. Not being quite sure whether the Rajah would not, in the end, be allowed to remain in Coorg, and, wishing to be on the safe side, they made a proposal to Colonel Fraser to permit the Rajah to stay among them. When they were informed most positively, that he *must* leave the country, they were greatly relieved, and readily acquiesced in the orders of the Sarkar. They were induced, however, to express anxiety for the maintenance of their religion, and especially begged of Colonel Fraser to stop the pollution of their country by the killing of beef for the use of the European troops. Their petition was at once granted; the butchers were ordered down to Fraserpet, a distance of twenty miles from Mercara, and to this day the beef consumed by soldiers and other European residents at that station is carried up from Fraserpet! In other respects also, the Coorgs were treated as if they were the masters of the country, and were greatly pleased with the sudden change from abject servitude to a kind of consequential independence. The upshot was, that Colonel

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Fraser issued a proclamation, which declared that Coorg was annexed, because it was the wish of the people to be ruled by the British Government! It ran thus:

"Whereas it is the unanimous wish of the inhabitants of Coorg to be taken under the protection of the British Government, His Excellency the Right Honorable the Governor General has been pleased to resolve, that the territory heretofore governed by Virarajendra Vodeya shall be transferred to the Honorable Company. The inhabitants are hereby assured that they shall not again be subjected to native rule, that their civil and religious usages will be respected, and that the greatest desire will invariably be shown by the British Government, to augment their security, comfort, and happiness."

(Signed) J. S. FRASER,
Lieut. Col. and Political Agent."

Camp at Mercara, 7th May, 1834.

After a short stay at Mercara, the Rajah had to leave under an escort. He rode away through the town of Mercara, ordering the band to strike up—"The British Grenadier." A number of his wives accompanied him. In their palkis and his own he concealed vast sums of money in gold. On the road from Mercara to the low country, the bearers, who had to carry the women's dhoolies, which were filled with bags of gold, stumbled and fell in difficult places, and refused to carry such heavy loads. In the confusion, bearers and other attendants helped themselves freely to part of the spoil, which was secretly carried away by orders of the Rajah. The latter soon became aware that it was not safe to carry with him such an amount of treasure, for he had been permitted to take away only ten thousand Rupees. On the first halting place, therefore, near the frontiers of Coorg, he had a pit dug in the kitchen tent, by those of his attendants, in whom he placed the greatest confidence. Bag after bag, filled with large gold coins, was piled up in the pit, all the men present swore a great oath to the Rajah, that they would faithfully keep the secret. The ground was levelled again, and kitchen fires lighted upon it. When the escort moved again, the Rajah's palkis were lighter. After a short time, Mandria Uttaya of Nalkanadu, a Karyakara of the Rajahs, returned home; in a few days he set out again with bullocks, and accompanied by a brother-in-law, to fetch Ragi from the Eastern country. The bullocks and men, however, found their way to Sirlekote, to the place of the Rajah's encampment. There the bags of the bullocks, were filled with something heavier than Ragi. In the night, the treasure was carried to a safe place in the neighbourhood of a relative's house at Hudikerinadu, on the Eastern side of the Coorg Hills, and

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thence leisurely transferred to Nalkanad in the West. Before, however, the whole had been brought into safety, the secret oozed out, and Uttaya found it necessary to inform Captain Le Hardey, that he knew of treasure secreted by the Rajah, both in the Hudikerinad, and at Mercara. An elephant was despatched to the Eastward under the guidance of Uttaya, who faithfully delivered to the Company all he had left there. He shewed also the place, where the Rajah had buried the abovementioned 400 seers of Rupees, and received a reward of 1000 Rs. for his loyal honesty! But the treasure he thought he had secured in his home at Nalkanad, got wings; he had taken the precaution of burying the gold bags in different parts of the garden behind his house. His frequent visits in that direction excited the suspicions of other inmates of the house. One after the other had the luck of finding a bag; gold coins were handed about rather freely at Nalkanad. The Pales (a lower caste, generally servants,) got the scent, and came in for their share, so that in the end poor Uttaya had gained little beyond incessant quarrels among the members of his family, who had secretly divided the spoil. Behold the famed honesty of Coorg! The Rajah proceeded first to Bangalore, then to Vellore, and finally to Benares. Channabassava and his wife continued for some time in the Mysore; afterwards, when they thought themselves safe, they returned to Appagalla, their farm, in the neighbourhood of Mercara, where they still live, upon a liberal pension. Virarajah contrived to keep up a secret correspondence with Coorg, and to revive from time to time rumours of his return to the principality. Few men, if any, wished to see him come back, and to exchange the mild and unoppressive rule of the Company for the excitement and the terrors of the old regime. But, whenever Coorgmen are sounded by officers of Government, they are sure to put on a face, and to throw out hints, as if the return of the Rajah was likely to cause great embarrassment to the present Government; when, of course, their services and fidelity would be of great value.

By the deposition of the Rajah, the Coogs have lost nothing and gained every thing. Under the former rulers, the life and property of men and the honor of women were equally insecure. Several hundred Coorgmen, sometimes a thousand, had to attend upon the Rajah at Mercara, and to be absent from home for months. They were all fed out of one common kitchen, filthy to a degree, disgusting even to Coorgs. Forced labor was the order of the day. A Parpatigara's pay was one Rupee per mensem; the allowances of a Subadar amounted to 30 Rs. per annum. The favorite Dewan, Kuntobassava, was a Badaga (a Canarese man of lowest extraction, who had risen from a dogboy to the Dewanship under Lingarajah), who hated the Coorgs, as he was hated

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in return, and maltreated them whenever he had an opportunity. The Rajah, also, perhaps under the influence of Kuntabasava, had no affection for the Coorgs; he mistrusted, perhaps feared them. No one dared to speak a free word, no one even dared to appear in good clothes. A fine coat, if seen by the Rajah, was pretty sure to draw a sound flogging upon the back which had sported it. The new Government did all they could to please them, and though the liberation of the Rajah's slaves (Panyada Holeyam) was rather obnoxious to them; yet the new masters paid their public servants splendidly, giving them as much per mensem as they formerly had received per annum. The common people were free from forced labor; every body's person and property were safe, and the Coorgs were now the pet race of the country. When, therefore, three years after the annexation of Coorg, the miscalled Coorg insurrection broke out, the Coorgs proved themselves the most loyal subjects, for which again they were most abundantly praised and rewarded with enam lands to a great extent, gold and silver medals, guns, swords and knives, according to their merits, or perhaps to the different degrees of relationship and friendship in which they stood to the Dewans.

The causes of the abortive outbreak in 1837 have not fully come to light. One of the Dewans, the above named Lakshminarayana, a Brahman, who was ill-pleased with the ascendancy of his Coorg brother-Dewans, was deeply implicated. A brother of his at Sulya, in the low country, to the West of the Coorg Hills, which had been ceded by the Company to old Virarajendra as a reward for his services during the Mysore wars, was in league with some rich and influential Gandas, a tribe on the Western slope of the Ghats, who resemble the Coorgs in many of their habits, and sometimes intermarry with them. These were disaffected to the Company's Government. After the annexation of Coorg, the districts of Amara Sulya, Puttin and Bantwala, the latter adjoining that of Mangalore, had been retransferred to the province of Canara, from which they had been taken. Under the Rajahs, the assessment had been paid in kind. The Collector of Mangalore, now, demanded cash payment; this was considered a grievance, as the farmers were laid under tribute by the money-changers. The insurgents assembled at Sulya. They were a mere rabble, but they made a successful attack at Puttur on the Collector of Mangalore, and two companies of sepoys. A party of the rebels, whose courage and numbers increased after their unexpected success, advanced to Mangalore, opened the jail, and, with the assistance of the prison fraternity, burnt and looted the Cutcherry and some Civilians' houses, situated on the hills overlooking the town. All the world was seized with a panic. The Civilians, who fled on board a ship, which carried them to Canna-

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nore, were spectators of the conflagration of their houses behind them, and thought the whole country was in arms. The commanding officer held a council of war, usually a very unwarlike thing; and, had boats been procurable, the garrison consisting of a Regiment, much weakened, it is true, by the detachment of several companies, would have embarked and run away before a few hundred Gandas, if so many, and the rabble of the jail. Troops were immediately sent from Cannanore and Bombay; but, when they arrived, they found nobody to fight with. The Mangalore garrison recovered their presence of mind, and had no difficulty in maintaining their ground, and restoring order. This was altogether a Ganda affair. However, from the centre of the movement at Sulya, two other trains were fired, one across Nalkanad and Beppunad, the centre of the Coorg world, to Virarajendrapet, the second town in Coorg, and the principal place of trade;—the other across the districts of Panje and Ballari and Subrahmanya to the northern parts of Coorg, inhabited by Badagas, who had been trusted and favored by the ex-Rajah above the Coorgs. The Dewan, Kantabasava, had his relatives, connections, and his ever ready tools there. Formal proclamations were issued, in the name of that mysterious personage, Abhrambara, who seemed to be everywhere and nowhere. The Coorgs and other inhabitants of the country were summoned to the service of the great prince of the Haleri house, who was about to take possession of his inheritance. A number of Coorgs about Talekaveri and Nalkanadu believed the Nirupas, to which a Rajah's seal was attached, and the assurances of the messengers who carried them. They took up arms, and went down to the head quarters at Sulya. Abhrambara's letters patent were carried to Beppunad. The Coorgs there, officials and others, were taken by surprise, not knowing what to believe, and unable to discern the safer side, they hesitated. After a day or two, a deputation from Virarajendrapet went to Mercara, to see the Dewans, to report to them and ask for their directions. Captain Le Hardey, the Superintendent, was on the alert. After consultation with the Dewans, he left Ponappa at Mercara, and marched with Bopu and a body of troops in the direction of Sulya as far as Sampaji, whether Bopu had received intelligence that the insurgents were moving from Sulya. When Captain Le Hardey, after a long and tedious march, had reached Sampaji at the foot of the Ghats, no rebels were to be seen, and he learnt, that they had moved towards the Bislighat and the North Coorg. It was impossible to follow the insurgents through a tract of forest hills, difficult of passage even for travellers. He returned, therefore, to Mercara, and marched to the supposed rendezvous of the rebels, through the upper districts of Coorg. When he arrived there, still accompani-

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ed by Bopu, no insurgents were to be seen, and intelligence now reached his camp, that the enemy was at Sampaji. He forthwith marched to Sampaji by way of Kadamakall. Again no rebels. The Superintendent began to doubt the fidelity of his Dewan companion. On his return to Mercara, he was told by Bonappa, the Coorg nobleman, who seems to have borne the poor parvenu, Bopu, a grudge, that information had been received in the mean time of several of Bopu's relatives having joined the insurgents. Captain Le Hardey's suspicions were thus confirmed. He called Bopu, and charged him strait with treachery. Go down to your friends, the rebels; be an open enemy; go, and I will come after you, and, if I catch you, you shall be hung. Bopu, who was as faithful a servant of the Company as his friend Bonappa, was terribly alarmed. Appearances, certainly, were against him; yet he was innocent. But how was he to regain the confidence of the chief, which he had evidently lost? The man broke out into tears, and protested his fidelity with the eloquence of despair. Do you stay at Mercara, Captain Le Hardey, he said, and let me quell this miserable rebellion. If you give me liberty to act according to circumstances, and take all responsibility upon yourself, I will set out immediately, and bring you the ringleaders alive or dead. Captain Le Hardey felt the man was true, and permitted him to do as he pleased. The Coorgs from Beppunad and other districts had in the mean time collected at Mercara. A party of some sixty men was despatched to the North under Subadar Appachanna. Bopu, with another troop, marched straight down to Sampaji. Two Lictors of his own fashion proceeded the Coorg Consul, viz. two coolies, each of them carrying a load of fresh cut sticks. The Dewan evidently intended to give the rebels a licking in the literal sense of the word. His best Nalkanadu friends gathered around him; three of them marched a little in advance of the Dewan to scour the way before him; for Chetty Kudiya, who had been the late Rajah's shooting master and great favorite, a man of the Malekudiya caste, one of the jungle tribes, who could hit, if he chose, they said, the eye of a flying bird, had sworn to shoot Bopu dead the moment he saw him. The party had not proceeded farther than a quarter of a mile from Mercara, and were just descending the Ghat, when they met two unlucky wights, a former Subadar, Muddaya, and a late Parpatigara, Appaya. They were well known to Bopu. They had failed to give information of the insurrection; they must have known things, and had they sent him a message in due time, it would have saved him the danger of utter disgrace and ruin, from which he had barely escaped. He, therefore, ordered some of his followers to seize the fellows, and others to take out a fresh stick for each and give them a good blow up. The two unfortunates, at once seized by rude hands and

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stripped of their coats, demanded explanation; they were answered by blows. They protested their innocence, though no charge had been brought against them. Bopu did not stop to expostulate. Blows was the answer. They cried for mercy; fresh blows followed. After a while they were left half dead on the ground, and Bopu marched on. Half way down the Sampaji pass, he met with a party of Nalkanadu Coorgs, men of his own acquaintance; they were armed, but dared not to fight the Dewan; he at once ordered them all to be seized by his men, who were much more numerous, and administered a severe castigation to all except one, who escaped by telling all he knew about the movements of the insurgents. Bopu went on gloriously. He did redeem the promise given to Capt. Le Hardey. The Subadar of Nalkanadu had been drawn into this foolish affair. Bopu sent him word and then had a meeting with him, when he prevailed on him without difficulty to withdraw from the rebels and to return to the allegiance he had sworn to the Company. The loss of so influential a man was a great blow and discouragement to the petty insurrection. It was put down with little shedding of blood beyond that which was drawn and from that day Coorg has been at peace.

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Art. VIII.—*House of Commons' Reports*, 1853.

The Financial system of India, said Sir Charles Trevelyan before a Committee of the House of Commons "is the least perfect and advanced of all the branches of administration in India, in fact it is still in a crude and elementary state." Such was the opinion of a man eminently calculated to give one on the subject of Finance, and on Indian Finance in particular. Intimately acquainted with the system pursued in this country; thirteen years' experience of Finance arrangements at home have given him opportunities of comparing and weighing the merits of both, such as few other statesmen in England possess. But this sweeping condemnation uttered by a gentleman, whose well known abilities increase the value which his past and present position justify us in attaching to his remarks, refers peculiarly to the system of Indian accounts, and appropriate as it is, might with even still greater force be applied, not to a part, but to the whole scheme of Finance as at present administered by the Supreme Government. The gross inefficiency of the arrangements, the trouble and loss that they perpetually occasion, are facts so notorious, and so universally admitted, that comments upon them are scarcely required, and indeed it could be but a work of supererogation in us to attempt them when the Blue Book upon the Public Works Loan is so conveniently at hand, and the Finance operations of 1853 are so fresh in our memories.

A Chancellor of the Exchequer might chuckle over those operations as "eminently successful." It was reserved, however, for Members of the Indian Council Chamber to bear unwilling witness to their results. That the events of a short twenty months should serve to bring to the verge of insolvency a Government which at the commencement of that period, by offering to pay off the capital, could reduce the interest upon twenty millions of money from five per cent. to four was a change so sudden, so startling, as to create universal surprise. Clumsy, official explanations, if they deserve the name, of those events, combined with special pleading as to their origin, served only to convert surprise into indignation. A stranger hearing of this change for the first time would naturally be led to suppose that this sudden mutation had been brought about by some visible calamity, either of war, drought, or disease, by an incompetent Government or a weak Executive; in fact by one of those causes which occasionally undermine the prosperity of nations. But it was not so. This occurred under no feeble or irresolute Government; in no very critical state of affairs. The

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country was virtually at peace, having just emerged from a successful war, in which she had acquired a considerable increase of territory. If there was famine in Madras, the Agra Presidency was blessed with a more than usually productive harvest. The most efficient Governor General that ever took the helm was piloting the vessel of State. There was no dearth of wisdom in the Council Chamber, on the contrary, of the three members whose Minutes upon the Public Works Loan have appeared in print, two are eminently fitted to grapple with Financial difficulties, one of them having gathered all his laurels at the Treasury, and Mr. John Peter Grant being generally and rightly esteemed one of the most able and long-headed men in the service. So in fact whilst every thing seemed tending to the national prosperity, the State was on the brink of insolvency, and was forced to open a loan lest its Central Treasury should have to suspend payments. We can afford to laugh at the Irishman's faith in half sovereigns as a specific for the failing credit of his bank, and can allow ourselves a passing smile at the seeming absurdity of the bank of England having been necessitated to pay in shillings and sixpences on the advance of the Highlanders upon Derby. But it is the reverse of ridiculous when the Central Treasury of a great Government, with an income larger than that of Austria or the Czar, and only exceeded by the revenues of France and England, is discovered to be too empty to provide for the customary monthly disbursements; and this too at a time when there is more than eight millions of ready money lying in its district treasuries.

It is indeed very easy to prove from the statements contained in Mr. Grant's Minute,* at least if we are to put any faith in figures, that the cash balances of May 1855, not only amounted to eight hundred and thirty-five lakhs, but were somewhat in excess of eleven crores; and it has thence been argued that if the

* Mr. Grant, in his Minute upon the Public Works Loan, has remarked that whilst in June 1853 the Cash Balances in the Indian Treasuries amounted to the enormous sum of 1775 lakhs, they were not expected to exceed 835 lakhs in April 1855, and to account substantially for this diminution, he has appended the subjoined tabular statement of expenses:—

	Lakhs.
Amount of Debt paid off, ...	292
Deficiency of Madras Revenue of '53-54, ...	28½
Ditto Ditto of '54-55, ...	34½
Ditto of Opium Revenue of '53-54, ...	35
Ditto Ditto of '54-55, ...	92½
Excess of charges for Public Works in 1853-54, ...	70½
Ditto Ditto in 1854-55, ...	117½
Total, ... Lakhs	671

Deducting this from the cash balance of June 1853, there remains a balance of 1104 lakhs, that is to say 269 lakhs in excess of the cash balance of April 1855.

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amount of the loan be the measure of the Government necessities, those necessities should have been met by the application of the two crores sixty-nine lakhs of the cash balances of 1853, which are yet unaccounted for. We are willing, however, to believe that there is some oversight in the Memoranda appended to Mr. Grant's Minute; but credulous or not, we have no doubt on this point, that whether the cash balances were eight, eleven, or twenty crores, the Calcutta Treasury had run itself dry; and that whatever the amount of money lying idle in the district Collectorates, there was not enough in the coffers at Calcutta to suffice for two months' expenditure. So cumbrous, and so ill-regulated is our expensive Financial machine. It is a matter of little consequence whether this mechanism owes its origin to a double Government, or a Finance Department, but to Mr. Grant belongs the credit of suggesting its removal. The last paragraph of his Minute contains the pith and substance of the whole.

"I have," says he, "only to add that although I entirely agree in the opinion that under the present system a cash balance of upwards of eight crores has been proved to be insufficient, I am still of opinion that under a different system that amount would be an ample working capital wherewith to administer the Government in ordinary times. Eight or nine millions of money of which not a farthing is available wherewith to answer an unexpected demand, seems to me an enormous sum to be required merely as it were to oil the Financial machinery. I cannot but think that too large an aggregate sum is allowed to be frittered away amongst too many small treasuries. There is really only one place where it is of importance to have always a large spare balance, and that is the General Treasury of Calcutta; of four-fifths of the district treasuries any one may be run dry any day without any public inconvenience; nevertheless the greater part of the eight or nine millions is always lying in these small treasuries. It would require much time, detailed knowledge and thought to make an effectual and safe alteration of this system in this respect, but I cannot believe that it is not to be done."

Corruption generates life; evil is often the forerunner of good, and it may be that in the much abused five per cent. Loan lies the germ of future Financial Reform. If so, we have cause to rejoice rather than to sorrow in the birth of that fiscal abortion. But it may be that unmindful of the opportunity which this breakdown of the circulating machinery of the country has afforded them for replacing the cumbrous, ill-fitted mechanism of times past, by the simplified and less expensive inventions of the present age. Government will make no attempt to remedy arrangements, the inefficiency of which they have already acknowledged. If so, their supineness will be severely punished by the recurrence of those dangers whose existence a failing exchequer has distinctly pointed out to them.

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It will most probably be reserved for Lord Canning to amend a system of finance quite incompatible with the advances of Indian progress. We have an army officered by British soldiers, manœuvred according to European tactics. The spirit and much of the letter of English law pervades our jurisprudence: our assessments for revenue are supposed to be based upon the doctrines laid down by Adam Smith and his followers. Our Finance alone is Indian. Our military men study the strategy of Jomini; Blackstone and Bentham, Mills and Ricardo are the text books of our Civilians, but the system of our financiers is almost the same now as that of Abul Fuzl, Akbar's minister some three centuries ago.

The pages of a *Review* are not those best suited to the serious discussion of so large a question; but the following remarks may serve to point out some of the radical defects of the system; and our endeavours to discover the causes of its ill-success, may perhaps suggest the remedy to be applied. If they produce no other effect than to excite enquiry or to draw prominent attention to the subject they will not have been written in vain.

It requires no great penetration to perceive that the Indian monetary circulation is not a rapid one, at first sight even the most superficial observer is struck with its sluggishness. This sluggishness, however, only extends to the great arteries, and is imperceptible in the lesser veins. It may seem contradictory thus to say that while the arterial communications are slow, those of the lesser veins are not so: but if we bear in mind that, unlike the fearfully and wonderfully constructed framework of the human body where all is consonant and in harmony, the Indian system in every department has to grasp two separate principles as widely opposed to one another as possible, being no other than civilization of the highest class, and semi-barbarism, we shall be able to reconcile this apparent contradiction. Remembering this great though not impassable gulf separating the conquerors in their civilization from the conquered in their backwardness, we can understand how it is that whilst the currency of the country circulates quickly enough amongst the lower classes, the great bulk of whom are needy and impoverished, and whose condition is so rude that their exchanges frequently are made by barter without the accommodation of coin; yet with the richer classes and the Government, itself the richest individual of the richest class, its circulating power is very much limited.

In India it would seem that as money accumulates in individual hands so is its power of circulation diminished, or perhaps we should say ceases to exhibit itself, the power still remains, but it remains stagnant. Whenever this stagnation occurs, those classes which are affected by the circulating strength

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being in abeyance, are obliged to supply its place by artificial substitutes. These may be enumerated as native Bills of Exchange, known to Europeans under the name of Hoondees, local and partial in their existence; Bank of Bengal Notes, the issue of which is limited to two millions, which are not current above Benares,* and the Government Promissory Notes—none of which are for less than 500 Rs.† In very many cases, none of these substitutes are immediately available. There only then remains the actual remittance of cash. The cash remittances of Government are effected under large Treasure Escorts, and though these necessarily entail‡ very considerable expence, they have the advantage of being safe and certain.

Private individuals, however, must remit either by hackery or, as is more frequently the case, under the charge of confidential servants, each man taking on an average 1000 Rs. concealed about his person—but whatever the carriage, both the risk and the cost attending such remittances must be considerable.§

It is not an easy matter to give an accurate representation of the amount of coin so sluggishly circulated. That it must be large is sufficiently evinced by the amount of revenue annually raised in the country. We ourselves are inclined to think that the currency of India may be fairly estimated at one hundred and fifty millions of pounds. So long ago as 1837, it was rated at one hundred millions sterling, and the estimate was not supposed to be too high. But between the years, 1837—53, inclusive no less a sum than thirty-six millions eight hundred thousand pounds

* Vide Pamphlet on Commerce of India, pp. 87 and Commercial Dict. Art. Calcutta.

† The paper circulation of India is not confined to Bank Notes; the Promissory and Treasury Notes of the Government are largely availed of, by the European and native merchants, in the transaction of business, as Exchequer Bills and Bank Certificates are in this country. The first of these correspond to our Bank certificates, being in fact, obligations on the Treasury for the payment of the interest of the national debt. The second are of exactly the same nature as our Exchequer Bills, bearing a certain date of interest per diem, which has fluctuated from 3¾ to 5¼ per cent. per annum.

The Promissory as well as Treasury Notes of the Government go a considerable length towards increasing the accommodation by paper circulation; but none of the Notes in question being smaller than £50, their prices being of course variable, and it being unsafe to transmit them by post as a remittance, their use is necessarily accompanied with considerable inconvenience. Whatever be the nature of the accommodation afforded by them, and it is chiefly confined to the seat of Government, it is certainly not to be put in comparison with that afforded in England and America by the Public Stocks, Canal, Railroad and other shares of these countries.

‡ Vide Pamphlet on Commerce of India, pp. 57 of Note.

§ *Gold Mohurs* are occasionally, though but seldom, remitted through the Post Office. A mail cart robbery that created considerable excitement last year in the Upper Provinces was supposed to have been perpetrated to enable the robbers to gain possession of a large number of these coins, which had been remitted from Benares to Delhie per Mail Cart.

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worth of bullion has been imported into the country. Of this, nearly thirty-one millions are the bonâ fide excess of imports over exports between the years '37 and '51, while the remainder consists of the silver actually imported from England into India in the years '52 and '53.

Supposing however that our estimate of one hundred and fifty millions sterling is extravagant, whilst that made in 1837 may still be received as a faithful representation of the amount of coin now in circulation; the circulating medium of India will yet be found to be in excess of that of Great Britain, by as much as two-thirds. But though this is the case no one for an instant, could suppose that India is richer than the mother country, the gross revenue of which even in time of peace is double that of its dependancy: at present three times as great: and it need not excite surprise that England with a gross revenue of sixty millions and a circulating medium of the same amount requires only an average cash balance of six millions, whilst India with a circulating medium of one hundred millions, with a revenue of thirty ——— requires as a working capital a cash balance of ten millions, *i. e.*, one-tenth of its circulating medium. In fact it is the very amount of coin in circulation that compels these large cash balances.

Place England in the same position, that is to say confine her circulating medium to stamped bullion, and we should find her cash balances proportionally increased. It is said, and the calculation is supposed to be rather under-estimated than the reverse, that the sixty millions of Gold, Silver, and Bank Notes which at present suffice for the accommodation of the Exchanges of Great Britain would have to be increased to two hundred millions of money were it not for the devices at present resorted to for making a machine of less power do the same work as one of greater strength. According to this ratio, the Government cash balances would have to be increased from six millions to twenty, and like the Indian the British Exchequer would require for its working capital one-tenth of the whole circulating medium of the country. When we consider the immense extent of the territory from which the revenue of India is raised, the vast number of the reservoirs in which it is collected, the paucity of the great disbursing treasuries by which it is re-issued to the public, and allowed to regain its former channels, and lastly the description of the coin in which it is accumulated, we obtain some idea of the difficulties that beset the Indian Financier in his work of concentration, and of the exertions he is compelled to make whilst conducting an operation so vital to the proper administering of the vast but ponderous resources of the empire. How necessary is this operation must be apparent even to the most casual observer: we all ap-

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preciate the truth of the old maxim "divide et impera" as applied to our foes and their resources, it is but the converse of "concentrate to exist" as applied to ourselves and our means. In all right systems of policy whether of war or peace are these maxims to be observed. But in the politics of Finance concentration is the mainspring of vitality, and if money is the blood of a currency, concentration is the work of its heart; having once possessed ourselves of the resources there only remains to centralize so as to apply them properly. We need not go far to see how paralysing is the absence of this power. Mr. Grant* tells us how the Calcutta Treasury was thrown into a state of Financial syncope by reason of its non-existence. Not from actual want of blood, but from the inability of the blood to perform its functions: it would not circulate, the vital principle was absent. It was the accumulating part of the mechanism that failed, and so long as the matter to be accumulated is so ponderous, so long will the machinery continue inefficient. We do not of course refer to the actual gravity of the Indian coinage, though perhaps it would startle our readers were they to reflect that if we assume the circulation at 1000 millions of rupees the specific weight of the coinage would amount to 11,160 tons.† Imagine England with a coinage of half crowns, or florins, and even then she would be incomparably better off than India. Bullion can be easily remitted at home, twelve hours will see any amount of treasure conveyed from London to Edinburgh, whilst in India it would take seven weeks to carry coin 500 miles. In this country, too, Bullion has to be conveyed much greater distances than at home, so not only is the carriage less speedy, but coin has to be carried further. How then shall we strengthen the concentrating power of our system, its life giving spirit, how shall we restore it to healthy vigour? The Barber Surgeons of the middle ages occasionally resorted to a curious expedient having its origin in as quaint a doctrine. They attributed to the blood certain qualities good and evil, and if from the symptoms of the case under treatment they saw, or thought they saw, that the evil attributes had obtained an ascendancy over the good, they selected some healthy subject to act as a kind of sanguinary wetnurse to the sick man, and having taken a sufficient quantity of blood from the strong man they injected it into the veins of their patient. We may learn a lesson from them and their doctrine of transfusion. To res-

* Vide Para. 1 of Minute.

† Fifty Rupees weight 25 tolahs, and 80 tolahs are equivalent to 2 lbs. avoirdupois sixteen hundred Rupees, then will be equal in weight to twenty lbs. and a thousand millions to 5580 tons 7 cwt. 7 lbs.

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fore vigour to the circulation of our sickly system we must infuse new blood into it.

It is true that we are confined in our choice of subjects from whom to procure the vivifying fluid. More silver is out of the question, it would be but an increase of weakness to a circulation already inefficient.

With regard to gold it is still a vexata questio, with many members of the Anglo-Indian community whether a coinage of that metal might, or might not, be profitably employed in alliance with the present currency. The Parliamentary Reports of '52-'53 contain both the arguments in favour of and against such a plan, urged by the representatives of the two parties most interested in the question, the mercantile men and the Government. The statements of Mr. Finlay for twenty years connected with trade in Bombay, and of Sir James Melvill, the able Secretary of the India House are the most favorable specimens. On either side we have to regret however that Mr. Finlay did not like the latter gentleman reduce to writing his opinion on such an important question, instead of contenting himself with the bold and suggestive replies of his viva voce examination. Mr. Finlay assures us that it is desirable to make gold as well as silver a legal tender, and sees no objection to a double currency. His ostensible reasons for legalizing gold coinage are first that "the present currency is insufficient" and secondly, that the payments from India to the mother country would be facilitated, thus relieving the home currency in times of crisis. But the real basis of his argument occasionally peeps out from these flimsy cloudy ideas, and is of a somewhat more solid character. It is that gold is more easily carried than silver. Sir James Melvill who takes the other view of the question, bases his arguments upon the acknowledged difficulty of maintaining two standards. With regard to India he observes that "if gold became depreciated, it would be used to buy up silver" and thinks great distress would result to the people if that were to occur. To support his opinion he has laid before the Committee a memorandum relating to the gold coinage of India, in which he shows on the authority of Sir James Stewart that though gold has occasionally been coined the standard of the Bengal money has ever been silver; and after instancing some examples of the impracticability attending a double standard arrives "at the conclusion that practically two standards of value cannot exist" and that although in a wealthy country comparatively little injury may result from the double standard, the effect in India would be most seriously felt by the masses of the population.

We perfectly agree with Mr. Melvill as to the impossibility of maintaining a double standard. Since the days of Adam

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Smith who insinuated a very strong opinion on the subject, Political economists and all men of monetary experience have coincided in the impracticability of its establishment. The difficulty of fixing, for any length of time the relative value of the two metals and the certainty that the overrated metal will drive the underrated out of use* are quite sufficient to account for this impracticability which, notwithstanding his twenty years of mercantile experience Mr. Finlay cannot see.

An increase to our silver coinage but adding to our difficulties,

* It requires no great powers of penetration to perceive that if there existed in a country two metallic standards legal tender to any amount, one of which was rated in excess of its positive value with reference to the other, then every man paying in the metal comparatively underrated would suffer a loss equivalent to the difference between the real and fictitious value of the overrated metal.

For instance, if in England gold and silver were legal tender to any amount, and the comparative value of gold with reference to silver was fixed at 1 to 21, whilst its actual value was 1 to 20, every debtor paying in silver would suffer a loss of 5 per cent. paying in gold would be benefited to the same extent. As a natural result all payments excepting those of small sums would be effected in gold and silver, though a legal tender would cease to be made use of and be driven out of a country where it was exposed to so unfair a competition. For confirmation of the truth of this we need only look to the actual history of France. In that country previously to 1785 the Louis d'Or, which was virtually worth 25 Livres 10 sols, was rated at 24 Livres so that every debtor paying in gold suffered a loss of 1 Livre 10 sols upon every 24 Livres of liability. Gold in consequence was nearly banished from circulation. We have lived to see this proceeding reversed. The following is an extract from an able article in the *Economist* of the 24th November last:—

"At a very early period we pointed out the necessary consequences which must arise from the fact that many of the continental countries had in use a double standard of silver and gold, which metals had by law a fixed relative value to each other. It was evident that the relative value which had formerly existed would be disturbed by the increased supply of gold, while the supply of silver continued nearly stationary.

France, Holland, and Belgium had all this double standard in actual use. They had gold money and silver money, coined according to the fixed legal relative value of the two metals and each was a legal tender to an unlimited amount."

"Very soon after the gold discoveries, Holland, seeing the difficulty that must arise, had recourse to the step of demoneytising gold, and of adopting silver as her sole standard. Belgium shortly afterwards followed her example. The French Government appointed a Commission to examine the whole question, and to advise whether resort should be had to a single standard, or a change made in the fixed relation of gold and silver. Unfortunately the commission reported against doing any thing at the moment, and thus postponed the difficulty to a time when it would be much less easy to deal with it. What has been the consequence? Day by day, week by week, and year by year, France has been losing the enormous stock of silver which she then possessed, in the shape of coin in circulation and in deposit with the Bank, and has been substituting gold in its place. The price of silver in the markets of the world has risen fully five per cent. in relation to gold, while in France, by Law, it remains exactly as it was before. In point of fact, therefore, silver has a fixed price in France below its real price, and a profit is consequently always obtainable by purchasing silver in France with gold. A few years ago, the annual coinage of France averaged £5,000,000 of silver and about £40,000 of gold; in 1854, the coinage in gold was £20,000,000 and in silver £8,000; in the present year, up to the latest period for which we have the accounts, the coinage of gold has been £14,000,000 and of silver about £30,000; and at this moment it is understood that every day the Bank of France has a drain upon it for silver."

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and a double standard appearing impracticable, it is to paper currency that we must have recourse for our new blood. The objections that are raised to gold in connection with a double currency cannot be urged against paper. For paper is not a standard, it is but a medium. In India it will represent silver as in England it represents sovereigns. Having no intrinsic worth, and owing its value only to that which it represents it can never be driven out of the country in which its value ceases to exist. There must it remain where its fictitious value attaches to it.

Though this proposed transfusion may find favour, we must look forward to considerable opposition. In all countries there is a class of men with whom every thing in Political life that has any actual existence is sacred, not to be touched by the profane hand of the speculative thinker.

They form a class that has always existed, and always will have its representatives; and from such as these we must expect the most strenuous opposition. But every improvement has been opposed at its birth. All innovations have been viewed with distrust, and the greater the benefit they have eventually conferred, the louder originally has been the cry against them.

Printing and Gunpowder—Vaccination and the Poor Laws have been encountered by ridicule and disbelief. Railways have been damned in prospect; and Free-trade, though their numbers have decreased, still has its enemies. It is not however the hostility of these opponents of change, these *laudatores temporis acti* that we need to fear, but there are others whose arguments may have more weight—who object to the proposed change for its suddenness; those cautious politicians who make success wait upon certainty and somewhat behind the first ranks of the world, are content with a safe mediocrity. They will lay before us a thousand stereotyped objections, will tell us that interference with the currency is dangerous. That to put it in the power of a few private individuals to issue money at will is a hazardous experiment, and they will point to the Bank failures during a monetary crisis.

They will say that it is the nature of the Hindoo to resent any departure from the established order of things, that in our attempt to stimulate the circulation we shall endanger the currency, and lastly that the people will be victimised by the uttering of spurious notes.

To these we might reply that a limited issue in the hands of Government would obviate the force of the two first objections, that the paper money would be but a substitute not additional, that we have already a successful instance of a departure from the established order of things in the Bank of Bengal Notes, which

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are rather sought after than disliked by the Bengalees. That if paper is made a legal tender and issued to a limited extent, the currency cannot be impaired, and that by limiting the value of each of the notes they will not circulate in the immediate sphere of the ignorant and most *facile* victims of imposition.

But it is useless to glance at a matter of such moment, we must weigh the merits and demerits of the plan seriously and carefully. The objections which present themselves to our notice admit of a very simple classification, referring either to the defects of a paper currency per se, or to those inherent to it as connected with the country to which we contemplate its introduction.

With regard to the faults of the system itself, their fallacy has already been so well explained by so many able writers that we should feel inclined to pass by this class of objections in contemptuous silence, were it not that such silence might seem derogatory to the cause which we advocate. Some few remarks will not perhaps be out of place.

The theory of paper money practically divides itself into two systems. The one the offspring of high civilization and extended commerce,—the other fostered by the despotic power of a less lofty civilization. Thus differing in their origin they are separate in their phenomena. The growth of the one being spontaneous, its existence is natural, that of the other being forced it continues only by being legalized. Of the former we have an instance in commercial England, of the latter in Autocratic Russia.

Strange to say the more natural is as imperfect as the artificial, though in the instances which Europe at present yields to us, the defects of the latter seem to be perennial while those of the former are epochal. But the faults of both are rather faults of vicious management than of the systems themselves, and there is but little doubt that were both regulated upon those just and sound principles which long experience has pointed out to us as the only sure foundations of the monetary economy of nations, they would in practise deserve that praise which is now only accorded to them in theory.

It has ever been the policy of the British Government to allow every thing not intimately connected with the actual executive or administrative to take care of itself, and though praiseworthy in many cases this "laissez faire" doctrine has been productive of much evil. For a long time it was pursued with regard to the monetary arrangements of the empire. Warned however by the extraordinary distress of 1792, Government at last discovered that it was their duty to interfere. But the ghost of a defunct national policy, that detestation of bureaucracy, that dislike of centralization has still continued to exercise in this particular

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instance a most pernicious and baneful influence, and except on due compulsion the administration has never made use of the powers with which it is invested for the sake of the public welfare. Not only has the Government deemed it unworthy of their dignity to take means for securing the payment on demand of the notes that are issued, but by neglecting to limit the number of issuers they have still further assisted to multiply embarrassments which all must deprecate. It cannot be too strongly argued, and the argument cannot be too often reiterated that without taking these precautions a currency based upon the English principles can never be in a sound state.

If it be the duty of Government to use their utmost endeavours for the suppression of base coin of a metallic currency, it is equally obligatory upon them to exert every nerve for the suppression of spurious notes, and though notes in theory may not be legal tender, to the same extent as gold, yet we cannot deceive ourselves as to the reality of the matter—this security, for the payment of demand of the notes of what we have, rightly or wrongly, termed a natural currency, may be dispensed with as far as the artificial one is concerned. In the despotic, or Governmental system the paper is declared by the Government which issues it to be a legal tender, and notes of this description circulate, not because of any power credited to the issuers of being able on presentation to buy back these bits of paper with the actual coin, which they are stated to represent; not because they have a real value equal to that of the commodities for which they are exchanged, but simply for this reason, that in their assigned quality of media of exchange they are selected to perform the functions of money.

But whatever the nature of a currency of paper, whether natural or artificial, it is an essential element of its well being, that the number of issuers should be limited. For this displays to us the only method by which we can secure that variability as necessary to a paper as to a metallic currency. By this identity of variability common to a healthy paper, as well as metallic currency, we desire to express the varying of the whole currency in amount and value, exactly as a metallic currency would do, were the paper currency withdrawn and coins substituted in its stead. That is to say that the supply should be equivalent to the demand. As long as this is the case, the currency is at its real value, but it is evident that if the issue of notes be in excess of the metallic coin which would circulate in its stead, were the paper currency withdrawn, such notes in proportion to the extent in which they are issued, will have their relative value diminished below what they are supposed to represent of metallic currency.

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Owing to the want of centralization, and the insouciance of Government already alluded to, the British currency did not occupy that high position which as the exchanging medium of the greatest commercial nation in the world we were entitled to expect for it. And it had resulted from the omission to take security for the payment on demand of each particular note, that the issuing of bank notes had become a trade as open to all as any less valuable profession. Their issue thus being permitted to every individual, his personal credit being the only measure of its extent, and the field of his operations* alone being confined, it cannot be matter of surprise that men with little means and less principle were found to engage in so lucrative a profession, whilst to add to the evil by neglecting to limit the number of issuers we allow the very best of the class unintentionally to add to the confusion.† These then were the most conspicuous faults of the remedies for the old British system of paper currency.

If however its defects were those of omission, those of the artificial system on the other hand are the sins of commission, and if on the part of Government with regard to a commercial system, the faults are negative, with reference to the Government system the errors are positive.

Complying with all the formal requisites for the well-being of the currency they exhibit a total disregard or ignorance of those principles which should secure it; and whatever good they may have done in originating the system, is more than counterbalanced by the erroneous manner in which they have directed it, —degraded by the very hands that should have cherished it. Whatever the advantages with which it may have originally started, the Governmental system has always succumbed under the enormous issue which the authorities have forced upon it. Regardless of every thing but present necessity they have put their future in pawn for actual aid, and the assistance thus obtained has served only to increase their embarrassments.

* No other Notes but those of the Bank of England are allowed to be issued payable on demand within 65 miles of Charing-cross.

† The state of the Exchange is the sole barometer of a contracted or exaggerated issue, but notwithstanding that this is generally acknowledged, it is seldom that its indications are attended to. The Private and Joint Stock Banks being not indirectly affected by the rise and fall of the exchange, are not much influenced by it in their operations, and are generally guided by no other beacon than their own credit and immediate profits in the extension and contraction of their issues. To contract his issue is the very last thing that occurs to the mind of a private Banker. He may be forced by circumstances to acknowledge that contraction is required but he makes a saving clause in favour of his own particular issue. He argues that comparatively speaking as his issue is so small, no perceptible benefit can accrue from its contraction: or perhaps he is restrained from diminishing his issue by the knowledge that were he to do so the vacuum thus created would be immediately filled up by the Notes of some less scrupulous competitor. The result is that saving in the case of the Bank of England, issuers never contract their issues except when they are compelled to do so, and "the contraction when it does take place is carried to an improper extent."

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Deluging the country with paper under the vain idea that, by so doing, they increased its material wealth, they have in reality hung a dead weight around the neck of the nation, swamped its credit, and impeded its progress. In this self-destructive race, Austria and Russia have outpaced all competitors. No European currencies are so degraded as theirs. Having it more particularly in their power to limit the issue, they have sought rather to attain the last boundary of extravagance and have been eminently successful in approximating to ruin.

It would seem then that neither the natural or the artificial system as developed in Europe will serve us as guides. But if we cannot make use of their example we can at all events profit by the warning they convey to us. By blending the sound principles of the one with the healthy forms of the other, we shall avoid the vices of both, and elicit that "juste milieu" which we may with safety adopt as the basis of our Indian currency. For we must remember that these defects are not inherent to a paper currency itself, but are the results on the one hand of uncared for growth, and on the other of most injudicious and intemperate forcing, and that in the first instance notwithstanding these failings, serious as they are, a mixed paper currency is still superior to an entirely metallic circulating medium.

Before we attempt to shew how this "juste milieu" is to be gained, it would be as well to examine those objections which may be urged, not against a paper currency per se, but against such a currency in its connection with the country to which we advocate its introduction. The great bulwark of this species of objections is the native dislike of change, and though we do not go so far as some who deny that aversion to novelty can be among the characteristics of a nation in which the imitative faculty is so strongly developed yet we are very much inclined to suspect the general prevalence of this hostility. That it is much overrated we are certain, and we attribute the undue estimate of its extent to the imperfect analysis of its nature. It has been mixed up with another feeling common to all nations, that natural regard for old established institutions which is occasionally confused with dread of innovation, and though at first sight the confusion may appear not unnatural, there is nevertheless but little connection between the two sentiments. For the one is the result of prejudiced reasoning, the other of unreasoning prejudice. Tender caution of the present satisfies the former, the latter is discontented with everything but the past. The administrative experience of a century only corroborates our opinion and in disclosing the remarkable facility with which all our innovations unconnected with religion have been introduced, and the rapidity with which they have settled into most

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common place routine, sufficiently demonstrates that whatever may be the regard for ancestral institutions there is no positive aversion to change in the national idiosyncracy. The history of India has been the history of changes of different dynasties, and separate religions—and since the British has been the dominant power in the country, all the novelties we have added to its constitution, from the confiscation of a province to the clothing of a sepoy, have been equally peacefully received.

We examine this objection the more briefly since we already possesses a surer guage than theory by which to measure its capacity.

In the year 1809 the Bank of Bengal received its charter, by which among other clauses it was provided that the Bank should have the power of issuing Notes to the amount of two millions of money. Peculiar privileges were granted to the Bank in its position of issuer and as is now the case, its Notes were directed "to be received at all the Public offices in payment of Revenue" by the Collectors in all the districts below* Benares.

A period of nearly fifty years has now elapsed since the Bank of Bengal was incorporated, and during that period its Notes have circulated in those districts in the treasuries of which they are received by Government with the same freedom that is attributed by our opponents to a metallic currency alone; the Natives as well as Europeans effecting their payments by means of the paper thus issued. Does this argue any ostentatious regard for old established institutions? The Hindoo character is not so obstinately conservative as some have considered it. A Reformatory spirit is by degrees diffusing itself amongst the people, and they are willing to be guided by this spirit when they discern that it is for their interest to trust to it.

But it has been urged against the introduction of a paper currency into Hindostan that its inhabitants are so remarkably sensitive to all changes, in particular those connected with the monetary arrangements of the country, that their confidence will be denied to the projected currency. The late Mr. St. George Tucker, the champion of the admirers of the Financial arrangements as they at present stand, furnishes us with authority for denying this. In a valuable state-paper regarding Banks written in 1838 he has implied it as his opinion that "our native subjects will naturally place confidence in any currency, which may appear to have obtained the countenance and support of the Government."†

Another objection that has been urged against the applica-

* Only the Bengal districts.

† Vide Memorials of Indian Government, p. 402.

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tion of a paper currency to India is that owing to the general ignorance of its inhabitants, they would be peculiarly liable to be imposed upon by the utterance of spurious notes.* Were it even our object to propose a general substitution of paper for specie, we should not be inclined to attach much weight to such an argument; specially when we bear in mind the remarkable aptitude displayed by the natives of this country for conducting their monetary arrangements by means of bills of exchange, the very commonest man being accustomed to transmit his savings through the medium of Hoondees. Much less then is the weight which we attach to this argument when we reflect upon what our proposal is, not the general substitution of paper money for metallic, but merely the more extended employment of paper as an auxiliary. This objection that we have alluded to, applies indeed with equal force everywhere, and not more peculiarly to the inhabitants of India than to those of any other country were such a thing as an established monetary system exists. Will it be asserted for a minute that the population of British India, a country where the liberal sciences and the arts flourished a thousand years ago when our ancestors had only but a short time emerged from their point, is more uncivilized, more ignorant, more peculiarly exposed to imposition than that of Russia when the First Peter was beating his subjects into shape, whilst the Court of the Moghul was the most splendid in the world.

In Russia, too, the paper in circulation very much exceeds the amount proposed to be circulated in India, whilst the specific value of the notes circulated is considerably lower than that of the Notes we propose to circulate (and thus more likely to affect the lower classes.) But have the Russian peasantry suffered from imposition than that of the notes we propose to circulate? The forgery of Bank paper is almost unknown, though the redundance of the Russian issue has certainly affected the country considered in reference to the foreign market. It is far from our intention to inflict an over issue upon the Indian Public. We would introduce our paper money carefully and by degrees ceasing to apply it when our object of stimulating the currency and of quickening the circulation has been attained, or as soon as there appears a prospect of any evil result being produced.

We contend then that there is nothing in the nature of a well managed issue of paper which would tend to make its introduc-

* Mr. St. George Tucker, an authority in his way, has submitted it as his opinion "that a paper currency is unsuitable to the minute pecuniary transactions of the natives—and that from their ignorance they are peculiarly exposed to fraud and imposition by means of forgery and otherwise."—*Memorials of Indian Government, p.* 393.

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tion into Hindostan dangerous; and again that there is nothing in the nature of the country and its inhabitants, sufficient to create difficulties presenting an insuperable barrier to such introduction. If there should be such difficulties, or if the character of the proposed scheme be dangerous, it is the duty of those who oppose it to point out where the danger lies, in what those difficulties consist. As yet no valid objections have been urged against the scheme we propose, further than the obstinate, and reiterated assertion that it cannot be carried out, and is incompatible with the character of the nation to which we would introduce it. If these objections are really of any weight, and worthy of any credit how is it that we find most of the educated natives eager to assist in establishing it?

It was our pleasant duty not two months ago to discuss this matter with an intelligent native revenue officer in the N. W. Provinces. He at once expressed it as his opinion that if Government were to authorize the reception of paper money in their treasuries in payment of the Government jumma, such money would be circulated with perfect ease, whilst the richer classes would eagerly avail themselves of it.

Perhaps some of our readers may be already aware that notes had been introduced into the country centuries before the Saxon race became the dominant power in the land. The system was rude and clumsy (the notes being made of leather,) but it flourished whilst supported by Government; and so long as such notes were legal tender no difficulty was experienced in circulating them. As far as we have studied the subject, it would appear not only that an auxiliary gold currency does not possess the same advantages which an auxiliary paper currency would confer upon the country, but that it actually offers fewer and less substantial claims to our notice.

Such being the case and remembering the present defects of our financial system, we hold it to be the duty of Government having a due regard to the improvement of the people whose welfare is entrusted to them to take measures first for an enquiry into the matter, and then for the application of an auxiliary paper currency for the purpose of relieving the overloaded overworked mechanism of the financial machine.

It remains to be seen how this may best be accomplished. To submit an elaborate and well matured scheme for effecting the alteration, we have proposed is a task of greater magnitude than we feel inclined to undertake. To perform it would require a modern Argus whose hundred eyes will probably be found scattered among the Civilians in the country. By their aid Government might successfully undertake the necessary enquiries. But since we have suggested the alteration, we deem it to be incumbent of,

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us, as far as it lies in our power, to suggest also *means* for its introduction. These suggestions we propose to offer have reference to the character of the paper currency to be introduced, to the amount to be circulated and the manner of regulating the issue.

First then with reference to the character of the proposed paper currency. We have already glanced at the characteristic faults of the two systems of paper currency at present existing in Europe. The failings of the one seem to originate in the number of the issuers, and the absence of any restriction upon the issue; the defects of the other arise in the amount of the issue. Availing ourselves of the warning they afford us we seek to combine, as much as possible, the good points, respectively distinguishing them, while we reject the errors, and counteract the causes of failure. We imagine that by making the currency payable on demand, and by allowing it to be issued only by one issuer, to a limited amount, we shall succeed in accomplishing our desire. We must first then provide some guarantee for the actual payment on demand of each note. It has been suggested by Mr. McCulloch as a means for ensuring the actual payment of demand of each particular note that every issuer should be compelled to give security equivalent in value to the amount of paper money he might propose to issue; such security to be taken either in real property or Government paper. But such a precaution is not sufficient to ensure the *actual payment on demand*, though it would be eventual payment, of each particular note presented. There is indeed but one certain method by which we can guarantee the actual payment on demand of each particular note of the currency.

It is to require that for every note issued an equivalent in metallic currency should be deposited in the coffers of the issuer. We are corroborated in our opinion by no less an authority than Lord Overstone. Writing in 1840 that Nobleman stated "It is not sufficient merely to ordain as Peel's Bill did (The Act of 1819,) the convertibility of the notes: it is further necessary to see that effectual means are provided for that end. It is now discovered that there is a liability to excessive issues of paper even while that paper is convertible at will: and that to preserve the value of a paper circulation not only must that paper be convertible into metallic money but the whole of its oscillations must be made to correspond exactly both in time and amount with what would be the oscillations of a metallic currency as indicated by the state of the bullion." This has been interpreted to mean that the bullion in the coffers of an issuer should equal in amount the value of the notes issued.

It may well be doubted whether private Bankers would agree

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to such a restriction as this, since it would close up every road to profit in their issue department. But we are not inclined to trust the issue of the Indian paper currency to private Banks.

We consider it to be the duty of Government not only to regulate it but also to take the issue into their own hands. It is peculiarly the province of a Government such as that of British India, a paternal despotism, to undertake and carry out in so much as it has the power all projects which are intimately connected with the future well being of the country and the progress of the nation. In this particular instance by the Government only can the scheme be carried out under the most favorable auspices. Paper money issued as we propose, bearing upon its face the stamp of the highest authority in the country, would be received with far greater alacrity than paper which might be issued by private Banks, even though those Banks were under the immediate patronage of Government. Such paper, too, would at once arrogate to itself the character and value of a legal tender, (in fact we would give it by law that force) under which garb alone could it rank amongst natives as money. For the paper money which circulated only in consequence of the belief entertained that it was in the power of the issuers to retract it, would not in this country pass as money should. There would be various rates of batta upon it at various different places, and in practise it would cease to represent that for which in theory it was substituted.

It would be made use of as Exchange Bills not as Bank Notes. We are aware that by giving to our paper money the authority of a legal tender we do away with the absolute necessity for making it payable on demand. We still however insist upon retaining the characteristic of convertibility as one of the strongest securities against the probability of over issue. For in effecting an innovation we must take every possible means of ensuring its success, and the introduction of a paper currency must be accompanied by every precaution, every method being taken to render it acceptable to the natives.

We think "therefore" that whilst it will be found necessary to give to the proposed paper currency the prerogative of legal tender to ensure its free and equable circulation, it will be found necessary, also, to add "convertibility into metallic money on demand" to raise its character above any whisper of suspicion.

With reference then to the character of the paper currency we propose to introduce we recommend that there should be *but one issuer:* that *that issuer should be the Government:* that the Notes issued should be made *legal tender* and *convertible into metallic money on demand,* and to ensure such convertibility that

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for every Note issued an equivalent of metallic money should be retained in the coffers of the issuer.

Having thus premised of the character of the currency, it remains to be seen how the issue of it shall be regulated; and if Government is to be the issuer to whom it shall confide that office. Messrs. Clay S. Ricardo and Torrens, gentlemen who have acquired high reputation as financiers, proposed to confine the issue of paper money in England to a National Bank "to be under the management of competent functionaries, qualified by the possession, not of Bank Stock, but of economical science: appointed not by the holders of Bank Stock, but by the Government: responsible not to their co-proprietors but to Parliament: and having for their first object and primary duty the protection not of their own corporate property but of the general interest of the nation."

To a Commission formed somewhat after this description should the power of issuing paper money be interested. But where are we to find in India men competent to undertake this office? "The right man in the right place," has already become a rallying cry at home, and the more important the post to be filled up the more deserving of attention and respect is this maxim. In a subordinate office, if we select an inefficient man, the injury sustained by the public is proportionally small. But as the Heads of departments (and more particularly of departments connected with Financial administration) we require men of the soundest and most comprehensive views, of the most liberal and enlightened minds and of the largest experience. For it must be remembered that in India the Minister of a department is but little, if in any way, assisted by the public ventilation of the subject demanding his attention, nor is his best road pointed out to him by any expression of the public mind. Unaided and alone he must digest and propound his scheme: and though others may share the glory of his success he single-handed must bear the burden and disgrace of defeat.

In a country however which has been the nursery of so many warriors and statesmen, and where whatever the demand the intellectual supply has always been equal to it we have no reason to fear any deficiency of talent. No difficulty is experienced in supplying the principal departments. Do we require an occupant for the Bureau of Public Works? We possess in the Corps of Engineers an highly educated experienced body from which to take our choice. To hold the Portfolio for the foreign department we can select a man distinguished for the ability he has displayed in political employ; and from amongst the officers of a magnificent army we can without difficulty pick out a Minister at War. But where are we to look for the members of our Financial Commission? In the ranks of the Civil

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Service? It is certainly true that we have some rare instances of eminently distinguished financiers whose talents have been developed in the service. But the mass of the Indian Civil Servants are not educated for high financial posts.

Finance is a subject which has been omitted almost entirely in the preparatory training which they undergo. During his residence at Haileybury the student is not indoctrinated with the great principles of that political science. Neither has this want been provided for since the fiat has gone forth for the destruction of the East India College. The moral sciences, the classics, the mathematics, history and languages have all received their share of attention in the report drawn up by the able men who formed the Committee upon the new examinations for Civil appointments. But finance, save the small amount of knowledge on that point which he who studies the general principles of political economy may acquire, is not even hinted at by those gentlemen.

It may be argued, however, that the young Civilian is supposed to acquire fiscal knowledge during his connection with the country which he is deputed to administer, but the knowledge thus acquired will, we imagine, be of a very confined description. Moreover a Civilian after he makes his appearance on the actual working stage has not in most instances the time to devote to the acquisition of a science that is only to be attained by constant application. He learns the management of Provincial Treasuries not the fundamental maxims of financial science.

But though the Civil Service as a body receives little financial education, their very situations and appointments if not precluding them from, by no means assisting them in, acquiring any comprehensive knowledge of the science, yet this is not the case with the service individually.

In the Indian treasury there are offices, the appointments to which place the aspirant for financial fame on the first rising of the ladder that may bear him to it. They are few, but the emoluments attached to them are sufficient to induce willing acceptance of them. Admitted to one of these appointments, and residing in the great commercial capital of the Indian empire, the young Civilian has ample opportunity for studying all those varied phases of fiscal economy which commercial enterprise is perpetually exhibiting. In Calcutta, too, as also, though in a less degree, in Bombay and Madras there exists a public voice which either in the saloons or on change finds some mode of expression. By this in the critical moments of danger he may be warned if he will but listen to it calmly. Taking his soundings by this and piloted by the collected wisdom and experience of the great Commercial Houses the financial administrator will escape the shoals and quicksands which have proved so dangerous to his pre-

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decessors. With such auxiliaries as these there is no reason why the Civilian should not become as great a financier as Mr. Huskisson, Lord Liverpool or Lord Overstone.

It is then from this little knot of financial officers assembled at the Central Treasury that we propose to select one of the members of the Commission to which we would intrust the issue of Indian paper money. As his exhibition he would bring to the Commission his Indian experience and a general knowledge of the finance operations of the country.

But though we would prefer selecting at least one member from the Civil Service, we do not acknowledge any absolute necessity that he should be a member of that body. It might be the case, we do not positively assert it would, that the fittest man, both on account of his practical experience in the finance operations of India, and by reason of his fiscal science, would be found among the mercantile men of the country. If so such a man, could he be induced to accept of the appointment, would without doubt be the proper man to select.

The remaining member, for we propose to limit the Commission to two, considering that a greater number will by no means necessitate a greater amount of work performed or greater safety in its performance, should be unconnected with the Indian services. As in the Legislative seat of the Supreme Council so here also we would make use of the highest talent and most varied experience in extended financial operations that Britain can afford to supply us with. To obtain such a man no expense would be too great and no exertion should be spared. Lastly the Governor General ex-officio would possess the casting vote in any matter upon which the members of the Committee could not unanimously decide.

Having thus provided for the constitution of the Committee who should direct the issue, a brief sketch of their functions may not be amiss. They should in no case issue paper except they receive an equivalent amount of bullion in payment for it; nor should any of the paper thus issued be withdrawn except an equivalent amount of bullion were returned to the public to circulate in its stead. Thus regulated, an identity in amount and value would be maintained between the paper in circulation and the bullion that would circulate in its stead were it withdrawn. To this it has been objected, though we ourselves cannot see the force of the objection, that there is such an identity between the Note and the bullion that the only fault to be found with this arrangement as a theory is the existence of Notes at all. "Dismiss them altogether" say these objectors "and operate with bullion alone." But these gentlemen seem to overlook the fact that whilst we secure for our paper currency the identity in amount and value that characterises the metallic currency, we still preserve

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to it its distinctive attributes of cheapness and facility for transport in which quality the metallic currency of India is so wofully deficient.

Mr. McCulloch's remarks upon the functions of an office confined to the mere exchange of paper and gold so well embody our opinions upon the subject as connected with the Indian Issue Commission, that we here present them. He observes,

"It has been doubted whether it would be practicable, even on the supposition that there were only one issuer, to make the issues depend wholly on the influx and efflux of bullion: but nothing could be more facile. Suppose that local notes are withdrawn, and that paper is only issued by one office in London: under these circumstances, nothing would be necessary to maintain an identity of amount and value between the paper afloat and the gold that would circulate in its stead were it withdrawn, but to confine the business of the issuers to the exchange of gold for paper and of paper for gold, according to the wants of the Public: for this purpose it should be laid down as an invariable rule that paper should in no case be issued except when it is paid away for an equivalent amount of gold or silver brought to the office, nor withdrawn except when it is received for an equivalent amount of gold or silver demanded from the office."

And he afterwads goes on to say,

"A national bank for transacting ordinary banking business would be neither more or less than a national nuisance that would very soon have to be abated. But were it confined, as it should be, to the issue of paper on the principle and in the way previously described, it could not be perverted to any sort of sinister purpose. Its conductors would be confined to a sort of mill-horse path; and it would be impossible for them, however willing, to show favour or partiality to any one. All would depend on what has been called the 'cast iron principle of notes for gold and gold for notes;' and the amount and value of the paper currency would at all times be equal to the amount and value of the bullion that would circulate in its stead were it withdrawn."*

The Indian issue commission however should differ in one respect from that proposed for the mother country. According to Messrs. Ricardo, Clay and Torrens the only limit upon the amount of paper issued would be the will of the Public. In Great Britain, indeed, no other restriction is required. But we would suggest that a different policy should be pursued with regard to the Indian issue; at all events in the first years of its existence. Some restriction might be laid upon it probably with good effect, certainly without injustice; and the average of the annual revenue of the country would, we imagine, be a fair measure of the maximum of Notes to be issued. The only complaint likely to be made against a paper currency would be that of its magnitude not that it was too limited, and such a complaint could acquire vali-

* McCulloch's edition of "Smith's Wealth of Nation," p. 501.

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dity only according as the issue was regulated. Controlled in the manner that we have proposed the magnitude of the issue would of itself be a proof of the reality of the deficiency it is intended to supply.

There is yet one other point to which we would direct attention; we mean the minimum value of each Note that may be issued, a subject which will require much careful study and much experience of the country to elucidate. The reasons that prove to us the necessity for fixing such a minimum are patent. We know, from experience, how indispensable it is to fix a certain minimum, below which notes are not to be issued, if we wish to prevent the danger that would result to the labouring and ignorant class of the population, were notes of a small value allowed to circulate among them.

The smaller the value of the Note the greater the temptation to an issue of spurious counterfeit paper; for paper promises to pay small amounts afford an easy means of imposing upon the ignorant and unwary. If the Notes of a small value are to be issued, it becomes a condition indespensable to the security of the Public that some means for the prevention of forgery should be discovered: as yet we have not been successful in this and we are still at the mercy of the cunning and the crafty. But it is only the lesser notes that we have to fear and mistrust for the gentleman we have already quoted, lays it down that "forgery in the larger description of notes, or in those of 5£ and upwards, may with due precaution be prevented from becoming injuriously prevalent; but low Notes or those of the value of 1£ or 2£ having to circulate among the labouring classes, and in immense numbers present facilities for the issue of spurious paper which it has been found impossible to diminish."

In addition also to this liability to imposition in the lower classes it must be remembered that, as the existing circulating medium is active enough for the transactions of the great bulk of the people, we do not wish to introduce a paper currency which shall circulate amongst them. Their pecuniary arrangements are so frequent and minute that they would in no wise be assisted by such an introduction. It is only the richer classes, the dealers and merchants that will feel the benefit of a less sluggish monetary medium and it is our object to make the notes of our proposed currency circulate as quickly as possible amongst them, without taking much part in the pecuniary transactions of the nation at large. We want to confine the circulation of paper as much as possible to the dealers, not to throw it open to the mass of consumers.

Dr. Adam Smith, the father of all political economists, has laid down the bases upon which this may be carried out. He has

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stated in the chapter devoted to metallic and paper money that "The circulation of every country may be considered as divided into two different branches; the circulation of the dealers with one another, and the circulation between the dealers and the consumers. Though the same pieces of money, whether paper or metal, may be employed sometimes in the one circulation and sometimes in the other, yet as both are constantly going on at the same time, each requires a certain stock of money, of one kind or another, to carry it on. The value of the goods circulated between the different dealers never can exceed the value of those circulated between the dealers and the consumers; whatever is brought by the dealers being ultimately destined to be sold to the consumers. The circulation between the dealers, as it is carried on by wholesale, requires generally a pretty large sum for every particular transaction. That between the dealers and consumers, on the contrary, as it is generally carried on by retail, frequently requires but very small ones, a shilling, or even half penny, being often sufficient. But small sums circulate much faster than large ones. A shilling changes masters more frequently than a guinea, and a half penny more frequently than a shilling. Though the annual purchases of all the consumers, therefore, are at least equal in value to those of all the dealers, they can generally be transacted with a much smaller quantity of money; the same pieces, by a more rapid circulation, serving as the instrument of many more purchases of the one kind than of the other. Paper money may be so regulated, as either to confine itself very much to the circulation between the different dealers, or to extend itself likewise to a great part of that between the dealers and consumers. Where no Bank Notes are circulated under ten pounds value, as in London, paper money confines itself very much to the circulation between the dealers. When a ten pound note comes into the hands of a consumer, he is generally obliged to change it at the first shop where he has occasion to purchase five shillings worth of goods, so that it often returns into the hands of a dealer, before the consumer has spent the fortieth part of the money. Where Bank Notes are issued for so small a sum as twenty shillings, as in Scotland, paper money extends itself to a considerable part of the circulation between dealers and consumers. Before the Act of Parliament, which put a stop to the circulation of ten and five shilling notes it filled a still greater part of that circulation."

But the value of money in India is, relatively speaking, so much higher than it is in England that though in the mother country five pounds may be considered rather too low a minimum, below which to disallow the issue of Bank Notes, it will be found to be sufficiently high in this country to prevent the parcels of our paper currency from circulating between the dealers and the consumers, that is to say to prevent its entrance into the general circulation of the lower classes. If then in England it is found that the forgery of Bank Notes of five pounds and upwards may be for the most part put a stop to, much more so, we imagine,

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will it be the case in India.* Fifty Rupees as a minimum of value will offer a firm barrier to the fraudulent uttering and counterfeiting of Notes, and will also, to a very great extent relieve us from the fear lest such note should fall into the hands of those whose ignorance would prevent them from detecting the fraud of which they were destined to be the victims.

In conclusion, we will briefly recapitulate the precautions by which we hope to secure the stability and utility of our Indian paper currency. The issue of it to be confided by Government to one issuer represented by a competent commission; the Notes thus issued to be legal tender and convertible into metallic money on demand not to be of less value than fifty Rupees a piece, and their issue to be restricted for the first few years to the amount of the annual revenue.

We acknowledge that these suggestions are capable of much improvement, that at present they are crude, angular, and unpolished, and most willingly would we have remained silent had we seen any probability of the subject of Indian finance receiving that public ventilation, which we now endeavour to procure for it. Deeply too do we feel how little justice we have done to so engrossing a theme as the fiscal arrangements of a vast empire, how feeble has been the championship in so good a cause. But we venture to hope, however defective our treatment of the question, that it at least call the attention of others to the subject, which we trust will be treated with the gravity that its importance demands for it, and handled with that ability which its merits deserve but which we have been unable to command.

One word more and we have accomplished our talk. In the views that we have expressed and the sentiments that we have uttered we are far from imputing any blame or neglect to the supreme authority. Whatever may be the outcry with which it is sometimes assailed both at home and in India, the greatest tribute to its character has been continuously paid to it by that "living posterity" (as some clever man has designated foreigners) whose criticism as most unbiassed is most valuable.

Had we not the confidence that we have, in the benevolence and justice of the Government, we should not have put forth the opinions, which we have in these few pages endeavoured to popularize.

* It is a question well worthy of consideration, how far Post Office orders might with benefit be employed in carrying on some part of the circulation of the country. Every Post Office could issue them at a trifling expense, but considerably to the convenience of the people. Sufficient discount to pay for the conveyance of the money so received from the Post Office to the nearest treasury and to allow of a small batta and the issuing offices would be all that it would be necessary to demand. However if it should be found inconvenient to allow every Post Office to issue them, their issue might be restricted to the Tuhseel Post Offices.

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ART. IX.—1. *Selections from the Records of the Madras Government.*

2. *No. II. Proceedings of the Department of Public Instruction,* 1855.

3. *No. XVII. Report of Public Instruction in the Madras Presidency for* 1854, 1855.

THE first volume of Records placed at the head of this paper consists of a memorandum by Mr. A. J. Arbuthnot, Director of Public Instruction, wherein he gives us a historical sketch of educational measures in the Madras Presidency: with appendices containing the original documents upon which his memorandum is founded. The second volume is composed of Reports of the Educational Establishments actually in operation in 1854-1855 under government auspices. The two combined furnish us with a connected, if not succinct, account of what Governors and Educational Boards have suggested, attempted, declined, or accomplished for the last thirty-five years, in reference to Education in South India.

To one interested to the elevation and enlargement of mind in so large a portion of our Indian Empire;—and what thoughtful man is not?—these books possess a sober attraction. They trace the slow process, whereby the accumulation of theories, experiments, facts, and failures points out the path of future exertion and success. But in tracing that path through these volumes the reader may expect to find but few flowers budding by its side. Routine like Dutch gardening has checked all naturalness. Here and there indeed a Collector, free from the stereotyped euphony of government returns, surprises us with a paragraph of description or the discussion of a refreshing novelty. Macaulay's well-timed Memorandum on English education breathes a cinnamon fragrance over at least 50 pages on either side. And now and then a President or Secretary startles us with the phenomenon of a figure of speech in official lips, as when Mr. J. Norton in advocating the instruction of the higher classes graces his argument by the unlooked-for sentence, "The light must touch the mountain tops before it can pierce to the levels and depths." But on the whole an Indian Government Record is the antipodes of Indian Light Literature. The Appendices are dry and dusty beyond all conception. Not only dry but ridiculous. The witty Reviewer of their Anglican prototypes might have exhausted all his caustic upon these secular Puseyites with their "genuflexions and circumflexions, their bowings to the *East* and courtesying to the West." Here the "Secretary of the Educational Department" addresses a com-

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munication to the Governor in Council." There the "Governor in Council" quotes the Secretary's communication in a despatch to the "loving friends" in Leadenhall Street. The "loving friends" at some indefinite period quote the Governor's despatch, refer to the Secretary's communication, and request a consultation with the sister-Presidencies. The "Governor in Council" quotes the "Honourable Board's" Despatch and the Secretary's first document, and writes to the Sisters. Whilst they meditate reply, the Secretary comes forward with some new suggestion and the wheels revolve as before. But unlike the complicated motion of machinery in general, it is difficult to see here the formation of any substance, the interlacing of warp and weft;—it is difficult not to see the confusion of the threads. The unpopular shape of this Educational information is more a matter of regret than ridicule. Such matters are now of wide interest. Missionaries in large numbers are spending life and energy in the work. A great deal of private philanthropy is turned into this channel, and they who exercise it watch eagerly for any light upon its course. The Presidencies moreover are learners of each other, and whilst all are experimenting, it were well that the facts obtained by one should be made common to all. Besides many eyes are turned upon this land from home. We blame our real or would-be friends there for ignorance, but give them no means of avoiding it. Whilst then it would be looking for too much to expect that these documents should be less prosy than they are, it is a matter of regret, to be remedied if possible, that facts of so common an interest should be in the way of so narrow a circulation. We are not now following the steps of a Bartlett or a Keene, travellers who seize upon each effective landscape and striking peculiarity of the country through which they pass, and may therefore excuse a lack of attraction in the dress of the story. We rather trace the foot-prints of the settler, surveying his unbroken ground, measuring his first difficulties, and marking his first attempts at turning the "wilderness and solitary place" into a "land well-inhabited." Where many are engaged in the same work, surely it is advisable, that the history of his doings should find—what India so cryingly lacks—a medium of easy, far-reaching transit. These remarks point out the object of the present paper. It does not pretend to sit in judgment. Its criticisms will be few and short. It aims to bring within reach of the readers of this review the facts contained in the volumes before us, by dint of a somewhat more perspicuous arrangement of the topics, and without egotism it may be said, a little more popularity of style.

In 1822 Sir Thomas Munro addressed a circular to all the Collectors of the Presidency requiring returns of all educational

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machinery at work in their several Collectorates. In two years the information was forthcoming, and forms the ground of all after proceedings. As the results contained in the Collectors' Reports remain in a great measure undisturbed, and the agencies now employed in instructing the youth of South India are much the same as they were then ;—it will be well to place a description of them on record. If our educational inertness should receive a startling impulse and quickly displace these relics of olden time, the narration will remain as at least an interesting pourtrayal of things happily bygone.

At the time Sir Thomas Munro made up his despatch a considerable portion of the people received their knowledge, such as it was, by private tuition. The manner of it was the following. A Brahmin or a Sudra of good report for learning and sanctity was engaged by the head of a family to instruct his boys. Two or three of his relatives not unfrequently sent their children to meet the teacher under the same roof, and thus a family school was established. The master received a monthly fee of trifling amount from each pupil. But at a certain season of the year, on alternate days he was wont, accompanied by each of his scholars in succession, to execute a wandering begging commission, calling at the houses of such friends as his young disciple pointed out. By the harvest thus gathered, his ordinary income was much increased. The studies carried on in this private manner were much of the same kind as those of the common schools. Home tuition is oft undefined in these Reports, but these particulars may be authenticated by any one acquainted with the habits of the natives where least disturbed.

The next and largest sphere of educational labour was in the common vernacular schools. Some large provincial town is the most fitting place for observing choice specimens. A sketch of one taken at a venture is virtually the same as that drawn by Mr. Campbell, Collector of Bellary, in 1824, and will serve to show the way and means of ordinary vernacular education. As the morning twilight dawns the boys may be seen trotting to school with a black board swinging in the hand or the bundle of cadjan-leaves slung across the shoulder. The place of gathering is the spacious pial or verandah of the master's house, or that of some benevolent friend. When the honours or dishonours of regular or irregular attendance have been duly administered, the school may be seen in full operation ; a stereotyped scene altered not by revolution of time or change of place. A monotonous humming on a high key draws the attention of the passer, and should he turn in the direction and happen to be an European, the dull, dead sound breaks into a perfect shriek. This ordinary and extraordinary music has

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been not unaptly likened to the booming of the ocean, and the sharp discharge of some obstructed breaker. The boys are divided into classes and the master is assisted by a monitor. Presently the first class repeats the lesson appointed on the previous day, to be succeeded by the second class. The monitor goes through the same process with the lower classes. This done the master taking his ratan points to the place in the cadjan-leaf book, where the lesson for the morrow is to be found, and repeats the same in the usual musical tone of the natives. The scholars in rotation follow him, and at each *lapsus* linguæ receive a smart rap from the suspended cane. Meanwhile a group of naked infants, sprawling on the ground, trace in layers of dust the forms of the letters. Others more advanced are making their first attempt at the stylus and cadjan-leaf, or use a substitute in the shape of the black board and a sort of chalk crayon. By way of relief to the dull round of duty some refractory juvenile startles the academic quiet by loud cries extorted by a severe castigation. Another is commanded to cross his arms upon his breast, to take hold of the tips of his ears with his hands, and in this position to rise and stoop a given number of times without stopping. A third is suspended by his hands from some cross ratter, with the pleasant addition, if exceedingly bad, of a chutty of warm coals beneath his feet. These and many other devices are the way in which the pedagogue fulfils the proverbial direction given by the parents of the child. "Take the skin off him, only spare his eyes." Amongst the groups of boys one or two girls may now and then be seen; generally the offspring of the unfortunate dancing women;—exceptionally the children of some modernised parent possessed with the strange fancy of teaching his daughter knowledge! The studies of the school are commenced and closed by an orchestral performance. The monitor standing up at the head of the school repeats to a sort of measure the questions of the various arithmetical tables, and receives the answer in a stormy chorus from the boys. In the lower classes are taught the letters, the combinations of the same in syllables and words and the names of men, birds, beasts and other objects. In the reading classes the popular works are books of Moral Sayings, Collections of Stories and Mythological Traditions. But of these upper studies, Mr. Campbell's report still holds true, and an extract will suffice:—

"The whole of the books, however, in the Teloogoo and Carnataca Schools, which are by far the most numerous in this district, whether they treat of religion, amusement or the principles of these languages, are in verse and in a dialect quite distinct from that of conversation and business. The alphabets of the two dialects are the same, and

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he who reads the one can read, but not understand, the other also. The natives, therefore, read these (to them unintelligible) books to acquire the power of reading letters in the common dialect of business; but the poetical is quite different from the prose dialect which they speak and write: and though they read these books, it is to the pronunciation of the syllables, not to the meaning or construction of the words, that they attend. Indeed few teachers can explain, and still fewer scholars understand, the purport of the numerous books which they thus learn to repeat from memory. Every school-boy can repeat verbatim a vast number of verses, of the meaning of which he knows no more than the parrot that has been taught to utter certain words. Accordingly, from studies in which he has spent many a day of laborious but fruitless toil, the native scholar gains no improvement, except the exercise of memory, and the power to read and write on the common business of life; he makes no addition to his stock of useful knowledge, and acquires no moral impressions. He has spent his youth in reading syllables, not words, and on entering into life he meets with hundreds and thousands of words in common course of reading books, of the meaning of which he cannot form even the most distant conjecture; and as to the declension of a noun or the conjugation of a verb, he knows no more than of the most abstruse problem in Euclid. It is not to be wondered at, with such an imperfect education, that in writing a common letter to their friends, orthographical errors and other violations of grammar may be met with in almost every line written by a native."—*Records* ii. 15.

The school-master receives a payment of from 4 to 8 annas a month, is daily presented with a nut for eating by each boy, and on each new moon the pupils make a general collection on his behalf of oil and other articles of domestic worth. A present from the parents at the entrance or close of a boy's academic career complete his emoluments. The vast majority of Hindoo children in this Presidency are still left at the mercy of instruction like this.

Should any boy have the leisure or the means of pursuing his studies further, now as then, he finds the way of doing so by enrolling himself as the disciple of a pundit or gooroo. The pundit receives his disciples varying in number from 10 to 20 at his own house, where he conducts them though the Grammar of the Language, the study of mythological works, and perhaps some of the sciences. The scholastic duties commence at nightfall. The disciples assemble in some apartment of the pundit's house and being seated in a circle on the floor, go through the repetition of an appointed lesson. The pundit squatted in the centre marks and corrects the successive blunders. All is conducted in the dark and the work often continues until midnight. The preceptor is remunerated by a monthly fee of two Rupees and upwards, and the personal services of his disciples, who

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perform all menial offices for him, according to a sacred precept to that effect.

The last and highest reach of instruction was to be obtained by a College education. The establishment dignified by the name of College consisted of a building and a number of professors supported by an endowment of land or money from the ruling kings or some wealthy pagoda. The alumni were young men of advanced scholarship, chiefly Brahmins, and often devoted to a religious life in some one of the many forms prescribed by Hinduism. The professors were of course Brahmins, each giving himself up to that science in which he most excelled. The subjects most commonly studied were Theology, Law and Astronomy. How far the Colleges returned as such in the documents forwarded to Sir Thos. Munro answered to this description does not clearly appear. Thus of those in the Musulipatam Collectorate we read that the pupils were received into the Colleges at an annual charge of Rupees 60 for subsistence, books, &c. Again those in the Tanjore District were confined to Brahmins and the greater number were free. Nine Colleges are returned for the Trichinopoly District, upon which the Collector remarks "there are no schools or Colleges in this District for the support of which any public funds are appropriated; and no institution for teaching Theology, Astronomy or any other science." This sentence throws us quite into the dark as to the character of the Colleges in this District. There is no separate return of the pupils in the Colleges of the N. D. Arcot. The following table shows the number of these institutions and their students, with the exception referred to above, as stated to Sir Thomas Munro:—

Collectorates.	*Colleges.*	*Students.*
Rajahmundry, ...	279	1454
Masulipatam, ...	49	199
Chingleput, ...	51	398
N. D. Arcot, ...	69	0
Tanjore, ...	109	769
Trichinopoly, ...	9	131
Coimbatore, ...	173	724
Malabar, ...	1	75
Total, ...	720	3750

The result of the whole report was as follows:—Of schools and Colleges there were in the Madras Presidency 12,498 with an attendance of 188,000 scholars distributed in the following castes:—

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Brahmins,..	42,502	of whom	218 were females.
Vysee, ..	19,669	,,	88 do.
Soodra, ..	85,400	,,	1868 do.
Other Castes,	27,518	,,	1139 do.
Mussulman,	13,561	,,	1227 do.
	188,650		4540

The number of schools being 12,498 and the population 12,850,941 we have one school to every thousand of the population. Of the proportion of scholars, the Governor says :—

"It is remarked by the Board of Revenue, that of a population of 12½ millions there are only 188,000 or 1 in 67 receiving education. This is true of the whole population, but not as regards the male part of it, of which the proportion educated is much greater than is here estimated ; for if we take the whole population as stated in the report at 12,850,000 and deduct one-half for females, the remaining male population will be 6,425,000 ; and if we reckon the male population between the ages of five and ten years, which is the period which boys in general remain at school, at one-ninth, it will give 713,000 which is the number of boys that would be at School if all the males above ten years of age were educated; but the number actually attending the School is only 184,110, or little more than one-fourth of that number. I have taken the interval between five and ten years of age as the term of education, because though many boys continue at School till twelve or fourteen, many leave it under ten. I am, however, inclined to estimate the portion of the male population who receive School education to be nearer to one-third than one-fourth of the whole, because we have no returns from the provinces of the number taught at home."—*Records* ii. 20.

But the Prussian rule shows a much smaller proportion :—

"According to the Prussian rule, which is that now generally adopted in educational statistics, the school-going portion of the male population ought to embrace all boys between the ages of seven and fourteen. In a population consisting of many millions, the children from one day to fourteen years old may be taken at 42 per cent. Three-sevenths of these are computed to be from seven to fourteen years of age, and by taking half this number so as to exclude girls, the number of boys who ought to be at school is arrived at. By this mode of calculation the number of teachable youths throughout the Presidency, amounted to 1,156,500 out of a population of 12,850,000 when Sir Thomas Munro wrote. The number at that time actually attending schools was estimated at 184,110, or rather less than one-sixth of those of a school-going age."—*Records* ii. 129.

The Masters of these schools were for the most part ignorant and inefficient. The amount of income forthcoming from the pupils was too trivial to induce able men to enter upon the

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work. The Education as we have seen, was most superficial. No attempt was made at communicating knowledge or cultivating thought. Just enough information was given to the scholar—and no more—as should suffice to keep him up to the dull, low level of those who were to be his competitors or companions in the bazaar or in the field.

Upon this machinery Sir Thomas Munro proposed to graft his own schemes of extension and improvement. First in order of time, these schemes must be first in order of consideration, and in tracing the history of Vernacular Education down to the present year, we shall not speak at length of the new systems which intercepted its path or altogether closed it, but reserve a consideration of them to a paragraph on English Education.

In 1826, as the first step in Vernacular Education Sir Thos. Munro proposed to establish 2 principal schools in each Collectorate, one Hindoo and one Mahommedan; and as teachers could be procured, he suggested that this step should be followed up by placing one school in each Tehsildary, giving fifteen to each Collectorate. There were 20 Collectorates in the Presidency and to each on an average 15 Tehsildarys. Forty Collectorate and three hundred Thbsildary Schools thus formed the total number proposed. The expense of the scheme when fully developed was thus stated :—

	Rs. per mensem.
To Madras School Book Society for assistance in training Teachers and procuring School Books, ...	700
20 Collectorate Schools, Mahommedan, at Rs. 15 per mens	300
20 do. do. Hindoo ,, 15 ,,	300
300 Tehsildary Schools, ,, 9 ,,	2700
Per men.	4000
Per an.	48,000

According to this estimate Sir Thomas applied to the Court of Directors for an Educational Grant of Rs. 50,000 per annum. His idea appears to have been that no school, either Collectorate or Tehsildary—should be established before a supply of competent teachers could be obtained from a Central School to be located at Madras. But the Committee of Education which he had organised proposed that certain law students waiting for vacancies should be employed as Tehsildary Teachers in some of the large towns of the provinces. This arrangement was carried out, and enlarged by the establishment of Schools of a similar character in other towns at the rate of three to each Collectorate. The Committee justified this step by observing :— "That to delay the establishment of these schools until the

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class of Collectorate Teachers had been formed, would be to withhold from the people many of the advantages contemplated by government," and that "although it might not be expedient to establish the full number until the superior class of teachers who were to superintend the whole had been formed, a few teachers might with great advantage be employed." Eventually (1834) 61 Tehsildary Schools were established, with nine of similar character at Madras. These schools disappointed the hopes indulged concerning them. In 1832 there were but 2,272 scholars in 67 Tehsildary Schools then in operation, giving an average of thirty-three to each school, 90 being the largest number and 70 the smallest in any one school. Two causes were assigned for this state of things, both sufficient; an inefficient staff of teachers and a total neglect of supervision. The plan for Collectorate Schools was equally abortive. The "trained men" of Madras were a decided failure. Out of 38 students most of whom had been in the College for six years, only five were recommended for service, and of four of these the report was quite unsatisfactory. Whilst things were going on in this unpromising manner the Home Authorities had been made aware of the new features of Education in Bengal. In that Presidency two principles had been largely favoured;— one, that the only medium of communicating Western knowledge to the minds of the natives was through the English language; the other that such instruction must first be afforded to the higher classes,—and thence distilled at long and refreshing intervals into the masses. The Court of Directors embodied these views in a despatch addressed to the Governor of Fort St. George, dated Dec. 29, 1830. The Board of Public Instruction seem to have looked upon this despatch somewhat gloomily, and made no efforts to act upon it until they received an unmistakeable reminder in a despatch of 1834, wherein it was directed that the funds previously laid out upon the vernaculars, should be expended on the establishment of a Central English School at the Presidency, and subsequently of model schools. This drove the Board to a review of old measures and a statement of their propositions for the future. Twenty model schools were to be established at the Presidency with a view to provide a superior class of Vernacular Teachers. The Tehsildary schools were to be extended no further. Those then existing here to be placed under the control and supervision of provincial boards, with the aid of a paid District Visitor. The propositions of the Madras Board were forwarded by the Government to the Committee of Public Instruction at Calcutta. Unfortunately for Vernacular Education they called for an opinion at a time when a vital change was passing over educational ideas at that Presidency. English

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versus the Vernacular, West *versus* East was drawing a crowded Court and calling forth earnest discussion. In the midst of the wordy broil Mr. Macaulay brought out his sparkling and well-timed minute on the disputed question, and immediately after, Lord Bentinck, on the 7th March, 1835, gave judgment. The East was non-suited. Hindustani, Bengali, Malayalim, Tamil, Teloogoo *et alii* were put out of possession of their native soil in favour of the tongue of a few sovereign strangers. Not even a pension and house-room, those cordials—usually granted by the Honorable Company to obsolete kingships,—were vouchsafed to the deposed royalties.—"His Lordship in Council is of opinion—that all the funds appropriated for the purposes of education would be best employed on English Education *alone.*" Records II 27. Mr. Macaulay, Lord Bentinck and the Bengal Board of Public Instruction were the means of withdrawing the funds from the support of the Tehsildary and Collectorate Schools. An ill-regulated experiment of ten years' growth was stopped mid-way, and with the exception of a few half-fledged ideas of raising teachers, Government Vernacular Education in the Madras Presidency ceased to be. Twenty years have passed since then, and a single paragraph may sum up their history as far as this subject is concerned. The East-and-West discussion was hushed not stifled by Lord Bentinck's resolution. It awoke again with its many voices. Lord Auckland reviewed the case, confirmed the previous judgment, and declined to touch the masses. Lord Elphinstone travailed with and brought forth his scheme of planting a Scotch University upon Indian soil. Sir Henry Pottinger complained of the low state of education in the Presidency,—ten years and more fled the while—and did nothing for the "common people." Governors, Presidents of College Boards, Directors,—all courtesied and bowed to the Vernaculars, and agreed that something must be done for them, but they nursed and fondled the English scheme and gave it the whole sugar-plum of the Educational Grant. The High School with 200 scholars at the most was distilling into the masses the elevating influence of western accomplishment; or to adopt Mr. Norton's figure, one solitary favoured mountain-crest was kissed by the straggling rays, making the darkness below more manifest and horrible. Two members of Government did indeed turn a glance upon the cast-off child and pleaded for it. Professors were then attached to the College to teach the vernaculars. Proficients were to become instructors and literati, producing translations from western literature,—especially if they valued the particular approbation of Government. But proficients went to the Court or the Cutcherry in a large majority, and as far as we can ascertain no

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translation or adaptation of English works is forthcoming from the University men. To conclude, in Mr. Arbuthnot's words, in 1855 "the most unsatisfactory department of the University (Education?) has hitherto been the Vernacular." No doubt about it.

Three experiments have been or are being made in a side-way which require to be recorded. Mr. Maltby of South Arcot Collectorate obtained permission from Government to commence two Vernacular Schools, one at Cuddalore and one at Punrooty. The one at Cuddalore has been in operation little more than a year, and the report is decidedly unsatisfactory. The reasons given to account for the failure are the want of proper supervision, the jealousy of private School-masters, and the absence of any stimulus to Vernacular Education. There is yet no report from the one at Punrooty.

Early in 1853 Mr. G. N. Taylor, Sub-collector of Rajahmundry, established an Anglo-vernacular School at Musapoor, the head-quarters of his Sub-collectorate. He followed this step by locating three branch Schools in neighbouring towns. They were supported by private benevolence; Mr. Taylor himself being chief contributor. These schools attracted the notice of the villagers who came to Musapoor and the school-towns on business. Numerous applications resulted for the establishment of primary Vernacular Schools in their own villages; the applicants undertaking to defray the expense by a fixed increase on their annual revenue demands. Mr. Taylor sent in a list of villages and certain suggestions to the Commissioner of the Northern Circars:—

"After some correspondence Mr. Taylor was authorized to carry out the scheme in the three Delta Talooks of the Sub-division, and sanction was granted for the appointment at the Government expense of a limited number of masters of a superior grade, who are to have charge of a school in the largest of a circle of villages and to inspect in turn all schools within a certain range. Authority has also been granted for the appointment of a Native Inspector to superintend the whole on a salary of Rupees 100 per mensem likewise to be defrayed by Government."—*Records* xvii. 21.

From this quarter—as from the North West Provinces—we may by and by receive a narration of facts which may show what may be done for Vernacular Education by the manifested interest of Government, and a strict supervision.

In 1850, and 1851, seven elementary schools were established in the Goomsoor Khond country amongst a people little better than savages. In 1852 these schools were transferred to the Madras Presidency, and reduced to three in number. The teachers were forthwith dismissed on account of inefficiency. To remedy this state of things the Assistant's Agent obtained the

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consent of Government to establish a model school at Russelcondah, from which the most promising boys were to be draughted into the public service. The best boys in the inferior schools were to be translated to the model school. Lieut. Macdonald could not get a single pupil to his proposed model school, and was obliged to abandon the measure. The only resource was to attempt the improvement of the local schools before referred to, in which were gathered a very small quota of children. In one of the three, the progress was satisfactory. In making enquiries as to the desire of the people for education, Lieut. Macdonald met with the strongest opposition to its introduction, armed by the strangest arguments. The favourite opinion was that if the children learned to read their eyes would drop from their sockets! The two flank arguments were more plausible, "we never needed learning; why should our children have it?" "Besides, if we send our children to school, we cannot have them to fetch water and help in the fields." "Children from the villages round," Lieut. M. says "often came to my tent attracted by curiosity. As soon as the subject of schools was introduced they would immediately disappear from the crowd, and the Maliks would gravely proceed to inform me that even if they wished it, a school could not be established there, as there happened to be no children in that particular Mootah." In spite of such a dreary prospect the Assistant obtained permission to commence nine experimental schools in addition to the three already mentioned, with some suggestions as to the improvement of the teachers who might be selected.

This last and still-pending attempt concludes the fitful experimenting of more than thirty years;—experimenting that forms the sum and substance of Vernacular Education in the Madras Presidency.

The beginning of *English Education* in the Madras Presidency was contained in a proposition of Sir Thomas Munro's plan referring to the establishment at Madras of a Central School for training the teachers intended for the Collectorate Schools. The curriculum of study was as follows; for the Hindoos a grammatical knowledge of the languages of their various provinces; for the Mahommedans, Hindustani, Persian and Arabic; and for all, instruction in the English language and the elements of European literature and science. This school as we have already seen failed in its objects. The entire number of students was 38, admitted mostly in 1826. Six years after the Educational Board reported that not one had reached the required standard. The five best qualified were recommended for employment and in the course of the two following years nine others were sent out. Of only three of the schools under their charge was any

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favourable mention made in the reports of the Collectors. In 1834 the Board, upon a review of their proceedings, suggested a new plan, two paragraphs of which concerned English Education:—

"That the Central School at the Presidency should be remodelled and devoted to the instruction of candidates for the situation of Collectorate Teachers, 100 of whom were to be entertained, to be divided into three classes,—the first of which was to consist of 20 students, receiving stipends of 15 Rupees a month, the 2nd of 40 students receiving Rupees 10 a month, and the 3d of 40 students receiving Rupees 7;—the whole to be under the management of an English Master, qualified to impart instruction in Mathematics, Astronomy, Natural Philosophy, History and European Literature in general, and possessed of such experience in the practical tuition of these branches of learning as to act as a general Superintendent of Public Instruction under the Board and to teach the natives an improved system. The Head Master was to receive a salary of 500 Rupees a month, and was to be aided by an Assistant, also to be procured from England, on a salary of Rupees 250."

"That a separate English School should be established at the Presidency for the gratuitous instruction of general students, under an English Master on a salary of Rupees 150 per mensem."—*Records* ii. 22.

The reasons for this plan being proposed had transpired in the five preceding years. At the Central School, besides the Collectorate Teachers elect, a number of general students had been admitted. The progress of these pupils was far more satisfactory than that of the stipendiary students. But whatever desire they might have had to extend their acquaintance, we will not say to the highest, but the upper branches of European learning, no opportunity was afforded them. The instruction given was in the veriest sense elementary. This attracted the attention of the Home Authorities and in a despatch dated 29th Dec. 1830, they pressed the two following points, certainly of great influence in the after proceedings of education in the Presidency. First, The instruction of the wealthier classes. 2. The requirement for educated natives for Government employment. To illustrate these points they referred to the progress of English education in Bengal. The Educational Board let four years pass without paying any regard to the despatch, save jotting down a description of the lions which they saw in the way. Another despatch of the 5th February, 1834 surprised them with a direct proposition that effort should be made to procure teachers from the other Presidencies, and that these being forthcoming a large portion of the funds assigned for native education should be devoted to the establishment of four model

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schools at the Presidency. The models were for the study of official men visiting the Presidency, and were to be reproduced by them on their own stations. Thus urged the Board proposed the two schools before mentioned ; one for training teachers, the other for general education. At this particular juncture came the decision of the superior Court in favour of English Education. Lord W. Bentinck's minute found its way to the Southern Presidency. The Madras Board read in it the total condemnation of Vernacular Schools and forthwith suspended them. A directory body with a new name took in hand what the College Board had left undone. Their plan was drawn out and submitted :—

"The propositions of the new Committee were in some respects more comprehensive than the Government plan. They involved, 1st the immediate establishment of four English Schools to be located in convenient parts of Black Town, Triplicane and St. Thome, 2d the establishment of a Normal Class for training teachers, as early as practicable, in connexion with the best school at the Presidency, whether a Government School or otherwise, 3d the establishment of a College, as soon as the materials for such an Institution were to be procured, and the engagement of a well qualified person to lecture at the College and teach the Normal Class, as well as to exercise a general superintendence over all the Presidency Schools, 5th the award of premiums to the teachers of the best conducted schools. The only part of the plan which the Committee considered to be susceptible of immediate adoption was the establishment of the four elementary schools, from which pupils were eventually to be qualified for instruction in the Normal Class and in the College."—*Records* ii. 33.

Three years brought no answer to the above. Ultimately Lord Auckland of the Supreme Government reviewed the principles of education involved in the scheme and in the main supported Lord W. Bentinck. Lord Elphinstone, at the head of the Madras Government considered the practical features of the plan, quashed the whole, and drew out his design of the present University system. His plan—apart from its provisions for regulating and governing the proposed University was as follows :—

"That it is expedient that a Central Collegiate Institution or University should be established at Madras."

"The Madras University to consist of two principal departments, a College for the higher branches of Literature, Philosophy and Science, and a High School for the cultivation of English Literature and of the vernacular languages of India, and the elementary departments of philosophy and science."

"The governing body to be denominated the President and Governors."

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"The College Department to be placed under a Principal and Professors. The High School under a Head Master and Tutors."

"Members of all creeds and sects shall be admissible; consistently with which primary object, care shall be taken to avoid whatever may tend to violate or offend the religious feelings of any class."

"It shall form no part of the design of this Institution to inculcate doctrines of religious faith, or to supply books with any such view."

"No pupils shall be admissible in any department, but such as are able to read and write the English language intelligibly."

"Pupils shall pay according to such rates as may be hereafter established by the President and Governors."

"Should any sums be hereafter bestowed upon the Institution for the purpose of endowing Scholarships in the High School or Studenfships in the College, the students and scholars appointed to them shall be admitted on such manner as may be determined by the President and Governors."—*Records* ii. 42.

This plan owed much of its success to the earnestness with which it was propounded, and its elements of popular co-operation. It was backed by a long and high sounding petition from 70,000 natives, regarded by the Educational Directors of after years as a tissue of "great swelling words of variety." *Enter* Lord Elphinstone and the University, *exit* the Central School and Committee of Native Education.

Lord Elphinstone's plan provided for the division of the University into 2 departments; a High School for the cultivation of English Literature and the Vernacular Languages and the elementary departments of philosophy and science;—and a Collegiate Department for the "higher branches of Literature, Philosophy and Science." The new Educational Board also proposed plans for the establishment and direction of Provincial Schools, about which considerable discussion was excited. We pass over the nature and results of this discussion for the present, in order to follow the fortunes of the central establishment.

One of the rules of the High School provided that an elementary knowledge of the English language was an essential qualification for admission. Suspecting that the existing establishments in Madras could not or would not furnish a sufficient supply of pupils to pass into the High School under such a rule, the new Board established a preparatory school to impart elementary knowledge. A Head-master was procured for the High School, and on the 14th April, 1841, it was opened. Sixty-seven pupils were then admitted and 65 pupils were at the time in the preparatory school. During the following ten years some of the scholars made satisfactory progress, reaching even the subjects appointed for the College course. But the attendance was small, the increase of numbers slow, and the greatest difficulty was experienced in retaining the boys to pursue

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their higher studies. During the first year 148, were admitted, 48 left during that period, and at no time in the following ten years did the number on the list exceed 182. So low a number excited attention and discussion. Many reasons were assigned for it; the large fee of 4 Rupees per month and the disadvantageous position of the school-house were the most common. The University Board would hear of none other than that the checks and dilatoriness of Government had becalmed the popular feeling, and they proposed enlarged schemes to revive it. The Court of Directors hinted that too much must not for the present be expected from the High School whilst its superior advantages were unknown, and it had to compete with establishments where no fee was charged. Matters were in this state when Sir Henry Pottinger assumed the Government in 1848, soon after which event, he gave notice that he should speedily direct his attention to the affairs of the University. He did so and discussion in due course resulted, very important discussion on the nature of the instruction then and afterwards to be given. This talked over, things went on undisturbed until 1852. Then by the orders of Government the Board presented their final propositions, forming the basis of present operations. The preparatory school previously mentioned had been broken up in consequence of the foundation of Patcheappah's Native School at Black Town, in affiliation with the University, whence the Board expected to receive a sufficient supply of elementary pupils. That hope was cut off. Neither Patcheappah's School nor any other furnished an adequate number of scholars to the High School. The Board, therefore proposed at once the re-formation of the primary school, and in order to secure for it the advantage of the Principal's supervision, they constituted it a part of the University. The organization of the High School was left untouched, but the fee was reduced. It had long been upheld by the President of the Board on the assurance of many native gentlemen that a reduced fee would lower the class of pupils, though it might increase their number. On closer examination it appeared that the employes of Government were positively unwilling to pay a large per centage of their income for the education of their children. The new fees were Rupees 2 per month for the College Department and High School, and one Rupee per month for the preparatory school. The reduction procured an immediate increase of fifty boys to the senior classes. The Board proposed the completion of the scheme by the establishment of a Collegiate Department. They at one time desired the formation also of Medical and Engineering classes as parts of the University but their desire was not gratified. The higher branches of literature and science were

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thus left open for Government confirmation and to these was added Law. In advocating the establishment of a College Department for the study of these branches it was argued that the standard attained by the senior classes of the High School rendered such a step desirable, that by having Collegiate work done under the name of school work, a considerable stimulus was taken away both from teachers and pupils, and a shade of inferiority thrown upon the Institution in comparison with those of the other Presidencies, and that an efficient style of teaching would result from an arrangement by which each Professor should devote his energies to one class of subjects only. The plan was thus submitted to Government. Both the Civil Members opposed it. A thorough general education they thought was necessary before such a proposition could be deemed fit for adoption. Sir H. Pottinger declined to sanction the step. The Board repeated their arguments, and Sir H. Pottinger finally complied on his own responsibility. The College Department was accordingly organised. Three out of four Professors were appointed, and an attendance of twenty-three alumni was secured. The demand for Railway employes at the commencement of 1854 called away the entire first class of this department, pointing at the fact so long regretted, in a new phase, that as soon as employment is procurable Scholarship loses its charms. The Report of 1854-55 gives the state of the University in the following Table :—

Institutions.	*No. of Pupils.*	*Europeans.*	*East Indians.*	*Native Christians.*	*Hindoos.*	*Mahommedans.*
Madras University.						
College, ...	28	0	1	0	27	0
Normal class, ..	2	0	0	0	2	0
High School, ..	220	1	35	4	177	3
Primary School,..	301	1	18	0	269	13
Total, ...	551	2	54	4	475	16

The Board also proposed the formation of a normal class for training teachers which we shall presently notice. Some steps have also been taken in reference to inspection, the Grant-in-Aid System and Examinations for Government employ. But these matters he must now pass over. Such is the conclusion of more than twenty years' discussion upon English Education for the Presidency. We now turn aside to see what has been done for the Provinces.

According to Lord Elphinstone's plan, the Madras Univer-

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sity was to be the centre of a number of Provincial Schools, and these again of Zillah Schools. A system of promotion from one to the other was to give to the whole vigour and efficiency. The pupils of Zillah Schools were to compete for scholarships in the Provincial Schools, and these again were to be elected by examination to fellowships in the Central University. As a first practical step under this scheme, it was proposed to establish four Provincial Schools; one at each of the following places; Trichinopoly, Masulipatam, Bellary and Calicut. Before the step was carried out various difficulties called for consideration, chiefly in reference to the fee and caste prejudices. During the discussion of these matters, a total want of teachers put a stop to the scheme. The teachers of these Provincial Schools were at first to be men of moderate attainments on a low salary. When the state of the school justified it, superior masters on a higher salary were to be posted, and the previous heads were to sink into subordinates. After enquiry and advertisements no masters even of the lower grade could be procured. The Board therefore resolved to take the ultimate course at once and applied for authority to procure masters from England, or from the other Presidencies on a salary not exceeding Rupees 200 a month. The expense involved in this enlarged plan could not be undertaken, the Marquis of Tweeddale thought, without reference to the Court of Directors. The Court recommended that the establishment of these schools should be deferred until efficient masters could be trained at Madras, on the enhanced allowance if necessary. The Council of Education, who had in 1845 succeeded the University Board in the direction of public instruction, drew a yet wider scheme. They proposed the establishment of nine Provincial Schools with Masters of a salary not exceeding Rupees 400 a month, procured from England or the other Presidencies. Of course, the Court of Directors after declining the prior and less expensive scheme could not do otherwise than negative the proposition. Thus Provincial Education was left untouched until 1852, the Presidency meanwhile falling far behind its fellows, and increasing the difficulties of its path by delaying to encounter them. In that year the University Board was again reinstated, and proposed the establishment of 5 Provincial Schools with masters of a salary of Rupees 300 a month, and a total anticipated expenditure for each school of Rupees 500 per mensem. This "*media via*" was authorised by the Government, and by the Directors' last report we are furnished with an account of the schools now in operation at Cuddalore, Rajahmundry, Combaconum, Calicut and Bellary. It is too soon for an opinion.

The following table will show at a glance the items of atten-

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dance and educational strength both at the Presidency and in the Provinces :—

Institutions.	TEACHERS.				*No. of Pupils.*	*Europeans.*	*East Indians.*	*Native Christians.*	*Hindoos.*	*Mahommedans.*
	English.	*Vernacular.*	*Writing.*	*Total.*						
Madras University.										
College, ...	3	0	0	3	28	0	1	0	27	0
Normal Class, ...	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	2	0
High School,..	8	0	0	8	220	1	35	4	177	3
Primary School, ...	6	0	2	8	301	1	18	0	269	13
Vernacular Department,	0	8	0	8	0	0	0	0	0	0
	17	8	2	27	551	2	54	4	475	16
Provincial School.										
Cuddalore, ...	3	3	1	7	192	2	12	13	163	2
Rajahmundry, ...	2	2	1	5	116	2	14	0	92	8
Combaconum, ...	3	2	1	6	193	0	0	30	163	0
Calicut,..	3	2	1	6	238	8	69	8	142	11
Bellary,..	3	2	1	6	169	0	9	0	144	16
Total,..	31	19	7	57	1459	14	158	55	1179	53

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The next statistical statement refers to the expense of the Educational staff alone, all contingent and general expenses being excluded.

Madras University.

College Department, Rupees per mensem,	1380	
High School, ... do. .. .. do. ..	860	
Primary School, ... do. .. .. do. ..	465	
Vernacular Department, do. .. .. do. ..	580	3285
Cuddalore Provincial School, ... do. ..	499	
Rajahmundry, ... do. .. .. do. ..	430	
Combaconum, ... do. .. .. do. ..	470	
Calicut, ... do. .. .. do. ..	440	
Bellary, ... do. .. .. do. .	320	2159
Per mensem, ...		5444
Per annum, ..		65,328

Help has also been derived from Government in aid of certain undertakings in Professional Education, an account of which scarcely belongs to this review of general Instruction. The Reports of the Schools of Survey, Ordnance, Industrial Arts and of the Medical College require and deserve a separate notice. Two schools for East Indians, some of Swartz's schools guaranteed support by the Company, with certain others in North Arcot and Nellore endowed by former Governments, derive assistance from Government apart from the Educational Grant. Since these educational papers have been issued, further enlargements have taken place in the establishment of Zillah Schools and a system of supervision, for the particulars of which we must await the Directors' next Report.

There is but one other class of institutions connected with education which remains to be noticed;—perhaps the most important of all; certainly that through the want of which all past measures of any extent have failed or been suspended. We refer to those intended for the procuring training of Teachers. Most of the schemes proposed for this object never reached an experimental trial or speedily fell to the ground. These may be enumerated, as a tradesman would the articles of his obsolete stock, and the reasons shortly assigned for their ill-success or non-adoption.

1. Sir Thomas Munro's plan for providing Teachers for the Vernacular Tehsildary Schools. To secure native co-operation and allay anticipated opposition, these pedagogues were to be elected by the chief men of the village, as any other officers of the community. Interest and intrigue had an open field, and the new line of instructors was worse than the old.

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2. We have already referred to the system organised for training the Collectorate Masters. Competent persons were not willing to proceed to the Presidency on the chance of such an income as that held out. The Collector sent up the worst to be got, because he could get no better. Many did not know the alphabet of their mother tongues. Few had genius or talent. Most had too many years. The school in six years proved itself a failure.

3. The Board of Education in 1834 proposed the remodelling of the Central School for the training of 100 Collectorate Teachers under an efficient master. The salaries were to be graduated and the studies more advanced, including instruction in the art of teaching. For training purely Vernacular Teachers in some way not exactly clear, 20 model schools were to be established at the Presidency. This plan fell to the ground amidst the discussion on the introduction of an English education.

4. The Committee of Native Education in 1856 advocated the establishment of a Normal Training Class in connexion with the best school in the Presidency whether a Government School or otherwise. Crushed beneath Lord Elphinstone's University.

5. The University Board in 1852 amongst other propositions presented this: that Normal Classes should be formed in the High School for the purpose of training teachers. In 1855 the number under training was a dismal duo; youths of talent finding no inducement to enter a line so devoid of emolument. The Principal then brought forward an opinion :—

"The Principal's plan was to establish two separate classes, one for the training of teachers of the vernacular languages for employment in the Government Anglo-Vernacular Schools, the other for training teachers for elementary Village Schools. The students in the first of these two classes were to be persons possessing a moderate knowledge of the vernacular and a sight colloquial acquaintance with English. The students in the latter class were also to be tolerable vernacular scholars but their training was to be directed to the acquirement of those elementary branches of knowledge which would form the subjects of instruction in the Vernacular Schools."—*Records* xvii. 8.

These suggestions were deferred or declined in prospect of the

6 and last plan;—happily in actual progress; a separate Normal School for the specific purpose of training Teachers. The announcement and features of the new Institution were published in the "Gazette" of January 15th, 1855. We transcribe the paragraph entire :—

"It is hereby notified for general information that a Government Normal School for training teachers will be opened at Madras on the 3d March, 1856 in the premises at Vepery formerly occupied by the Vepery Grammar School."

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"The design of the institution is to provide competent teachers for employment as Masters or Under-masters in the Anglo-Vernacular Schools which have been or may be hereafter established throughout the Presidency (whether public or private), and to raise up a class of Training Masters with a view to the eventual improvement and extension of Vernacular Education by the establishment of Schools in the Provinces for the training of teachers for Vernacular Schools."

"Candidates for admission as students of the Normal School must be at least 17 years of age and free from any bodily infirmity tending to impair their usefulness as School-masters."

"They will be required to produce Certificates of moral character and conduct, and to show, on examination, a competen- knowledge of the following subjects :—

"English, comprehending a competent knowledge of Grammar and ability to read and explain any moderately easy passage from a standard prose author."

"Writing from Dictation."

"History, including an acquaintance with the leading facts in the Histories of England and India."

"General Geography, and particularly the Geography of India, Arithmetic, comprehending the four Simple and Compound Rules, Reduction, Vulgar Fractions, Simple Proportion and Simple Interest."

"The Tamil or Telugu Language (at the candidate's election) including translation into English and vice versa. Candidates will also be required to answer such grammatical questions bearing on the passages selected for translation from the vernacular languages as may test their ability to parse and their knowledge of the construction of the vernacular languages selected."

"Candidates who may pass a satisfactory examination in the foregoing subjects will be admitted as students into the Normal School free of payment."

"Twenty-five Scholarships of the amounts noted in the margin will be attached to the Normal School, and will be awarded on the result of an examination to be held on the 25th Proximo."

Ten Scholarships		of Rs. 15	per mensem.	
Ten	Do.	of „ 20	Do.	
Five	Do.	of „ 30	Do.	

"The subjects of examination will be as follows :—

"For Scholarships of the 3d or lowest class."

"The subjects above specified as being required for admission."

"For Scholarships of the 2d Class."

"English comprehending an intimate knowledge of Grammar, and ability to read and explain any moderately easy passage in prose or poetry from a standard English author."

"History, including an acquaintance with the leading facts of the Histories of England and India."

"General Geography, and particularly the Geography of Great Britain and India."

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"Arithmetic comprehending the four Simple and Compound Rules, Reduction, Vulgar and Decimal Fractions, Simple and Double Proportion and Interest."

"Algebra, as far as Simple Equations."

"Euclid, the two first books."

"The Tamil or Telugu languages (at the candidate's election) including translation into English and vice versa with grammatical questions as in the examination for Scholarships of the 3d Class. The passages selected for translation will be somewhat more difficult than those given in the examination for admission and for Scholarships of the 3d Class."

"For Scholarships of the 1st Class."

"English including an intimate knowledge of grammar, and ability to paraphrase and explain any ordinary English author, prose or poetical."

"General History, and particularly the Histories of England and India."

"General Geography, and particularly the Descriptive, Historical and Political Geography of Great Britain and India."

"Arithmetic."

"Algebra, as far as Quadratic Equations."

"Plane Trigonometry."

"Popular Astronomy and Mechanics."

"The Tamil or Telugu language (at the candidate's election) including translation into English and vice versa, with grammatical questions and an abstract or precis in the vernacular language of a passage selected from a standard English author, such as may test the candidate's facility and correctness of expression in vernacular composition."

"Each scholar will be considered a probationer for the first two months after his election, to enable the Principal of the Normal School to form an opinion as to his aptitude for the art of teaching subject to this proviso, and to the condition of the Scholarship-holder manifesting due proficiency at the periodical examinations of the Institution, each Scholarship will be tenable for two years, at the end of which period, or sooner if he obtains a certificate of qualification, the holder will be appointed as teacher in a school on a salary of Rupees 50 per mensem or higher, according to the grade of his certificate; or in the event of there being no vacancy at the time of his passing his final examination, he will be allowed to retain his Scholarship until a vacancy occurs."

"Each scholar on his election to a Scholarship will be required to sign a written agreement to the effect that he will not voluntarily quit the Institution, until he shall have obtained his certificate of qualification as a Teacher; and that he will subsequently serve for not less than five years in the Educational Department, failing either of which conditions he will refund such sum as he may have received on account of his Scholarship."

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The school thus announced was opened on March 4th in the present year, and the business of procuring the right instruments of education has commenced in good earnest.

It has often been said that Scott's fictions are frequently dismal enough in the centre but joyous in the conclusion. So our review. It is dark enough to satisfy an owl from the beginning downwards, but we have reached one sunny spot, and there we sit down to pen a few reflections on what we have read and written.

In the remarks we may append to this statement of educational proceedings we shall confine ourselves to those subjects which appear clearly to arise out of the facts narrated. We would not forget, in every regret or censure to which we may give expression, the awkward position in which Educational Authorities have been placed. They have been the very tennisballs of routine. From Madras to Leadenhall Street, thence to Bengal, thence home again. Shifting governments have begotten shifting schemes. No educational measure has yet been fairly tried —save one; none, save one that can properly be called an experiment. If then we may speak strongly of any department of this important work, it must be remembered that we do so in full consciousness of every disadvantage and in full allowance for it. We have now come to a definite statement of unembodied theories, exploded schemes, initiative attempts and proclaimed purposes. It is well therefore not to allow the opportunity for reflection to pass unimproved.

We think then that it may now be fairly concluded,—and the conclusion ought to be received without any charge of prejudice, —that the establishment of the Collegiate Department of the Presidency College was decidedly premature. As far as the report leads us, we find that the highest number ever under instruction there is that of 1854-1855 namely twenty-eight. The awkwardness of the position into which the professional staff has thus been thrown was felt by the principal and is thus stated:—

"The number of scholars who have remained to prosecute their studies in the Collegiate Department is extremely small, and when it is considered that the services of the Principal and two Professors are to a great extent given up to the instruction of these youths, it may appear that the interests of the very large majority who fill the other departments of the University are sacrificed to those of the few, who are found fit to profit by the more extended course of study the Collegiate Department is intended to afford. We are aware that such an apprehension was felt when the establishment of this department was originally proposed; but we believe it to be unfounded, and much as it is to be regretted that the advantages of these classes should as yet have been restricted to so few, we see every reason to think that no

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other arrangement would have served equally well to carry out the objects of the institution."

The conviction referred to at the commencement of this paragraph will be entertained we are inclined to think by most of our readers. For surely it is reasonable to reckon a department of Rs. 20,000 per annum for the oversight of twenty-eight boys rather an expensive way of supporting the dignity and answering the ends of Hindoo High Education. Were the point in dispute an organization of first class carriages, and not of first class pupils, were the passengers in these carriages of expensive splendour as few comparatively as the pupils in these costly classes, we are pretty confident that the Directors of any Railway would summarily condemn the unprofitable speculation, and give the passengers the choice of an alternative, either to ride at undiminished speed in a good second class or not to ride at all. The Principal hides himself behind the plea that no other arrangement would have served equally well to carry out the object of the Institution. What the object of the Institution is, is not stated. But suppose it be said that it is the diffusion of a knowledge of European literature and science among the higher classes;—that it is the provision of able and accomplished men for Government employ; then whilst representatives of these higher classes and these embryo men of accomplishment are so few in number, it is difficult to show that facts have not proved the wisdom of the proposition made by Mr. Elliott in 1852, that such pupils should be formed into a Collegiate class in the High School under the care of the Head Master, he having been set at liberty therefore by the appointment of an Assistant, and such an argument borrows additional force from the fact that in this very report the Principal complains of the hollowness and inaccuracy of the High School Instruction. True, we should have College studies pursued in the garb of school tasks, and lose all the honor and stimulus, set as a jewel, in the lofty words "Collegiate Department," but most people not possessed of an enlightened disregard for monetary waste would count the jewel and its setting, dear at the annual instalments we are paying for it. If we speak of the natives, whose vanity and love of distinction the bauble was to awaken, they have proved the low estimate which they set upon the "stimulus dignity" and all else included in this magic name.

The Director does not speak in a very cheerful tone of the matter:—

"But notwithstanding the long continued ill success of the University in attracting any considerable number of scholars, and the difficulty which is still experienced in filling the higher classes, it may

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safely be asserted that the institution has not altogether failed in carrying out the object with which it was founded. The value of the education imparted in it is sufficiently attested by the facility with which all those who have gone through the higher classes have obtained employment and promotion in the public service. Of the 36 scholars who have taken proficients' degrees, 22 are at present employed in various situations connected with the Civil administration of the country, on salaries varying from Rs. 40 to Rs. 315 a month. One is Deputy Dewan under the Rajah of Travancore on a salary of Rs. 300, seven hold situations in the Educational Department, four of whom are in the University, two in Patcheappah's Institution and one in the Cuddalore Provincial School—four are merchants and the last is without employment in independent circumstances. Of the Government employes one has already risen to the office of Naib Sheristadar in the District of Masulipatam and another who only quitted the High School in 1852 has been promoted to a Tehsildarship in Rajahmundry."

These words leave the complaint untouched. For it must be remembered that most of these proficients were trained under the very system recommended by Mr. Elliott, Collegiate High School class. Then we do not see what there can be in the position of a Government writer, a Tehsildar or even a Deputy Dewan, which could not be better furnished by a thorough proficiency in High School studies, or if need be, of College studies in a High School class, than such out of the way knowledge as that contained in the Examination Papers of the University Report, communicated by a Principal and three Professors. As we shall show at large presently, situations of equal and greater responsibility at home are filled by men who possess a thorough education like that referred to, and nothing beyond. We do not say that these matters might have been foreseen, least of all by men who looked on the future through Collegiate lenses. Some men of confessed ability did foresee them. We now simply emphasise the fact. The defects of the Collegiate Department and the avocations to which the alumni have betaken themselves, prove that the name of College, a Principal and three Professors ; Newton and Adam Smith, Shakespear and Bacon and Rupees 20,000 a year have thrown up a handsomely tinted but expensive bubble.

One great draw-back to the increase of the Collegiate Department, of which the University Board complain, might have been foreseen ; and it is one that will continue to cripple the University until one of its fundamental rules be altered. The Board complain that the higher classes of students have not received large accessions from other institutions. Now most of the other institutions are under the care of persons whose aim is to impart a sound and if need be, a high education in connec-

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tion with—to use a somewhat invidious phrase common in these records,—"the inculcation of religious doctrine." We think that it required no great foresight to anticipate that the Directors of such public schools, who had spent five or six years over training a youth and bringing him up to the standard of the University senior classes, who regarded the sustained impartation of religious knowledge as the chief end of their labours, would not be free to send him to an institution where the Bible had not even a place of sufferance. Rather would they furnish a higher education themselves. Such is the fact. At many of the chief Missionary Institutions a group of advanced students will be found receiving instruction in proper Collegiate studies, lacking alas! the name. And from personal knowledge we have no hesitation in saying that the old "proficients" of these uncollegiate establishments occupy positions quite equal to those referred to by Mr. Arbuthnot. Were the heads of such institutions more careful in keeping a record of the destinies of their advanced alumni, this observation would be abundantly verified. This channel of supply will remain closed so long as the rule excluding the Scriptures remains on the University Statute Book.

There are but two other sources external to the University from which its higher classes can be supplied. Provincial Schools and Native Institutions. Years must pass before Provincial Schools are numerous enough or the education in them thorough enough, to furnish any adequate number of students to the highest department of the "Presidency College" as to the natives;—even Lord Elphinstone himself would by this time be despairing of any efficient help in that direction. The best hope the University Board can indulge on that point is that a dozen Patcheappahs may be removed from their paths of lethargy and mammonism, may leave a dozen or more lakhs of Rupees for charitable purposes, wherewith the Director may set up in life and endow a dozen preparatory schools;—dutiful daughters supplying from their own frames the sustenance needed by a half-starved parent.

Another cause likely for a length of time to limit and contract the supply of College students has already began to operate. In 1854, the whole of the first class was swept away by the demand for Railway apprentices. This is but the beginning of sorrows. The Railway, or we hope soon to say, the Railways; the numerous lines of Telegraph; the rapid extension of engineering operations in the way of land roads and water roads, with the increase of commercial openings resulting from the growth of these movements, will for many years peremptorily call for a grade of servants of just that standard which a High

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School head class might furnish. Any further education will be most easily obtained, and most efficiently learned in the particular branch entered. The experience of 1854 must be undergone many times in years to come. A community branching out in extensive undertakings, each crying for employes—like a hundred mouthed Hydra—will not in the nature of things suffer its requirements to remain unsatisfied, whilst its youth indulge a few more years of Collegiate study, acquiring knowledge very much superior to the wants immediately around them. If then the channels for supplying students to the Collegiate Department are so few and unpromising, and the demands for good scholars are likely to be as urgent and continuous as we have pointed out, then it appears next to certain that years must pass, before that department can be deemed any thing like necessary.

Under these circumstances a rigid economist might be prepared to say, "cut off the superfluity and save the Rupees." But it is one thing to avoid the commencement of an unnecessary expense, another thing to revoke a step once taken. Much public money is already sunk in this undertaking; public opinion and an appearance of consistency and perseverance are involved; the department will be eventually required; we hold this hope as eagerly as any one of the Professors. So that we are inclined to say "let this expensive educational Utopia remain standing simply because it is upon the ground." One proviso may however be suggested. From Lord Elphinstone's outline it would appear that he intended some such department to be attached to each of the Provincial Schools. Whether the present Director has it in his mind to carry out such a view, or lay it aside, we have no means of knowing. But the execution of such a plan would but be the reduplication of our blunder. Instead of it let each Provincial School form its own College class, and bring that class to a standard of thorough information, and then transfer its best and worthiest members to the Head Department of the Central Institution. Such boys would in all probability be able to bear the expense of the transfer, for none but the children of wealthy parents could remain long enough under tuition to obtain such advancement. Exceptions to this would have proved themselves quite worthy of a provision by Scholarships. In this way the classes of the College Department might be filled up, and after a while we may see the correction, partial at least, of a costly mistake.

The views we have stated in the preceding paragraphs will be sustained by an examination of the curriculum of studies laid down for the Provincial Schools, the High School and the College. Before coming directly to the matter in hand we

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may refer to the peculiar formation of the Hindoo mind. The Hindoo boy who pre edusents himself for cation cherishes a pride easily seduced by a *show* of superiority, a vanity that overlooks or despises the beaten path of application; a memory quick and tenacious, utterly independent of the understanding, asking only sight and sound; an ambition that will be satisfied if an appearance of pre-eminence be attained; and a talent of tortuous deception almost boundless. One word expresses that quality which is most wanting in the Hindoo mind and the absence of which vitiates the whole;—thorough integrity. Another shows its positive and ever-active passion;—display. No one intimate with Hindoo youth will deny the justness of this description. These defects of character lie at the root of that inaccuracy of knowledge and expression in the scholar of the High School of which the Principal complains. Any scheme of education not calculating upon these features of mental formation will ensure loss and inefficiency. Now in turning to those parts of these Records which treat of the studies of the various grades of scholars, it is satisfactory to see that in all but one branch, a reasonable course has been pursued. The studies of the Provincial Schools are contained in the following programme:—

"The following instructions in regard to the course of study to be pursued were furnished to the Head Masters on their appointment:—

"A scheme of the course of instruction in the English Department which should be adopted at the commencement is annexed. It includes instruction in the English language, in General Geography, in Elementary English and Indian History, Arithmetic, Euclid, Algebra, Plane Trigonometry, Mechanics, the Elements of English Literature, English Composition and Mensuration. In the Vernacular Department the instruction is to be confined to a grammatical study of the Malayalim language and translations from and into English."

"The English may be extended hereafter to the higher branches of literature and science as the attainments of the scholar's advance, but at first it will probably be found impossible to form a class in the higher parts of the course specified in the present scheme, and it is hardly necessary to observe that any attempt at the formation of classes in the more difficult subjects, until the scholars are thoroughly well grounded in the more elementary subjects, would be altogether premature. The Board would especially desire to impress upon you the necessity of enforcing as good grammatical and idiomatic knowledge of the English language as a necessary qualification for admission into the highest of the classes specified in the present scheme."

The curriculum of the High School does not much differ. The standard adopted by the Examiners for Government Rewards in subjects requisite for passing, is about parallel. Now if this measure of learning be placed before the mind of able teachers

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who will in every detail and in every successive grade insist upon thoroughness and accuracy, we shall shortly have men in our Courts, Cutcherries and public offices of solid worth, prepared thereby for progress in their several walks; not men who deeming that they have reached the maximum of learning, disgust us with constantly recurring proofs of an intellect both poor and proud. The more carefully we consider this standard of instruction, the more are we convinced of its fitness to the state of education in the Presidency, to the future destinies of the pupils, and to the full development of an educational system. It befits the state of education in the Presidency, for before any higher measures, can consistently be pursued, there is wanting a stratum of sound western knowledge wide-spread amongst the population. It befits the destinies which await the scholars in after life, at least for many years. We have carefully read over the list of proficients and the positions upon which they have entered. Parallels thereto may be found in the length of a London Street. An Indian writer and an English clerk are not much different. A Naib Sheristadar has not half the work, nor half the responsibility, nor requires half the talent of the Manager of a third or fourth rate Bank. A Deputy Dewan of Travancore or any other Province would bear but poor comparison with the head-man of a London shipping-house. The Educationalists of the proficient's list would suffer by being placed by the side of third or fourth rate English ushers. The Agents of a Road, a Railway, a Telegraph or a Canal should be much the same in Kent and Calcutta. Yet situations like those we have mentioned are filled for the most part by men who on starting in life had a thorough appreciation of English Literature, but had never been put to the anatomy of a passage from Shakespear or Milton; were thoroughly trained in all the lesser branches of Mathematics but innocent of its higher mysteries; with talents turning almost instinctively to business, but almost as little acquainted with the theories of trade as when little children they solved the mystery of shuttlecocks being dear at Shrovetide; or in a bad season three instead of six apples being sold for a penny. Honest, upright, active and of ready skill, though likely enough ignorant of Smith's moral sentiments, or the veriest metaphysical tractate, but not so ignorant of the Highest Book of Morals. Such men thrown out annually from the classes of private and Grammar Schools might be free from the thinly spread but showy gold of a "College Department" or of "College" studies, but they had the gold within. Entering their several paths of employment, their well-formed mental habits fitted them to urge vigorously the studies peculiar thereto. And the vast supply of men who have made their way to the lower House of Parlia-

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ment, and fill almost entirely the better ranges of the social scale, has proved how efficient is a thorough education, though it may not be the highest, to elevate the chief portion of a population. For these reasons we think that this is the peculiar sphere of Government Education in India. Let them give the Hindoo lad a thorough working world education, let them not fix their eyes on Collegiate benches and be dissatisfied when their students fail in reaching them, then will they pursue a course fruitful of good to India, and less fruitful of disappointment to themselves.

Advancing the views we have done upon the Collegiate Department, and upon the point now before us, it will be easily surmised that the one table of studies to which we take exception is that which outlines the work of the Professors ;—save only the Professor of Law and Political Economy, Bacon and Moral Philosophy, Astronomy and the High Mathematics appear wofully out of place, because based on a false conception of the future work of the pupils, whether it be of a writer, a Sheristadar or a Deputy Dewan.

Neither let it be said that in presenting these remarks we manifest a depreciation of high education, and discountenance the establishment of Halls of Learning "whence may issue a due supply of men to serve their country both in Church and State." It is our very reverence for such institutions, and our firm belief in their beneficial influence upon a nation's highest progress, that deepen our sorrow in perusing the Report of the Madras Collegiate studies. Their establishment at a period so inopportune is a bar and not a help to high education. By hothouse haste the strength and health is forced from trunk and core. Had the plan advocated by Mr. Thomas, and Mr. Elliott been followed how naturally the cultivation of accomplished learning would have resulted. A range of sound scholars would have continued to pour from the High School and other Institutions into the openings awaiting them, until the supply was more than equal to the demand. Meanwhile a process of elevation would naturally have been put in operation. Those who had the gift of employment, whether Government or private individuals, finding the supply at the old standard ready and easy, would have sought superior agents by demanding higher qualifications. The applicants themselves seeing that successful competition depended wholly upon superior scholarship, would have sought to obtain it by a longer period of academical study. Those who the while were really emulous of the honours of learning, would have found room for the satisfaction of their ambition in attainments remarkable at once for soundness and compass. Such a plan bears all the marks of natural up-growth, sub-

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stance and efficiency. That it would by this time have produced any such complete result as that to which we have just now referred, cannot be said. But it would already have made an efficient High School, and have laid the foundation of future excellence. No such confidence can be entertained of the scheme now in operation. High Education broke the soil by dint of forcing, and by forcing and urging it has obtained its pitiable growth. The stimulants appear to increase in number and intensity annually. First, to successful scholars assurances of Government favour were to be conveyed; their names were to be published in the "Gazette"—both which provisions implied assistance towards employment, then money rewards were held out for competition, and now the Public Examiners think that a *right* to employment must be conceded, and permanent worldly advantages held in prospect. These very men who suffered not learning in her own homely mien to descend into the crowd of youthful toilers, to cheer them and raise them step by step, up and up the hill capped by her lofty temple;—those who forced her into an inner shrine and there saw her deserted save by an insignificant group of unworthy worshippers, must now deck her with worldly trinkets, and fill her hands with gold dust to seduce those whom love could not attract. We dissent from the plan of these College studies because they are made popular only by a system of degrading and unhealthy stimulus in the way of promised favour and emolument.

Nor is the presence of such a grade of learning, backed by such rewards, without a direct and immediately injurious effect upon the studies of the boys. In any school and most of all in a school where love of distinction and vanity are the chief mental characteristics, the attachment of numerous rewards to peculiar qualifications has a tendency to lead the mind to a speedy acquirement of such qualifications at the expense of habitual correctness, and thorough fitness of intellectual strength. This we are inclined to believe has something to do with the inaccuracy of thought and expression noticed by the Principal as a defect of the High School. A similar inaccuracy and indistinctness of thought will strike even a careless reader of the published answers of the Collegiate students. All have pressed to obtain just as much knowledge as would secure their preferment, and their eagerness has outstripped their soundness. We will give our readers opportunity of judging of the correctness of our observation. The questions proposed at the examinations at the College and for Government Rewards are of as simple a nature as their subjects would permit, yet the answers present those defects to which we have referred.

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Vencatakismama in sketching the plot of Richard II. says :— "He (the king) takes the advice of his ministers among whom was Gaunt (the father of Bolingbroke) and sentences Norfolk to perpetual banishment *while* the other only for six years."

"The principal moral of the drama *is to show* the danger and disgrace which a king draws upon *him* by mixing himself indiscriminately with favourites, and allowing them too *much* liberties with him."

Gopauliah affords an unexampled specimen of the chief features of Hindoo superficiality, grand words inaccurately remembered, unconnected sentences, true significants of unconnected thought, and a miserable neglect of Grammar. The subject is Richard's Character. "When he returns to his native country"—he does not step upon his "earth" with the self-confiding port of one who is ready to defend it against an enemy; he addresses his kingdom as if it were a living thing, a friend that would espouse *his cause* and arm in his *cause* (what connection between the first and last clauses?)

> "So weeping, smiling, greet I thee my earth
> And do thee favour with my royal hands."

The old habits of kingliness and the *effect* of flattery produces in him a sort of wordy courage, which more clearly betrays his moral weakness. Indecision is another trait in his character. It does not arise from the depth of his philosophy as is the case, in Hamlet, but simply Richard is inert and inactive and yields himself to every new impression. (Inertness, inactivity, versatile impressibility and indecision! An odd character.) The pictures of irresolution are *still* wonderfully drawn by the poet when Salisbury Secrop inform Richard of the desertion of the Welshmen under their command. Richard sometimes says that he is prepared to meet the worst and at *other time* carries the divine right of kings too far *says* "not all the water in the rough rude sea, &c." "Richard's conduct in the conversation from the walls of Flint Castle with Northumberland who brings a message from Bolingbroke and the king's dallying with the resignation of the crown." (No predicate or event). But this is enough of Gopauliah. The very next sentence also lacks predicate and event, whilst the paragraph concludes with a feather, stolen we will venture to say from the Professorial cap. "In fact Richard would have been a worthy man to love and a good monarch to kneel before." This Gopauliah is specially mentioned by the Examiner and his answers are safely recommended for publication! The same pupil presented himself as a candidate for Government Rewards in elementary subjects, and failed decidedly, the Examiners report, in Arithmetic and Elementary

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Algebra, Elementary Astronomy and Mechanics and partially in the English paper. On reference to the list of marks it will also be seen that his name bears no great honour in connection either with Indian History, English History or Geography. In the first he got 23 marks out of 40, in the second 22 out of 45, in the last 29 out of 45. This looks rather awkwardly by the side of Richard II. and Bacon's Essays.

N. Ramasawmy figures rather largely in the Report, but we have seldom more skilful jugglery with undefined phrases than his answers present. He is requested to paraphrase the following passage :—

"To speak now of the true temper of an Empire, it is a thing rare and hard to keep ; for both temper and distemper consist of contraries, but it is one thing to mingle contraries, another to interchange them." The work is done in the following style :— "with regard to the proper condition of Government it is a difficult matter to preserve it, for both good temper and distemper result from contrary qualities being *mingled* (!) together ; the former is produced by blending them in due proportion and the latter by interchanging them in extremes."

"In the case of a Government the "true temper" is secured by an equal and timely interchange (!) of power : and the "distemper" is produced by an unequal and untimely interchange of power, pressed too far and relaxed too much."

The figure employed is left unopened ; Bacon's terms are repeated over and over again without being defined, whilst the unfortunate use of them in a directly opposite way to Bacon's formula is a crack through which utter confusion of thought creeps out. In another answer from the same youth, we marked off six gross grammatical errors in the space of nine printed lines.

Another College student whose answers are published in the Report, on presenting himself as a candidate for Government Rewards, was declared to have failed decidedly in English and Indian History, and partially in English Composition !

We had marked, for quotation several other illustrations of our remark, but think that these will be sufficient. If any one will be at the pains to peruse these answers and not accept them for prodigies because they are found in the Report, he will come to our conclusion that an unnatural strain after high attainments has begotten that bareness of thought and poverty of expression which invariably result from a deficient groundwork.

We have penned these remarks on the College Department of the University and its instruction in complete liberty from any party feeling. When the project was discussed the writer was in

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the midst of an educational war on another soil, and therefore must be acquitted of pouring forth the dregs of old antipathy. The facts only have been placed before him, and in them his remarks find a painful force. If these arguments are true, some practical lesson should be placed before the eyes of those who are pledged to Collegiate instruction and engaged in it. An arrest should forthwith be placed on the increase of Government inducements. No unnatural efforts should be made to enlarge the number of College students. If the classes should die out, all the better. The pupils of the High School and Provincial Schools may be gladly allowed to betake themselves to public employment, requiring a higher or lower standard of mental acquirements. Neither murmuring nor melancholy need arise from such a movement. It is a natural and safe one. And when a Director of Public Instruction shall do for the next thirty years what Mr. Arbuthnot has done for the past he will have a very different story to tell of both High School and College.

In the heat of discussion sectarian partitions rise high and prominent. The vision is contracted. A middle way is never dreamed off. Such appears to have been the case in the discussions of 1834 and 1835 in reference to the education of the many or the few. One party said "work from the base upward." Another said "let the light search its way downwards." But now that the fervour of discussion is past, time, that Engineer who works without sound of hammer or ring of the trowel, has levelled the party walls, and from amid their veins is constructing a happy middle path. No one would be so infatuated now as to say that languages so poor as those of South India in substantive knowledge, and in worthy ideas can be the instruments of popular education without a large infusion of western thought and newly invented terms. Equally unreasonable, would it be for even a Macaulay to affirm that the education of the higher classes in refined literature would in any reasonable or unreasonable time permeate and raise the mass of the population. The Director of Public Instruction seems to be forming for himself a sphere of exertion borne out by the parallels of England and Russia and ably sketched by Mr. Thomas:—

"But intelligent natives who have been thus educated, may, as Teachers in College and Schools, or as the writers and translators of useful books, contribute in an eminent degree to the more general extension among their countrymen of a portion of the acquirements which they have themselves gained, and may communicate in some degree to the native literature and to the minds of the native community that improved spirit, which, it is to be hoped, they will themselves have imbibed from the influence of European ideas and sentiments."

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The Provincial Schools are established. Competent masters have been procured from England. An increase of salary awaits their intimacy with the vernaculars. Beneath these we hear of the formation of Zillah Schools, the Masters of which are for sometime to be Europeans, but ultimately natives of sound European knowledge. Farther in the distance looms a scheme for direct vernacular instruction in common schools. But ere that be realised Training Schools for Vernacular Teachers are to be established in the Provinces we hope the Director has got some plan for improving in the meanwhile the character of the present vernacular instruction. There is that proposed by the Board of Instruction in 1834 similar to the one suggested by Mr. Adams for Bengal, and followed in the North West Provinces. Its features are supervision by a mixed European and Native Committee with the aid of a Native Visitor, the holding of examinations, the communication of improved methods of teaching and the introduction of vernacular school books. We have not the means of knowing the Director's intentions on this subject, but would suggest that all the ends proposed in this scheme would be answered in the transference of the work to Government Sub-Inspectors. There is no doubt that the perusal of the volumes before us leads to the conclusion that little dependance is to be placed on the popular idea of native co-operation.

Lord Munro tied it in his vernacular scheme and made bad worse. Lord Elphinstone backed his University proposition by a petition of 70,000 natives, asking the place of co-operators and declining in lofty language an education dependant upon charity. There the matter ended. Few boys entered the school and not a penny was thrown into the Educational treasury. Mr. Norton was deceived by this co-operation into the continuance of an exorbitant fee. Official natives have stickled for every little prejudice and a free education has been carried in spite of them. We have not got the men to work with us we must make them before we can use them.

But we are made the less anxious as to the Director's plans by observing his tone of feeling. If we judge him rightly, decision and despatch, expressive of ideas found not once in thirty years' experimenting, breathe in his plans and expressions. He forms in his own mind a clear scheme of the matter to be done and will do it quickly. Closing these two volumes and coming into contact with the more recent schemes of Education and with the spirit of its Director, always excepting the Collegiate Department, we see a cheerful prospect before us. Now in truth a band of social settlers appear upon the soil, their number will speedily increase, and ere another 10 years are gone

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we shall look upon the ground that has been cleared, the sod broken;—the loam enriched, the furrows formed, the fresh blades in the ridges—happy promises of a hasting and joyous harvest, making glad the sower of bygone years, furnishing seed to his successor, and giving bread to the eater.

When energetic Governors-General have brought beneath our sway large and populous provinces; when able administrators have laid down their systems of governance; when skilled capitalists or speculators have opened out the Empire's hidden resources: one other man of ability is needed, limiting our view by a narrow secularism without whom lasting and self-propelling progress can never be secured. He is the School-master. None, save one, more influential in his work than he. The time is gone, amongst sensible people, when the common School-master was deemed an amiable imbecile, astonishing untaught ears by sesquipedalian words or echoing humbly the dictum of some greater light, chance strayed into his sphere; when the whole range of respectable instructors was thought to lie between Dominie Sampson and Dr. Pangloss, the one a prodigy of dull conglomerated learning, lit up by an amusing eccentricity; the other possessed of nothing but vanity, literary knick-knackery, and the insatiable desire of having "clear for life, five hundred pounds a year." Nothing is more freely confessed at home than that the School-master must have good talents, good knowledge, good manners, a good salary, and a good position in society. To raise up men of this class is the purpose of the Training Institutions which have been established in large numbers of late years by an expenditure almost to be termed prodigal, did we not remember its laudable object. We rejoice that a similar Institution has been formed at last in the Madras Presidency; and on a subject so important and with a desire that thought and care and energy and expense may foster this centre of educational success;—a few more words may be allowed.

What do we expect from the School-master? A character of firm moral tone, inaccessible to false motives in a land where intrigue is a popular science not easily seduced to lethargy and neglect, when supervision may often be intermittent;—in himself and his family, a pattern to those whose homes know no relief from the language of petty commerce or the business of sensuality manners; gentle to attract the confidence of children; free from self-conceit, as he needs their respect; seemly and manly—far removed from looseness or effeminacy—proving how a well trained mind will have an appropriate outward-showing-gifts;—a capacity for application once begun and never to be left off.

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For little way his learning reaches
Who reads no more than what he teaches.

Some degree of acquisitiveness; for he who treads the path of learning dully and heavily, as oxen tread out the grain for their own food—will make worse out as a teacher than a learner. Utterance; for what matter the stores within, if the door of the lips be shut? Not dull and heavy, drugging his youthful charge; not authoritative and dictatorial repressing the queries of infant, youthful thinkers; but easy, simple and versatile;—capable of assuming a thousand shapes to drive dull sloth from the form of learning, and follow the mind through all the rapid and varied changes, which characterize it in our youthful years. Discrimination of character. Steele says, in speaking of the School-masters of his days "many of these stupid tyrants exercise their cruelty without any manner of distinction of the capacities of children, or the intention of parents in their behalf. It happens I doubt not more than once in a year, that a lad is chastised for a blockhead; when it is a good apprehension which makes him incapable of knowing what his teacher means. A brisk imagination very often may suggest an error which a lad could not have fallen into if he had been as heavy in conjecturing as his master in explaining." The instructor has to pass his fingers over the sensitive chords of mind and feeling, and it were not wise to put in such a place a man without discrimination of sound temper;—not harsh or stern, clouding the youthful face with habitual fearfulness and hesitancy; not easiful and indulgent, under which "discipline overlooked and unemployed falls sick and dies" but a happy combination of the suaviter and the fortiter. One feature more; and we will not say that the portrait will be complete, only so far as to show what a man must be to be a School-master. He must be an enthusiast in his work. Needful every where, it is most needful here, where the work has been looked down upon. Nothing else can sustain him in the unvarying and unnoticed toil of instruction—but an enthusiasm fed by impressive views of his work:—its objects—an empire's youth;—its path;—the furnishing and forming of the mind;—its results,—the progress of his kind in the good, the wise and the powerful. Such qualifications do we ultimately expect from the School-master.

What do we entrust to him? We are not going to repeat the worn-out figures of the acorn, the bent-twig, and the like. Neither will we borrow the high flown language of those who deem education every thing. But a right view of the interests involved in the teacher's work,—imprinted in his own mind, in the mind of those above and with him in his labour, is the only means of procuring efficiency. What then

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do we commit to him? All that education can do. It can raise new and more powerful principles of life than those which depend upon physical satisfaction,—the principles of a mind awake. It can refine feeling, and so elevate domestic relationships. It can change a hovel unfurnished, for a home full of comfort. It can teach to get; to give, and to spend. It can urge upward men of uncommon mould to seats of dignity and honor, whilst it will lessen the contracting influence of worldly pursuits by enlarging their compass, and raising their demand for intellectual skill. It can produce that self-respect, righteous enough, which is the strongest of all secondary guards of right-doing. It can raise the tone of morality by introducing to the mind the examples and principles of the great and good. It can produce soundness of thought, and form the judgment and so prepare the way for the downfal of what is false, the reception of what is true in reference both to time and eternity. To him too if he take the whole range of his work, we entrust the peace of God—the assurance of faith—the looking for of heaven—such are the interests which lie concealed in the hand of the School-master.

If these observations be true as to the interests committed to the School-master and the qualifications we expect from him, the one thing required is getting the right man. We say this in especial reference to the Institution at Madras; there must be *selection*. The procuring of a Scholarship and the passing of an examination or even the possession of moderate general talents do not certify that a man will make a good School-master. The Director has indeed inserted a condition that each student shall for two months be considered as a probationer, liable to ejection. But this is not enough. The Director should be left at liberty to dismiss during the continuance or at the conclusion of his course, every student not possessed of "aptness to teach." Such a man may obtain employment in another line, but let not the Government have any thing to do with him as a teacher. The quality not the quantity of men is the condition of success in this important scheme. But when we have got the men with talents, we have to give them training. We have got the gifts. We must give the character. A Hindoo may be a bundle of habits but it is a bundle very badly tied. Now training is the moulding and formation of habits. For distinctness, we may consider habits as belonging to the body or the mind, and the latter will be explained by the former. Under the former are comprehended all bodily activities or motions, whether graceful or unbecoming, which are owing to use; under the latter, general habits of life and conduct, such as those of obedience and submission to authority or to any particular person; those of veracity, justice and charity; those of attention, industry, self-govern-

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ment, envy, revenge. And habits of this latter kind seem produced by repeated acts as well as the former. Butler's Analogy, Chap. V. Hard the work then of the Training Master of Hindoo pupils; to watch the interworkings of body and soul—to discern the mind though trivial accidents—and continue patiently at his work till success is attained—the work is hard but must be done. And to give the character of the Teacher the fullest chance of development we must have a good social position and a competent salary. He must be placed above the mass who through the bazaar and something more than on a level with the whole army of pen-drivers. Government after long delay have confessed and now come forth with a liberal scale of proposals. I will first turn to the establishment of the Presidency in which a considerable number of teachers of various grades are employed. The salaries assigned range from Rupees 700 to 1,000 per mensem. In the Junior Department which it is probable will be more immediately available to Native Masters the salaries range from Rupees 70 to 300. We trust however that the time is not far distant when here as at Bombay we shall see Natives employed as Professors in our Colleges, as well as in the more subordinate grades of the Department. In the Provincial Schools the salaries range from Rupees 30 to Rupees 500; in the Zillah Schools from Rupees 20 to 300. In the first of these two grades of schools, it will probably be necessary for some time to come that the Head Masters should be Europeans, but this is by no means an absolute rule, and in some of the Zillah Schools we think we may say with confidence that the Head Masterships will ere long be filled by Natives. The salaries specified in these lists we should mention are the maximum sums at present sanctioned and it will have to be determined in each case with reference to the qualifications of the person appointed, whether the whole or what portion of the sanctioned salary should be assigned to him. It will be obvious we think from these statements that the prospects in the Educational Department are not inferior to those held out in any other branches of the public service, and that in point of fact the prospects of early advancement will for some years to come be better than elsewhere, inasmuch as the number of competitors qualified for the duties of the Educational Department will for some years be smaller than the number of competitors in other Departments of the service. At the opening of the Training Institution Mr. Arbuthnot gave notice of the proposed salaries of Educational officials:—

"For let us suppose that we have some tens or even scores of youths, out of a population of millions, Masters of the higher sciences, well acquainted with all the beauties of Shakespeare, of Milton and with the learning of Bacon and with the great master minds of Europe, and the

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rest of the people, not the lowest classes alone, left in their hereditary ignorance, and that ignorance—Asiatic."

"How, I would ask, is this mass, wholly unprepared by even an elementary education in western learning, to understand and appreciate the acquirements of the highly educated man? or, how is he to communicate his high attainments in scheme and literature to them? and what possible influence would he therefore exercise over them? In Europe the bulk of the population who receive an education have ordinarily some elementary instruction in the higher sciences,—in Astronomy, Natural Philosophy, &c., and individuals throughout all grades of society have, some more, some less knowledge of the higher sciences, and in many cases a considerable degree of scientific acquirement, which enables and qualifies some in all ranks to appreciate more or less fully the highest discoveries and attainments in science. There is consequently a connecting link, running through all society there, which conveys the highest truths of science in an elementary form to all grades and the acquisitions of the most advanced minds can be, and are appreciated by those immediately below them, and through them they filter down to the lower grades, who are prepared in their measure by elementary instruction, to receive them."

"But what is the case in this country? High acquirements in Science or Literature will be appreciated and understood by none, but the few alone highly educated. There is a broad, and impassible line between them and all others. I cannot but think it almost certain, therefore, that the only result of a system, which educates a few highly, and leaves the rest of the population without even elementary instruction, is to render all the superior acquirements of that few, (made moreover at an enormous cost to the State) barren and fruitless as to any general influence upon society."

"The youths or men so advanced will exist in a great measure, only as a small isolated class, despising others; and neither appreciated nor esteemed by their fellow countrymen. This must be, so far as I can see my way, the inevitable consequence of a system which provides only for the superior education of the few, and makes no simultaneous provision upon a large scale for the instruction of the many."

As the Professor does more for Christianity by training and sending forth a dozen highly qualified Ministers, than an ordinary Evangelist who is the means of converting a hundred souls, so the establishment of the Institution will do more for education than the hasty and wide extension of inefficient schools.

One point more and we have done. We allude to the gain which may accrue to the movement by the improved state of its Directory. What could education do with Boards, Committees, Councils changing, divided but hanging to the line of officialness, like a sinking sailor to a plank? What wonder that the nursling should be "crooked, twisted and deformed through want of care" when the nurses were being perpetually

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changed, all pursuing different methods of treatment, agreeing but in one thing, the neglect of their charge. The *Boards* are *broken* up. The Committees are dissolved. The Councils are adjourned "sine die." Mr. Arbuthnot is fac-totum. In a despotic Government, great or small, every thing depends upon the man. If he be wise, active and powerful, his pulse moves a nation. If he be none of these, the nation under his sway, nestles the seeds of anarchy in the womb of unity. Our future depends upon one Director. We have already expressed our hopes of him but we have yet seen little of his work. Two paths lie before him. He may continue in slippered ease at the Presidency rejoicing in his title, more in its emoluments: throwing aside all idea of personal oversight, he may gather round him a crowd of subordinates and send each on an apparently well refined errand;—never dreaming of the vivid influence of personal intercourse, he may be content to look upon all operations through the medium of cooked reports; he may get all the credit of a good movement without knowing it to be good;—he may dashingly sign his name to annual statements and not be able on personal knowledge to vouch for the truth of a single item, or the truthfulness of a single Agent, he may be the source of a malaria of inactivity and public infidelity creeping down, down, through every lower stage, settling on every subordinate officer, and producing a state of things to be concealed by intrigue, creeping up and up till he himself is an unconscious but blameworthy instrument of it;—he may pride himself on the ramification of plans spreading and interworking beneath him; in a last "farewell" he may grow eloquent upon his deeds; "leaving a loved and prosperous work" to his successor;—whose first work will be to sweep away the flimsy cobwebs, and curse an administration of five, which has thrown back the progress of education twenty, years.

If the machine is to work well, the centre wheel must be in motion, the Director must calmly make up his mind to do his work, to be the soul of every thing. He may without great expenditure either of mental or physical strength pass to and fro amidst the department of his work, now treading on the heels of subordinate Inspectors, now startling some lethargic dominie in slumbering placidity. By such visits, he may gather around himself an ubiquity, seen and felt and feared every where. School-masters finding it useless to be careless will become desirous of commendation. Inspectors, conscious of the knowledge of their superior and not unmoved by his example, will cease hashing up reports, and drawing wise conclusions on what they never saw or heard; but find more

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profitable toil in enriching their minds and invigorating their work by active investigation. By knowledge gained thus personally or through a medium now trustworthy, the Director will be able to propose plans of enlargement marked by the freshness, precision, and practicability of one who has felt and seen and therefore speaks: and against such a man "our Governor at Fort St. George" and "our loving friends" in Leadenhall Street cannot stir a feather ;—his plans will become facts. By such a conduct, he may spread around him the same spirit, and all will try to do their duty and do it in the best way possible ;—a gain in soundness to the work, in mental and moral power to the workmen. Thus may he plant within himself a sense of integrity,—a mind that condemneth not itself ;—of which the slippered and cushioned Do-nothing has no idea, and finds a poor substitute for in the dignified and trifling engagements of Presidency Society. Thus may he come to the end of his term of residence, working to the last, leaving no time for eulogistic "leaders" or addresses : but followed by a yearning public feeling to be interpreted in the one sentence "a king is gone from us." When in after years, in some quiet retreat amid "the interchange of hill and valley" in his native land, he shall hear the many voiced public trumpeting the praise of some good successor, he shall have in solitude the joy of him who planned the work and laid the foundation ;—a joy "which no man taketh from him." Which course will our Director follow ?

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